

UNITED STATES

SENATE

COMMITTEE

ON THE

PHILIPPINES

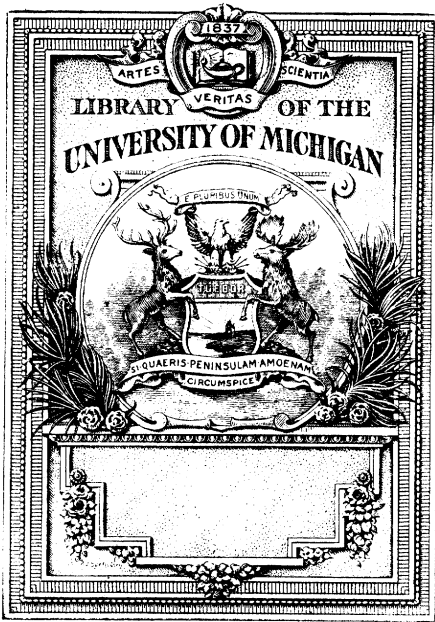
HEARINGS

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GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES
UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS
THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 18459

AN ACT TO DECLARE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND TO PROVIDE A MORE AUTONOMOUS
GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLANDS

DECEMBER 14, 1914

U. S. Congress Senate Committee on the Philippines

PART I



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1914

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pt. 1-6

COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES.

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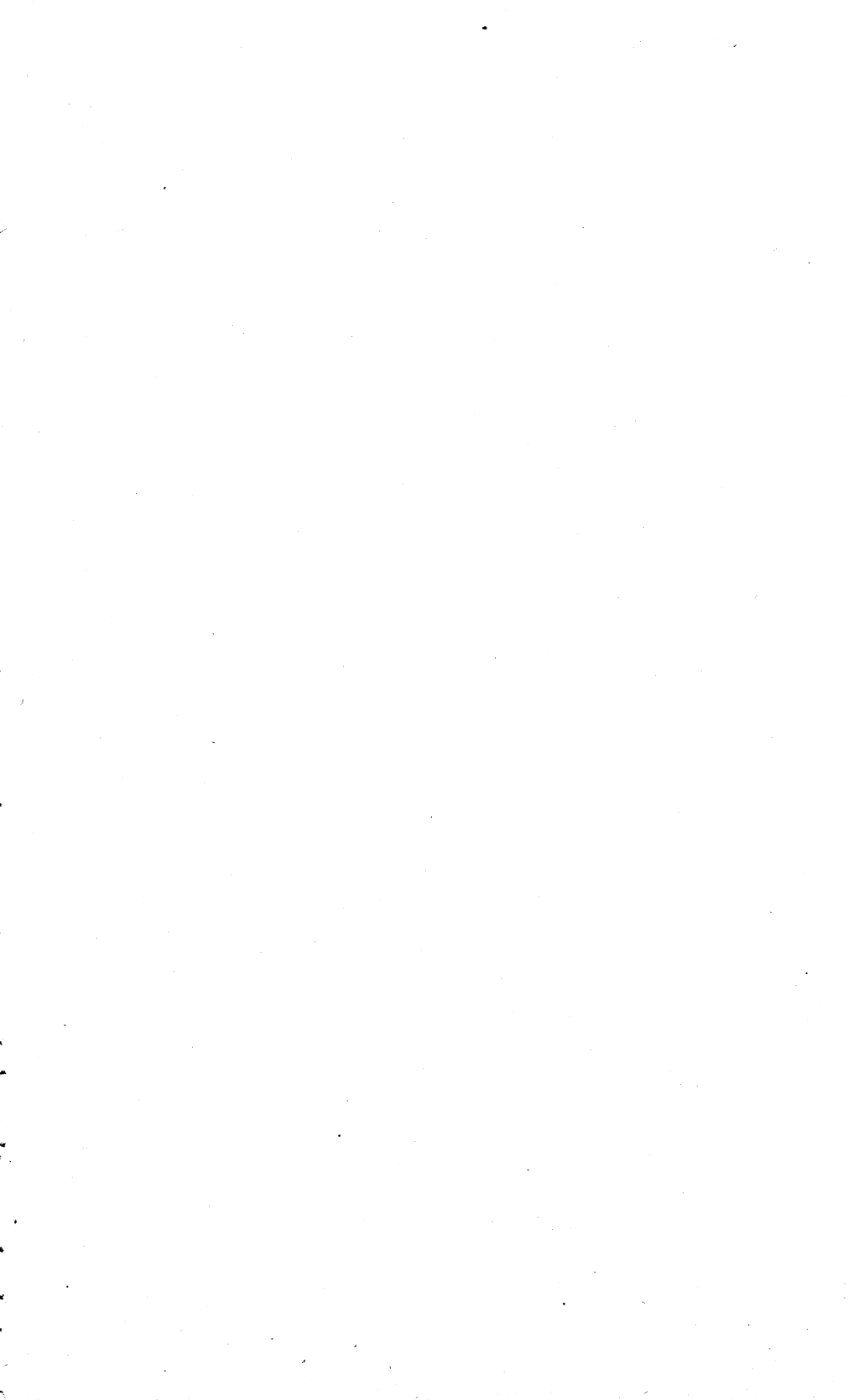
GEORGE P. MCLEAN, Connecticut.

HENRY F. LIPPITT, Rhode Island.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, Iowa.

JOHN W. WEEKS, Massachusetts.

WILLARD D. BAKIN, *Clerk.*



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GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1914.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee assembled at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Fletcher, Reed, Lane, Saulsbury, Ransdell, Shafroth, Bristow, Lippitt, Kenyon, and Weeks.

STATEMENT OF BRIG. GEN. FRANK M'INTYRE, CHIEF OF BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. McIntyre, I believe your title is "Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs," is it not?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please explain to the committee what the office is, and what jurisdiction you have over the insular possessions of the United States.

Gen. MCINTYRE. By law the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department is the agent of the Secretary of War in dealing with the insular possessions that are under the jurisdiction of the War Department, and those insular possessions are, at present, the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico; the Philippine Islands by law and Porto Rico by Executive order.

The CHAIRMAN. Your bureau also has some jurisdiction over other matters, has it not?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Such other duties as are assigned to it. We have had assigned to us the receivership of customs in Santo Domingo; and that is about the extent of our general jurisdiction.

The CHAIRMAN. You have nothing to do with Hawaii?

Gen. MCINTYRE. We have nothing to do with Hawaii, or with the small islands of the Pacific that are under the Navy Department, and we have, of course, nothing to do with Alaska, which comes under the Interior Department.

Senator KENYON. And you have nothing to do with Panama?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Nothing to do with Panama.

Senator FLETCHER. When was the Executive order made with reference to Porto Rico?

Gen. MCINTYRE. It was made in 1909. It was made after the passage of the act which we call the Olmsted Act, which was an act continuing the appropriations in case the legislature failed to appropriate.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. McIntyre, the committee has before it H. R. 18459, passed by the House, being "An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands."

I think the committee would like to hear you upon the legislative features of this bill, omitting for the present the preamble, which relates to policy.

Will you, in your own way, describe what changes this bill would make in the form of the government in the Philippine Islands, if passed as it came from the House of Representatives?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Shall I take the bill by sections and refer to the present law, or would you prefer a short general statement, and then a detailed examination of the bill?

The CHAIRMAN. I think a short statement would be desirable—a general review of the changes proposed.

Senator RANSELL. I would like to hear that, because I am not very familiar with the subject.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes. With reference to the legislature first; at the present the upper house of the legislature is composed of a commission, which is appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, and is composed of nine members; the Governor General and four of these members have also executive duty, the four members being the heads of executive departments, and the other four members are legislative members.

The lower house is composed of 81 members, elected from that number of districts, which include the entire territory which is classed as Christian and civilized territory. The legislature thus composed has legislative jurisdiction over all of the territory in the islands, except that portion inhabited by the non-Christian tribes. Over that territory the commission has exclusive jurisdiction.

This bill provides that the lower house shall be composed of 90 members, instead of 81. The 9 additional members are to be representatives of the territory now under the exclusive jurisdiction of the commission, and they are to be appointed by the Governor General to represent those people without confirmation by the Philippine Senate, and without reference to residence.

The senate is to be elective hereafter, 2 senators from each of 12 districts. Eleven of the districts will include the territory now represented in the legislature. The additional district will include the non-Christian territory, and for that district the Governor General is to appoint the two senators.

The CHAIRMAN. Must they be residents of that district?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Not necessarily residents, and not with reference to the Philippine Senate. They are the absolute appointees of the governor general to represent that territory.

To this legislature thus organized is given jurisdiction over the entire territory now included in the Philippine Islands. That is, it is given the legislative jurisdiction which the commission now has, as well as that which the legislature now has.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have they ever ascertained how many islands there are in the Philippines?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Well, the estimates vary somewhat; it depends so much on what they count as an island; some of the islands are so

small; they will run up to about 3,000, if you count all of the little islands, many of which are uninhabited and many without water.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the legislative body to be called as a whole?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is to be called the Philippine Legislature. And under the act as it passed the House, the members of the lower house are elected for three years; the members of the senate at the first election will be elected for three and six years, respectively, one for three years in each district, and one for six years; and after that the senators are elected every six years.

The CHAIRMAN. What are their qualifications in each branch of the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. The qualifications in each branch are, in the senate, that senators shall be qualified electors over 30 years of age; that they shall be able to read and write the English or the Spanish language, and that they shall have resided for a certain period in the Philippine Islands and for at least one year preceding election in the district.

Now, a point with reference to the qualifications in the bill. The qualifications in the bill are drawn about as the present qualifications for members of the lower house of legislature.

Senator KENYON. How long must a member of the lower house have resided in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. He must be an elector; and the rule now is that an elector must have been a resident for six months in the municipality in which he is to vote. This bill simply says that a man must be an elector.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the number of the lower house is increased from 81 to 90?

Gen. McINTYRE. To 90; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the number of members of the upper house has increased from 9 to 24?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; to 24.

The CHAIRMAN. And the upper house, instead of being altogether appointive, is elective, except for two members?

Gen. McINTYRE. Except for two members.

The CHAIRMAN. And those two members are appointed by the Governor General, and represent the non-Christian tribes?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the difference between the powers of the present legislature as constituted and the proposed legislature, if any?

Gen. McINTYRE. By this bill the existing laws are continued in effect, and with the exception of those laws which are reenacted in this bill the legislature is given general legislative powers in the Philippine Islands, subject, however, to the condition that the legislation must be approved by the Governor General, or, if disapproved by the Governor General, it must thereafter be passed by a vote of three-fourths of the membership of each house; and it is then submitted to the President of the United States, who is vested with absolute veto power.

Senator KENYON. If it should be passed over the Governor General's veto, then it may be vetoed by the President?

Gen. McINTYRE. Then the President can absolutely veto it, and, finally, all bills passed must be reported to Congress, which has the right to annul them.

Senator WEEKS. What is the argument in favor of giving the Governor General power to appoint nine members, as I recall it, of the lower house, without the confirming power of the senate?

Gen. McINTYRE. The object of that, as stated, was to meet the objection that if the matter was left to the legislature there might be unfair treatment of the wild people.

The idea was to remove that possibility of criticism by enabling the Governor General, who is himself the appointee of the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, to have that absolute power.

If I may pass now to the judiciary, I will say that in the judiciary of the Philippine Islands there is no change in the bill, except one clause which I will come to later on in going into the details of the bill, with reference to appeal to the Supreme Court. At present there is an appeal from the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands to the Supreme Court of the United States, in addition to the usual grounds, where the amount in controversy is \$25,000 or more. That ground of appeal is stricken from the present law by this bill. Otherwise the courts are continued as at present, and there is no change in the organic law.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the court the power to declare unconstitutional any act of the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. It has. That is, it is not deprived of that power in this bill, and it has exercised that right.

Senator FLETCHER. And there is no appeal from that to the Supreme Court of the United States—

Gen. McINTYRE. There is an appeal.

Senator FLETCHER (continuing). Except as to constitutionality?

Gen. McINTYRE. There would be an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. The relations of the court and the legislature are very similar to what they are here, are they?

Gen. McINTYRE. Very similar; they are practically the same.

Now, with reference to the executive, the Governor General continues with all of the authority which he now has. As at present, he is to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. At present he is a member of the upper house, being the president of the commission. Under this bill he becomes more like the chief executive of an American State or Territory; he is not a member of either house, but he is given what he does not have now, the usual powers of veto.

The CHAIRMAN. And that veto may be overridden by what vote of the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. By three-fourths.

The CHAIRMAN. Of each house?

Gen. McINTYRE. Of each house. But in that case, the legislation comes to the President, who has the right to definitely veto it.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is an absolute veto.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; absolute.

Senator WEEKS. Has that ever been done?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is not the law at present.

Senator WEEKS. That is not the law now?

Gen. McINTYRE. No. You see, at present there is some question as to whether anyone has the power of veto in Philippine legislation, except, of course, Congress; Congress has at present absolute power.

Senator LIPPITT. Where is that in the bill?

Gen. McINTYRE. The veto?

Senator SHAFROTH. Is not the law at the present time that the Governor General has absolute control?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the governor general is president of the commission; he is a legislative member of the upper house; he has no veto at all. The probability is, and it has been so held, that the secretary of war has a veto. That came from the condition that by the old organic act the original instructions of the President to the Philippine Commission were continued in effect, and under those instructions the Philippine Commission was authorized to legislate under the direction and control of the Secretary of War.

Senator LIPPITT. You said that a three-fourths vote was necessary to pass a bill over a veto. Is it not a two-thirds vote?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; I should have said two-thirds. It is in the bill. I was giving it from memory.

Senator LIPPITT. That is on page 16.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; two-thirds of all the members.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. McIntyre, will you tell the committee about what is the population of the Philippine Islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. The population by the last census was 7,635,426. Of course, that was taken in 1903, and the population is now doubtless more than 8,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And as to the revenues, how have they been, approximately, during the last few years? Have they exceeded the needs of the islands? Have they been sufficient?

Gen. McINTYRE. The revenues have been ample. The finances of the islands have always been in good condition.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the revenues have been used in the making of improvements, have they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; 20 per cent, in round numbers, of all the revenues collected in the Philippine Islands have been devoted to permanent improvements in those islands.

Senator SHAFROTH. They had to contract a bonded indebtedness of \$5,000,000, however, did they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they have an indebtedness of \$5,000,000 for public works.

Senator RANSDELL. What was the character of the public works?

Gen. McINTYRE. Harbor works, bridges, roads, schools, and public buildings of various kinds. Those show the general nature.

Senator WEEKS. How is the revenue obtained?

Gen. McINTYRE. The revenue is obtained from customs duties in part. Insular revenues come from the customhouses, and covering the entire field, that has been one-half of the entire revenue; at present it is a little less than one-half.

They have also internal revenues. Those are the two principal sources of revenue; and then they have miscellaneous revenues, arising from the handling of the business of the Government.

Senator WEEKS. Is their internal revenue of about the same character as ours.

Gen. McINTYRE. They are a good deal alike; but they have some matters which we do not have; they have a percentage tax on business.

Senator LIPPITT. Their principal item of internal revenue is the tax on business, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is one of the principal sources.

Senator LIPPITT. That is the principal source, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; one of the principal sources for the central government. The internal-revenue department of the central government also collects certain revenues that go to the Provinces and municipalities; one of the principal sources, year in and year out, is the cedula tax.

Senator LIPPITT. What is that?

Gen. McINTYRE. The cedula tax corresponds to our poll tax, and it is one peso for each man between the ages of 18 and 60, with certain exceptions, and it can be doubled by the Province if the Province desires to devote the additional amount to roads and public works within the Province.

Senator LIPPITT. That tax can not amount to more than \$2,000,000 can it?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think it does.

Senator LIPPITT. If there are 8,000,000 inhabitants, I do not think there could be more than 3,500,000 men between those ages.

Gen. McINTYRE. I have the figures here and can give them to you.

Senator LIPPITT. Never mind; you need not look it up now.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, that is about what it amounts to. For instance, in 1913 the Provinces received from that tax ₱3,108,615.75 and the municipalities received ₱1,071,581.25.

Senator RANSELL. What is the value of a peso in our money?

Gen. McINTYRE. Fifty cents gold; it is based on our coinage—50 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Central Government collect all taxes?

Gen. McINTYRE. The Central Government collects all taxes except certain license taxes that the municipalities are authorized to impose. That is, the cedula taxes, for instance, are collected by the collector of internal revenue and his deputies, and goes partly to the Provinces and partly to the municipalities. There are certain taxes collected by the treasurers of the municipalities themselves, certain taxes imposed in the municipalities. They have a provincial treasurer and they have a municipal treasurer, who is ordinarily the deputy of the provincial treasurer, so that the collector of the Province is ordinarily responsible for those.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Provinces are there?

Gen. McINTYRE. Thirty-three Christian Provinces "fully organized," represented in the assembly; and then several specially organized Provinces, which are also represented in the assembly; and certain non-Christian Provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. These revenues are turned into what part of the treasury when they are collected?

Gen. McINTYRE. They are paid into the general fund of the treasury and charged to the special account.

The CHAIRMAN. And then they are paid out to the several Provinces for their use?

Gen. McINTYRE. Part to the Provinces and part to the municipalities.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not go originally into the provincial treasury or municipal treasury, but first they go into the central treasury?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is, they are taken up on the books of the collector of internal revenue, even though they may be placed, for convenience, in some local bank or local custodian.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to the other disbursements; are the municipal treasurers and the provincial treasurers subject to the central treasurer of the islands or to a central auditor?

Gen. McINTYRE. A central auditor who audits all expenditures in the islands of every class and kind.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the central government exercises a surveillance over the provincial and municipal governments and checks them up?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; checks them up. The report of the auditor, for instance, which we get each year, includes a thorough report of the disbursements of the central government and of the provincial governments and of the municipal governments.

Senator FLETCHER. What is the form of the provincial governments and the municipal governments?

Gen. McINTYRE. The provincial government has as a governing body, a provincial board, which consists of the elective governor and the treasurer, who is a civil-service official appointed by the Governor General, and an elective official designated as the third member. Those have all the legislative authority of the Province.

They have also a provincial fiscal, who is the prosecuting attorney of the Province, who is appointed in a manner similar to that of the appointment of the treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the new legislature under this bill have the power to change that method of government?

Gen. McINTYRE. Under this bill, subject to the approval of the Governor General, and in case of veto of the President, they would have.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the new legislature under this new formation of government might have the power to vest in the local governments the power to collect taxes and the power to disburse them, without any central check?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is possible that such would be the case.

Senator FLETCHER. Do you know of any disposition to do that?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; I do not. Judging by the acts of the legislature as it now exists, I think the disposition is not to do that. I think the disposition of the legislature at present is rather conservative, and that they are rather inclined to see the necessity for the present of considerable supervision over the local governments.

Senator FLETCHER. The present system seems to be satisfactory to the people of the islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think it is. I think gradually there might be certain changes, but there seems to be no desire for a radical change at present.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not the present Legislature of the Philippine Islands the power over the customs tariffs?

Gen. McINTYRE. At present not. After the passage of the organic act—that is, the present organic act—the legislature there perhaps had the same power which is given in this act—that is, to pass a tariff act—and the tariff act until 1905 in effect in the Philippine Islands was the result of local legislation.

But in 1905 Congress elected to pass a tariff act, and thereafter, just as would be the case under this bill, the local legislature could not alter or amend that. This bill, with reference to the tariff, would have this effect: It would continue in effect the present tariff, giving, however, authority to the Philippine Legislature to provide its own tariff applicable to the islands in so far as it did not affect trade with the United States, but the trade relations between the United States and the islands would continue under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress.

Thereafter, of course, if Congress elected to pass a tariff act for the Philippines, the Philippine Legislature would be excluded from that field, just as it is at present by our tariff act of 1909. Congress passed a tariff act in 1905, and another tariff act in 1909, affecting the Philippine Islands. So that at present the Philippine Legislature is excluded from that field.

The CHAIRMAN. And it exercises at present jurisdiction only over internal-revenue taxes?

Gen. McINTYRE. Internal taxes only.

The CHAIRMAN. But it receives the revenue from the customs fixed by the Congress of the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WEEKS. How much money has the United States spent in the Philippine Islands for maintenance of the military forces there and for other purposes since 1900?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is impossible to tell that, Senator. The expenditures for the Army are not divided along any territorial lines whatever; it is impossible to say what they would be in the Philippines.

Senator WEEKS. Well, could not the War Department tell how much had been expended for the Army?

Gen. McINTYRE. The War Department can—and it has several times in the past gone over the matter—tell very nearly, of course, the amount that has been disbursed in the islands for the payment of troops and by quartermasters for the construction of barracks and quarters and for transportation of the Army. But it is very difficult to get at the exact amount, because there are so many indirect charges there.

Senator WEEKS. How much has the Navy spent there?

Gen. McINTYRE. The Navy usually report that they have spent nothing; but that is on the theory that their ships are in commission anyhow, and that those expenditures would continue whether the vessels were in the islands or not.

Senator WEEKS. How about the maintenance of navy yards?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have maintained navy yards there and there has been some construction, but that has been the usual form of reply to these inquiries.

Senator WEEKS. Well, how much have we expended for forts and other similar expenses?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, of course, the engineers report that; I could get those figures and give it to you up to the last report which has been made.

Senator WEEKS. For what other purposes has the United States Government spent money in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. The United States Government has spent about one-half of the cost of the coast and geodetic survey of the islands. That is divided between the Government of the Philippine Islands and that of the United States. They spent \$3,000,000, appropriated by an act of Congress, for the assistance of the people who were suffering from the effects of the insurrection and from a semifamine after the insurrection; and that is about all.

Senator SHAFROTH. The House committee reported two years ago that there had been an expenditure of about \$50,000,000 a year, directly and indirectly, by this Government.

Senator LIPPITT. How much of our Army is there?

Gen. McINTYRE. About 12,000 men.

Senator SHAFROTH. The late Senator Hoar estimated a number of years ago that they were costing us about \$100,000,000 a year at that time.

Senator WEEKS. Mr. Chairman, if those figures can be obtained in any definite shape, I think this is a good time for us to find out what the expenses have been, directly and indirectly, connected with the Philippine Islands. I have not examined the subject, and I do not know that they can be furnished any more accurately than they have been; but if it is possible, I think the committee ought to have those figures.

Senator RANSELL. Do you mean from the beginning?

Senator WEEKS. Yes; from the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Weeks, will you specify exactly what you would like to have?

Senator WEEKS. As nearly as possible, the military expenditures for the maintenance of troops and for fortifications.

Senator LIPPITT. May I interrupt you a moment? Do you mean the cost of the conquest of the islands or the cost subsequent to the conquest?

Senator WEEKS. No; subsequent to the conquest—for fortifications, the expenditures of the Navy for construction, and development of navy yards—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do you mean the development of navy yards simply within the Philippines?

Senator WEEKS. Yes; simply in the Philippines, of course—the cost of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and for all other civil purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this Government has not spent anything for civil purposes over there, has it?

Senator WEEKS. Well, it did spend \$3,000,000, as Gen. McIntyre testified, after the insurrection for the assistance of the people.

Gen. McINTYRE. That was known as the congressional relief fund.

Senator WEEKS. The congressional relief fund.

The CHAIRMAN. And the Coast and Geodetic Survey and all other civil purposes?

Senator RANSDALL. In a general way you want to find out all of the money that has been expended?

Senator WEEKS. Yes; that is what I want.

Senator RANSDALL. I suppose that would cover it.

Senator LIPPITT. I would like to ask the Senator if he would not like to have that statement made so that those expenditures would be given for each year, and not merely in a bulk sum?

Senator WEEKS. To determine whether they are increasing or decreasing? Yes; I would like to have it in that form.

Gen. MCINTYRE. I think I could furnish it as nearly as anybody can, because we have from time to time called for such information as that.

But if it is satisfactory, I should like to have a definite understanding as to the date from which we are to begin. You see, during the insurrection, when we were putting down the insurrection, the military were collecting all of the revenues of the Islands. We had a military government there at that time, and we expended a great deal of Philippine revenues, called "Public civil fund." Of course, that was accounted for just like appropriations from Congress. You take the organic act—

Senator WEEKS (interposing). When did the organic act go into effect?

Gen. MCINTYRE. July 1, 1902.

Senator WEEKS. That was the date I had in mind.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. That did not go into effect until a little later, did it, about the 1st of January, 1903?

Gen. MCINTYRE. My impression is that certain features of it went into effect later, but the organic act itself, I think, went into effect immediately. You see the organic act of July 1, 1902, really continued the form of government precisely as it had been; there was no change at all; it recognized and approved all that had been done, and simply changed it in some respects.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes.

Gen. MCINTYRE. The assembly part, of course, only came in five years later.

Senator LIPPITT. How many men does the Army now have in the Philippines?

Gen. MCINTYRE. About 12,000.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that what they have been in the habit of having?

Gen. MCINTYRE. That would be about the average since, perhaps, 1904.

Senator LIPPITT. What does it cost to maintain 12,000 men in the Philippines—in a general way? I suppose you have some estimate of what the United States is spending to maintain those 12,000 men there now?

Gen. MCINTYRE. That is now kept separately, ordinarily. I will be very glad to submit that data just as nearly as it can be obtained, and I will do so.

Senator LIPPITT. I see that there are estimates in regard to that all the way from \$600 to \$1,200 a man.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes. The old estimate was \$1,000 per man, but that is very indefinite; and then, of course, there have been many

definite reports covering the past several years. I think the statements have been more definite than accurate, because it is a difficult thing to get at.

Senator SHAFROTH. The House report takes the total number of men in the service and the total number in the Philippine Islands and gets the proportion, and says it is about \$26,000,000 a year.

The CHAIRMAN. In addition to that there is the constabulary over there.

Gen. McINTYRE. There is the constabulary, but that is supported by the Philippine Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that separate from the Regular Army?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is altogether separate from the Regular Army.

Senator KENYON. How many of those are there?

Gen. McINTYRE. Usually about 3,000 or 4,000; the number varies.

Senator LIPPITT. In the estimate of costs that you are going to submit I think it would be a very good thing if you would submit an estimate of what you think the Army is now costing us, and tell us the basis upon which you arrive at that estimate.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator KENYON. If it would be a proper question, I would like to ask you, Gen. McIntyre, what effect the climatic conditions in the Philippine Islands have on the personnel of the Army?

Gen. McINTYRE. On that there is a considerable disagreement; but, of course, it is notorious that long residence in the Tropics injuriously affects most people from the Temperate Zone. But you will find a good many articles by medical men and others stating that a man leading a proper life in the Tropics is not injured. But that seems to run counter to experience.

Now, shall I start with the bill and go through it section by section, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that would be wise—just to take the bill, beginning with the first section, and go through it.

(The bill referred to is as follows:)

[H. R. 18459. Sixty-third Congress, second session.]

AN ACT To declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence: Therefore

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the provisions of this Act and the name "The Philippines" as used in this Act shall apply to and include the Philippine Islands ceded to the United States Government by the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Spain on the eleventh day of

April, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine, the boundaries of which are set forth in Article III of said treaty, together with those islands embraced in the treaty between Spain and the United States concluded at Washington on the seventh day of November, nineteen hundred.

SEC. 2. That all inhabitants of the Philippine Islands continuing to reside therein who were Spanish subjects on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and ninety-nine, and then resided in said islands, and their children born subsequent thereto, shall be deemed and held to be citizens of the Philippine Islands, except such as shall have elected to preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris December tenth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, and except such others as have since become citizens of some other country: *Provided*, That the Philippine Legislature, herein provided for, is hereby authorized to provide by law for the acquisition of Philippine citizenship by those natives of the Philippine Islands who do not come within the foregoing provisions, the natives of the insular possessions of the United States, and such other persons residing in the Philippine Islands who are citizens of the United States, or who could become citizens of the United States under the laws of the United States if residing therein.

SEC. 3. That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense without due process of law; and no person for the same offense shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses.

That no law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be enacted.

That no person shall be imprisoned for debt.

That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion, insurrection, or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the governor general, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist.

That no ex post facto law or bill of attainder shall be enacted nor shall the law of primogeniture ever be in force in the Philippines.

That no law granting a title of nobility shall be enacted, and no person holding any office of profit or trust in said islands, shall, without the consent of the Congress of the United States, accept any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, queen, prince, or foreign State.

That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

That the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

That slavery shall not exist in said islands; nor shall involuntary servitude exist therein except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances.

That no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed; and no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights. No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary or sectarian institution as such. Polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited.

That no money shall be paid out of the treasury except in pursuance of an appropriation by law.

That the rule of taxation in said islands shall be uniform.

That no bill which may be enacted into law shall embrace more than one subject, and that subject shall be expressed in the title of the bill.

That no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized.

That all money collected on any tax levied or assessed for a special purpose shall be treated as a special fund in the treasury and paid out for such purpose only.

Sec. 4. That all expenses that may be incurred on account of the Government of the Philippines for salaries of officials and the conduct of their offices and departments, and all expenses and obligations contracted for the internal improvement or development of the islands, not, however, including defenses, barracks, and other works undertaken by the United States, shall, except as otherwise specifically provided by the Congress, be paid by the Government of the Philippines.

Sec. 5. That the statutory laws of the United States hereafter enacted shall not apply to the Philippine Islands, except when they specifically so provide, or it is so provided in this Act.

Sec. 6. That the laws now in force in the Philippines shall continue in force and effect, except as altered, amended, or modified herein, until altered, amended, or repealed by the legislative authority herein provided or by Act of Congress of the United States.

Sec. 7. That the legislative authority herein provided shall have power, when not inconsistent with this Act, by due enactment to amend, alter, modify, or repeal any law, civil or criminal, continued in force by this Act as it may from time to time see fit.

This power shall specifically extend with the limitation herein provided as to the tariff to all laws relating to revenue and taxation in effect in the Philippines.

Sec. 8. That general legislative power, except as otherwise herein provided, is hereby granted to the Philippine Legislature, authorized by this Act.

Sec. 9. That all the property and rights which may have been acquired in the Philippine Islands by the United States under the treaty of peace with Spain, signed December tenth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, except such land or other property as has been or shall be designated by the President of the United States for military and other reservations of the Government of the United States, and all lands which may have been subsequently acquired by the Government of the Philippine Islands by purchase under the provisions of sections sixty-three and sixty-four of the Act of Congress approved July first, nineteen hundred and two, except such as may have heretofore been sold and disposed of in accordance with the provisions of said Act of Congress, are hereby placed under the control of the government of said islands to be administered or disposed of for the benefit of the inhabitants thereof, and the Philippine Legislature shall have power to legislate with respect to all such matters as it may deem advisable; but acts of the Philippine Legislature with reference to land, timber, and mining, hereafter enacted, shall not have the force of law until approved by the President of the United States: *Provided*, That upon the approval of such an act by the Governor General, it shall be by him forthwith transmitted to the President of the United States, and he shall approve or disapprove the same within six months from and after its enactment and submission for his approval, and if not disapproved within such time it shall become a law the same as if it had been specifically approved: *Provided further*, That where lands in the Philippine Islands have been or may be reserved for any public purpose of the United States, and, being no longer required for the purpose for which reserved, have been or may be, by order of the President, placed under the control of the government of said islands to be administered for the benefit of the inhabitants thereof, the order of the President shall be regarded as effectual to give the government of said islands full control and power to administer and dispose of such lands for the benefit of the inhabitants of said islands.

Sec. 10. That, while this Act provides that the Philippine Government shall have the authority to enact a tariff law, the trade relations between the islands

and the United States shall continue to be governed exclusively by laws of the Congress of the United States: *Provided*, That tariff acts or acts amendatory to the tariff of the Philippine Islands shall not become law until they shall receive the approval of the President of the United States, nor shall any act of the Philippine Legislature affecting the currency or coinage laws of the Philippines become a law until it has been approved by the President of the United States: *Provided further*, That the President shall approve or disapprove any act mentioned in the foregoing proviso within six months from and after its enactment and submission for his approval, and if not disapproved within such time it shall become a law the same as if it had been specifically approved.

SEC. 11. That no export duties shall be levied or collected on exports from the Philippine Islands, but taxes and assessments on property and license fees for franchises, and privileges, and internal taxes, direct or indirect, may be imposed for the purposes of the Philippine Government and the provincial and municipal governments thereof, respectively, as may be provided and defined by acts of the Philippine Legislature heretofore enacted, and, where necessary to anticipate taxes and revenues, bonds and other obligations may be issued by the Philippine Government or any provincial or municipal government therein, as may be provided by law and to protect the public credit: *Provided, however*, That the entire indebtedness of the Philippine Government created by the authority conferred herein shall not exceed at any one time the sum of \$10,000,000, exclusive of those obligations known as friar land bonds, nor that of any province or municipality a sum in excess of seven per centum of the aggregate tax valuation of its property at any one time.

SEC. 12. That general legislative powers in the Philippines, except as herein otherwise provided, shall be vested in a legislature which shall consist of two houses, one the senate and the other the house of representatives, and the two houses shall be designated "The Philippine Legislature": *Provided*, That, until the Philippine Legislature as herein provided shall have been organized, the existing Philippine Legislature shall have all legislative authority herein granted to the Government of the Philippine Islands, except such as may now be within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Philippine Commission, which is so continued until the organization of the legislature herein provided for the Philippines. When the Philippine Legislature shall have been organized, the exclusive legislative jurisdiction and authority exercised by the Philippine Commission shall thereafter be exercised by the Philippine Legislature.

SEC. 13. That the members of the Senate of the Philippines, except as herein provided, shall be elected for terms of six and three years, as hereinafter provided, by the qualified electors of the Philippines. Each of the senatorial districts defined as hereinafter provided shall have the right to elect two senators. No person shall be an elective member of the senate of the Philippines who is not a qualified elector and over thirty years of age, and who is not able to read and write either the Spanish or English language, and who has not been a resident of the Philippines for at least two consecutive years and an actual resident of the senatorial district from which chosen for a period of at least one year immediately prior to his election.

SEC. 14. That the members of the house of representatives shall, except as herein provided, be elected triennially by the qualified electors of the Philippines. Each of the representative districts hereinafter provided for shall have the right to elect one representative. No person shall be an elective member of the house of representatives who is not a qualified elector and over twenty-five years of age, and who is not able to read and write either the Spanish or English language, and who has not been an actual resident of the district from which elected for at least one year immediately prior to his election.

SEC. 15. That until otherwise provided by the Philippine Legislature herein provided for the qualifications of voters for senators and representatives in the Philippines and all officers elected by the people shall be as follows:

Every male citizen of the Philippines twenty-one years of age or over (except insane and feeble-minded persons and those convicted in a court of competent jurisdiction of an infamous offense since the thirteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight), who shall have been a resident of the Philippines for one year and of the municipality in which he shall offer to vote for six months next preceding the day of voting, and who is comprised within one of the following classes:

(a) Those who prior to the thirteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, held the office of captain municipal, gobernadorcillo, alcalde, tenientes, cabeza de barangay, or member of any ayuntamiento.

(b) Those who own real property to the value of five hundred pesos, or who annually pay thirty pesos or more of the established taxes.

(c) Those who are able to read and write either Spanish, English, or a native language.

SEC. 16. That for the purposes of the first election hereafter to the Philippine Legislature, the Philippine Islands shall be divided by the Philippine Commission into twelve senate and ninety representative districts. In establishing senate and representative districts the commission shall establish in the territory not now represented in the Philippine Assembly one senate and nine representative districts. The first election under the provisions of this Act shall be held on the first Tuesday of June, nineteen hundred and fifteen, and there shall be chosen at such election one senator from each senate district for a term of three years and one for six years. Thereafter one senator from each district shall be elected from each senate district for a term of six years. That at said first election each representative district shall elect one representative for a term of three years, and triennially thereafter: *Provided*, That the Governor General of the Philippine Islands shall appoint, without the consent of the senate and without restriction as to residence, senators and representatives who will, in his opinion, best represent the senate district and those representative districts which may be included in the territory not now represented in the Philippine Assembly: *Provided further*, That thereafter elections shall be held only on such days and under such regulations as to ballots, voting, and qualifications of electors as may be prescribed by the Philippine Legislature, to which is hereby given authority to redistrict the Philippine Islands and modify, amend, or repeal any provision of this section.

SEC. 17. That the terms of office of elective senators and representatives shall be six and three years, respectively, from the sixteenth of October following their election. In case of vacancy among the elective members of the senate or in the house of representatives, special elections may be held in the districts wherein such vacancy occurred under such regulations as may be prescribed by law, but senators or representatives elected in such cases shall hold office only for the unexpired portion of the term wherein the vacancy occurred. Senators and representatives appointed by the Governor General shall hold office until removed by the Governor General.

SEC. 18. That the senate and house of representatives, respectively, shall be the sole judges of the elections, returns, and qualifications of their elective members, and each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member. Both houses shall convene at the capital on the sixteenth day of October next following the election and organize by the election of a speaker or a presiding officer, a clerk, and a sergeant at arms for each house, and such other officers and assistants as may be required. The legislature shall hold annual sessions, commencing on the sixteenth day of October, or, if the sixteenth day of October be a legal holiday, then on the first day following which is not a legal holiday, in each year. The legislature may be called in special session at any time by the Governor General for general legislation, or for action on such specific subjects as he may designate. No special session shall continue longer than thirty days, exclusive of Sundays. The legislature is hereby given the power and authority to change the date of the commencement of its annual sessions.

The senators and representatives shall receive an annual compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the Philippine Islands. The senators and representatives shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SEC. 19. That every bill and joint resolution, which shall have passed both houses of the legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the Governor General. If he approve the same he shall sign it; but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, which shall enter the objections at large on its journal and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of the members elected to that house, shall agree to pass the same, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of all the members elected to that house it shall be sent to the Governor General, who shall transmit the same to the President of the United States. The vote of each house shall be by the yeas and nays,

and the names of the members voting for and against shall be entered on the journal. If the President of the United States approve the same he shall sign it and it shall become a law. If he shall not approve same he shall return it to the Governor General so stating, and it shall not become a law: *Provided*; That if any bill or joint resolution shall not be returned by the Governor General as herein provided within twenty days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him the same shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law: *Provided further*, That the President of the United States shall approve or disapprove an Act submitted to him under the provisions of this section within six months from and after its enactment and submission for his approval; and if not approved within such time, it shall become a law the same as if it had been specifically approved. The Governor General shall have the power to veto any particular item or items of an appropriation bill, but the veto shall not affect the item or items to which he does not object. The item or items objected to shall not take effect except in the manner heretofore provided in this section as to bills and joint resolutions returned to the legislature without his approval.

All laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature shall be reported to the Congress of the United States, which hereby reserves the power and authority to annul the same. If at the termination of any fiscal year the appropriations necessary for the support of government for the ensuing fiscal year shall not have been made, the several sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills for the objects and purposes therein specified, so far as the same may be done, shall be deemed to be reappropriated for the several objects and purposes specified in said last appropriation bill; and until the legislature shall act in such behalf the treasurer shall, when so directed by the Governor General, make the payments necessary for the purposes aforesaid.

SEC. 20. That the qualified electors of the Philippine Islands shall, on the first Tuesday in June, nineteen hundred and fifteen, and at the general elections thereafter provided for the election of senators and representatives to the Philippine Legislature, elect two Resident Commissioners to the United States, who shall be entitled to an official recognition as such by all departments upon presentation to the President of a certificate of election by the Governor General of said islands. Each of said Resident Commissioners shall, in addition to the salary and the sum in lieu of mileage now allowed by law, be allowed the same sum for stationery and for the pay of necessary clerk hire as is now allowed to the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States, to be paid out of the Treasury of the United States, and the franking privilege allowed by law to Members of Congress. No person shall be eligible to election as Resident Commissioner who is not a bona fide elector of said islands and who does not owe allegiance to the United States and who is not more than thirty years of age and who does not read and write the English language. The two Resident Commissioners elected in June, nineteen hundred and fifteen, shall hold their office from the first Monday in the month of December following until the fourth of March, nineteen hundred and twenty-two, and the term of their successors shall be for six years, beginning from the fourth of March following their election. In case of vacancy in the position of Resident Commissioner caused by resignation or otherwise, the Governor General may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Philippine Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy; but the Resident Commissioner thus elected shall hold office only for the unexpired portion of the term wherein the vacancy occurred.

SEC. 21. That the supreme executive power shall be vested in an executive officer, whose official title shall be "The Governor General of the Philippine Islands." He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and hold his office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is chosen and qualified. The Governor General shall reside in the Philippine Islands during his official incumbency, and maintain his office at the seat of government. He shall, unless otherwise herein provided, appoint, by and with the consent of the Philippine Senate, such officers as may now be appointed by the Governor General, or such as he is authorized by this Act to appoint, or whom he may hereafter be authorized by law to appoint; but appointments made while the senate is not in session shall be effective either until disapproval or until the next adjournment of the senate. He shall have general supervision and control of all of the departments and bureaus of the Government in the Philippine Islands as far as is not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, and shall be commander in chief of all locally created armed forces and militia. He may grant pardons and reprieves and

remit fines and forfeitures, and may veto any legislation enacted as herein provided. He shall submit within ten days of the opening of each regular session of the Philippine Legislature a budget of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the annual appropriation bill. He shall commission all officers that he may be authorized to appoint. He shall be responsible for the faithful execution of the laws of the Philippine Islands and of the United States operative within the Philippine Islands, and whenever it becomes necessary he may call upon the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States in the islands, or summon the posse comitatus, or call out the militia or other locally created armed forces, to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, or rebellion; and he may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the islands, or any part thereof, under martial law: *Provided*, That whenever the Governor General shall exercise the authority granted in this section, he shall at once notify the President of the United States thereof, together with the attending facts and circumstances, and the President shall have power to modify or vacate the action of the Governor General. He shall annually and at such other times as he may be required make such official report of the transactions of the government of the Philippine Islands to an executive department of the United States to be designated by the President, and his said annual report shall be transmitted to the Congress of the United States; and he shall perform such additional duties and functions as may in pursuance of law be delegated or assigned to him by the President.

SEC. 22. That, except as provided otherwise in this Act, the executive departments of the Philippine Government shall continue as now authorized by law until otherwise provided by the Philippine Legislature. When the Philippine Legislature herein provided shall convene and organize, the Philippine Commission, as such, shall cease and determine and the members thereof, except the Governor General and heads of executive departments, shall vacate their offices as members of said commission. The Philippine Legislature may thereafter by appropriate legislation increase the number or abolish any of the executive departments, or make such changes in the names and duties thereof as it may see fit, and shall provide for the appointment and removal of the heads of the executive departments by the Governor General, and may provide that heads of executive departments shall have seats in either or both houses of the legislature, with the right of debating or voting or both: *Provided*, That all executive functions of the government must be directly under the Governor General or within one of the executive departments under the supervision and control of the Governor General. There shall be established by the Philippine Legislature a bureau, to be known as the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, which said bureau shall be embraced in one of the executive departments to be designated by the Governor General, and shall have general supervision over the public affairs of the inhabitants of the territory represented in the legislature by appointive senators and representatives.

SEC. 23. That the President may from time to time designate the head of an executive department of the Philippine Government to act as Governor General in the case of a vacancy, the temporary removal, resignation, or disability of the Governor General, or his temporary absence, and the head of the department thus designated shall exercise all the powers and perform all the duties of the Governor General during such vacancy, disability, or absence.

SEC. 24. That the supreme court and the courts of first instance of the Philippine Islands shall possess and exercise jurisdiction as heretofore provided and such additional jurisdiction as shall hereafter be prescribed by law. The municipal courts of said islands shall possess and exercise jurisdiction as now provided by law, subject in all matters to such alteration and amendment as may be hereafter enacted by law; and the chief justice and associate justices of the supreme court shall hereafter be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. The judges of the court of first instance shall be appointed by the Governor General, by and with the advice and consent of the Philippine Senate: *Provided*, That the admiralty jurisdiction of the supreme court and courts of first instance shall not be changed except by Act of Congress. That in all cases pending under the operation of existing laws, both criminal and civil, the jurisdiction shall continue until final judgment and determination.

SEC. 25. That the Supreme Court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm the final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands in all actions, cases, causes, and

proceedings now pending therein or hereafter determined thereby in which the Constitution or any statute, treaty, title, right, or privilege of the United States is involved; and such final judgments or decrees may and can be reviewed, revised, reversed, modified, or affirmed by said Supreme Court of the United States on appeal or writ of error by the party aggrieved within the same time, in the same manner, under the same regulations, and by the same procedure, as far as applicable, as the final judgments and decrees of the district courts of the United States.

Sec. 26. That the Government of the Philippine Islands may grant franchises and rights, including the authority to exercise the right of eminent domain, for the construction and operation of works of public utility and service, and may authorize said works to be constructed and maintained over and across the public property of the United States, including streets, highways, squares, and reservations, and over similar property of the government of said islands, and may adopt rules and regulations under which the provincial and municipal governments of the islands may grant the right to use and occupy such public property belonging to said Provinces or municipalities: *Provided*, That no private property shall be damaged or taken for any purpose under this section without just compensation, and that such authority to take and occupy land shall not authorize the taking, use, or occupation of any land except such as is required for the actual necessary purposes for which the franchise is granted, and that no franchise or right shall be granted to any individual, firm, or corporation except under the conditions that it shall be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by the Congress of the United States, and that lands or rights of use and occupation of lands thus granted shall revert to the governments by which they were respectively granted upon the termination of the franchises and rights under which they were granted or upon their revocation or repeal. That all franchises or rights granted under this Act shall forbid the issue of stock or bonds except in exchange for actual cash or for property at a fair valuation equal to the par value of the stock or bonds so issued; shall forbid the declaring of stock or bond dividends, and, in the case of public-service corporations, shall provide for the effective regulation of the charges thereof, for the official inspection and regulation of the books and accounts of such corporations, and for the payment of a reasonable percentage of gross earnings into the treasury of the Philippine Islands or of the Province or municipality within which such franchises are granted and exercised: *Provided further*, That it shall be unlawful for any corporation organized under this Act, or for any person, company, or corporation receiving any grant, franchise, or concession from the government of said islands, to use, employ, or contract for the labor of persons held in involuntary servitude; and any person, company, or corporation so violating the provisions of this Act shall forfeit all charters, grants, or franchises for doing business in said islands, in an action or proceeding brought for that purpose in any court of competent jurisdiction by any officer of the Philippine Government, or on the complaint of any citizen of the Philippines, under such regulations and rules as the Philippine Legislature shall prescribe, and in addition shall be deemed guilty of an offense, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10,000.

Sec. 27. That, except as in this Act otherwise provided, the salaries of all the officials of the Philippines not appointed by the President, including deputies, assistants, and other employees, shall be such and be so paid out of the revenues of the Philippines as shall from time to time be determined by the Philippine Legislature. The salaries of all officers and all expenses of the offices of the various officials of the Philippines appointed as herein provided by the President shall also be paid out of the revenues of the Philippines. The annual salaries of the following-named officials appointed by the President and so to be paid shall be: The Governor General, \$18,000; in addition thereto he shall be entitled to the occupancy of the buildings heretofore used by the chief executive of the Philippines, with the furniture and effects therein, free of rental; chief justice of the supreme court, \$10,500; associate justices of the supreme court, \$10,000 each.

Sec. 28. That the provisions of the foregoing section shall not apply to provincial and municipal officials; their salaries and the compensation of their deputies, assistants, and other help, as well as all other expenses incurred by the Provinces and municipalities, shall be paid out of the provincial and municipal revenues in such manner as the Philippine Legislature shall provide.

Sec. 29. That all laws or parts of laws applicable to the Philippines not in conflict with any of the provisions of this Act are hereby continued in force and effect.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. The first section is descriptive simply of the territory to which the bill applies, and is identical with the territory at present governed by the Philippine organic act.

Section 2 of the bill is section 4 of the present organic act as amended by the act of March 23, 1912, with the following slight changes:

In line 8, after the word "islands" in the present act, the words "and as such entitled to the protection of the United States" have been omitted.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, they have been omitted from the bill as it passed the House?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator KENYON. You said line 8?

Gen. McINTYRE. Line 18, I beg your pardon. And the words, "and as such entitled to the protection of the United States," have been stricken out by the House.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is line 18 of section 2?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, they appear in the original organic act?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they appear in the original organic act.

The CHAIRMAN. But they have been omitted from the present bill?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you state why?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think that was considered surplusage. I can find no other reason.

Senator LIPPITT. Regarded as what?

Gen. McINTYRE. Regarded as surplusage—that it was unnecessary.

In the proviso to that same section, in line 7 on page 3, the words "who are citizens of the United States, or" have been inserted. Those words do not appear in the present act.

The CHAIRMAN. They appear in the present bill, do they not?

Senator LIPPITT. They do not appear in the organic act?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; they are in this bill, but they are not in the organic act.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what is the effect of the insertion of those words?

Gen. McINTYRE. The effect of the insertion of those words is to give to the Philippine Legislature the power to pass an act under which an American citizen could become a citizen of the Philippine Islands if he so desired.

The CHAIRMAN. And that is not possible now?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is not possible now. They have no authority by which a man could become a citizen of the Philippine Islands at all, because this proviso was never used. It was passed by Congress in 1912, authorizing the legislature of the Philippine Islands to pass a naturalization law, but it has not yet passed one.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the committee an estimate of the number of American citizens now resident in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. I would like to look into that, to see if I can get some more definite statement. The number is not increasing; the number is not so large now as it was shortly after the close of the insurrection. I think more Americans have left the islands than

have gone there since that time, but I should have to go back for a definite statement to the figures in the census of 1903, and I will insert those figures later, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN. You may insert them in the record.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

The census of 1903 showed:

Americans (United States)-----	8, 135
Male-----	6, 920
Female-----	1, 215

Senator KENYON. What are these Americans in the Philippine Islands principally doing?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, omitting those in the Army and those in civil office, they are distributed very generally in all classes of occupations. I should say that more are in mercantile business—importing and exporting—than in any other occupation, although some are interested in agriculture and some in mining. Practically all of the mining at present is under American auspices.

Senator KENYON. Is that done generally by corporations or by individuals?

Gen. McINTYRE. The mining is practically all by incorporated companies; but it is done in a small way, and the corporation are usually composed of a very few Americans living out there, some Filipinos, and some Spaniards.

Senator KENYON. Are there any Americans interested in sugar?

Gen. McINTYRE. There are some Americans interested in sugar, and there are some Americans interested in hemp, and some interested in coconuts, and in fact in practically all the industries. The Americans have distributed their activities quite generally, but they are not very largely interested, except in mercantile pursuits.

Senator RANSELL. Is the sugar industry growing very much?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is growing; but it has not yet reached the maximum which it reached during the Spanish period. It is very near that, and probably next year it will be just about that amount.

Senator RANSELL. Is there not quite a large area in the Philippine Islands that could grow cane sugar successfully?

Gen. McINTYRE. Very large. Well, some estimates seem extreme; but as a matter of fact, there is an immense territory in the Philippine Islands that is suitable for sugar-cane growing.

Senator RANSELL. Are the conditions there as favorable as they are in Java?

Gen. McINTYRE. The natural conditions are quite as favorable; in fact, we have reports from experts of the Department of Agriculture that, so far as the land is concerned, the conditions there are better, but, of course, the great difficulty is in the lack of labor, and in the fact that you can not get this land, which is being held up under our land laws, which are very restrictive.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the amount of land that a corporation or an individual can acquire for sugar producing?

Gen. McINTYRE. An individual can not acquire from the public domain—he can from private sources—more than 16 hectares, which is about 40 acres. And a corporation can only acquire 1,024 hectares, about 2,500 acres.

Senator LIPPITT. Then an individual can acquire only 40 acres of Government land?

Gen. McINTYRE. From the public domain, only 40 acres.

Senator KENYON. He can buy all he wants to from private parties?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; he can buy all he wants from private persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the public domain composed of what is called the "friar lands"?

Gen. McINTYRE. No. We have in the Philippine Islands—it is estimated, because an accurate survey has not been made—about 60,000,000 acres of public lands. About 30,000,000 acres of that is fairly good agricultural land and the remainder is classed as more suitable for forest purposes than for agricultural purposes, and its operation would come under the forestry bureau. The friar lands were, of course, relatively very small, about 400,000 acres; and a good deal more than one-half—I have the figures here. The total friar lands are approximately 154,000 hectares, and there has now been disposed of 96,000 hectares and there is undisposed of 58,000 hectares.

Senator RANSDELL. Of forest lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; these are friar lands. The question was as to the friar lands. And the part which has been disposed of has been, generally speaking, the part which was occupied and under cultivation by tenants. The part which has not been disposed of is very largely the land which was not under cultivation.

Senator RANSDELL. Are we to infer from your statements that the land laws are such as to prevent or make very difficult the further development of the sugar industry in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator RANSDELL. What is the difficulty, then, with those laws?

Gen. McINTYRE. The difficulty is, of course, that if you went to the Philippine Islands to become interested in sugar you would be practically forced to purchase land which had been used in the production of sugar before. That is, you could only purchase of the new land about 40 acres—that is, from the Government.

Senator RANSDELL. Yes. The balance is practically restricted, then, to that for actual settlement at the rate of not over 16 hectares, or 40 acres, to any one individual?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator RANSDELL. Then, unless we change the law, it is going to be very difficult to increase the production of sugar in the Philippine Islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. It can be quite materially increased by improving the methods of cultivation, but further than that it would be very difficult to increase it.

Senator RANSDELL. Until the natives themselves acquire this land and gradually put it into sugar?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator RANSDELL. There can be no very rapid increase?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. Gen. McIntyre, do any of the Americans locate upon any of those public lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Some of them.

Senator SHAFROTH. And live on the lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; and live on the lands.

Senator SHAFROTH. What proportion of Americans do that? Can you estimate how many?

Gen. McINTYRE. I should say very few. I take it that not more than a thousand Americans in the entire Philippine Islands have occupied lands, and a great many of those have not acquired their lands directly from the Government; they have acquired lands from prior private owners.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then, they do not till the soil themselves—the Americans—but where they do have holdings they lease them, generally, do they?

Gen. McINTYRE. That would be true very largely, though not absolutely. There are some Americans, of course, who have taken up lands, men who have been teamsters with the Army, or men who have been soldiers and were discharged over there; they start out very much as the same men do in this country, and they have cultivated the land themselves.

Senator RANSELL. What are the principal agricultural crops in the Philippines besides sugar, rice, and hemp?

Gen. McINTYRE. The copra, or product of the coconut, the product is sold in the Islands altogether as copra; that is, the meat of the coconut is dried, and that is sold for the purpose of making coconut oil. Then there is tobacco which is produced there.

Senator SHAFROTH. Gen. McIntyre, referring to the subject that I have been asking you about, could you give an estimate of the proportion of Americans who take up land, compared to the other people who till lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; I will be glad to put in the record the best information I can get on that point.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

In the 1903 census 815,453 persons were reported as engaged more or less extensively in agriculture. Of this number, 99.8 per cent were Filipinos. Of the remainder there were 778 classed as white, comprising American and Europeans. The number of American owners has been increased, but the total number would be less than 1,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there the same limitation on the acquisition of the friar lands, limiting them to 40 acres for an individual and 2,500 acres for a corporation, that exists as to the acquisition of lands on the public domain?

Gen. McINTYRE. The understanding is that there is no such limitation under the law. It was so held by the attorney general of the Philippine Islands, and by the Attorney General of the United States. It was held that the lands purchased from the friars were the property of the Philippine Government, as distinguished from the property of the United States in lands which were being administered by the Philippine Government, and that there was no restriction on the amount which could be sold an individual or a corporation, other than the restriction which the Philippine Legislature itself might put upon it. At present, however, the sales are being restricted.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us how the payments are being made for those friar lands? Are they all cash, or on time?

Gen. McINTYRE. The original act and the act which is in force, contemplate the sale of these lands to the tenants who have been occupying the lands, in so far as they were occupied; and they

provided for deferred payments at the rate of interest provided for the bonds; and the period to be such that the entire number of payments would be made before the bonds became due. That is, most of the lands were sold on 20 annual payments, and the deferred payments bore the interest which the bonds bore—that is, 4 per cent interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the bonds aggregate \$7,500,000?

Gen. McINTYRE. Seven million dollars of bonds; and the amount paid for the lands was a little less than \$7,000,000.

Senator RANSELL. Were all the lands which the friars owned acquired by the Philippine Government?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; they still own some lands. The acquirement was by private contract—that is, it was a mutual agreement—and they bought all of the lands the Government thought it was essential for it to buy; and of course they were also limited to those which the friars were willing to sell.

Senator RANSELL. Do they own any considerable body of land still?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, nothing as compared to these lands; but still they have holdings that are of considerable value, but not so much in quantity; most of it has been disposed of. They still own some lands.

Senator LIPPITT. Was there not one lot of those friar lands sold in a large block, some 50,000 acres in one bulk?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. That was the San Jose estate in Mindoro. That was sold in bulk. That was an estate which was not in a populous section; in fact, it was an unoccupied estate, and it was sold in that way.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that estate still held in bulk; what has become of it?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is still held in bulk, and they are gradually putting the land in sugar, although they have got as yet only a very small part of it in sugar.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that owned by Americans?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. You speak of these limitations in regard to the development of sugar, due to the difficulty of acquiring land. Have the Americans bought, or do they own, sugar lands to any extent in the Philippine Islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. The only holdings of which I know are, first, this San Jose estate, which would be the largest sugar estate if it were under cultivation; but of course it was wild land when it was purchased, and I understand that only about 6,000 acres of it have been planted—

Senator RANSELL (interposing). What do you mean by "wild land"; do you mean covered by timber or forest growth?

Gen. McINTYRE. Partly by forest growth and partly by this wild grass—cogon grass.

Senator RANSELL. Is that quite difficult to get rid of?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is quite difficult to get rid of, and it is quite expensive to put the cane in the first year; and in order to plant cane, there is a very considerable amount of work to be done.

Senator LIPPITT. I do not suppose all of that land is suitable for sugar?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I take it that most of that estate would be; and the only question that would arise would be whether it would be more profitable to put in sugar or in rice. Ordinarily a man having land of that kind would grow rice, because all of the laborers eat rice; it is absolutely necessary; he has to grow it or buy it; so that would be a matter to be considered.

Senator LIPPITT. Those are the friar lands—that 50,000 acres?

Gen. McINTYRE. Those are friar lands.

Senator LIPPITT. Has any corporation acquired the full amount of lands from the Government that they would be entitled to for sugar purposes?

Gen. McINTYRE. I am not sure of anyone who has done that for sugar, although there are apparently a very few corporations that have purchased the limit that they were entitled to under the law.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that amount of land enough land to form an efficient sugar estate—2,500 acres?

Gen. McINTYRE. Not if you were to have a central or factor on the estate; that would not be enough to run a factory; but, of course, if there were convenient factories in the vicinity, that would be quite enough land for a small corporation.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, it would not be enough to justify the establishment of a factory with full equipment for making sugar in it?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; it would have to be developed in connection with some neighboring factory, to which factory the cane would have to be sold.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, has that fact held back the development of the sugar in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. That has to some extent; then, of course, the labor is another difficult proposition in the Philippine Islands.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean the difficulty of obtaining labor?

Gen. McINTYRE. The difficulty of obtaining labor. You see, the labor is fairly well employed, from the tropical standpoint, at present.

Senator LIPPITT. What does labor get in the Philippine Islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, the price of labor has gone up very rapidly since the Americans have been in the islands.

Senator LIPPITT. What was it to start with?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I should say that labor on agricultural lands would be about 20 cents a day with rations.

Senator RANSELL. Now?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that would have been about what the amount was when the Americans went there. I should say now it would be about three times that.

Senator RANSELL. That would be 60 cents a day?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. And men who work around the city—stevedores and men of that class—get considerably more.

Senator RANSELL. Well, that is a great deal higher than the wages paid in China and Java, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Very much. But you see we apply in the Philippine Islands the United States immigration laws, and, while, of course, labor is very cheap in the countries around there where the population is very dense, the Philippine Islands have anything but a dense population, and the labor is fairly well occupied in the present con-

ditions, and for any great development there a man has to make considerable effort to get the labor.

Senator RANSDELL. How do the wages of the sugar laborers in Cuba compare with those in the Philippine Islands; do you know?

Gen. MCINTYRE. I know that in Cuba they pay generally a good deal more than that.

Senator RANSDELL. I understand they are higher there.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SAULSBURY. You spoke about 2,500 acres not being enough for a corporation to warrant the construction of a factory. Is there any provision of law which would prevent the same men from organizing another corporation and in that way acquiring an additional amount of land?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir; under the present organic act the man who owns stock in an agricultural corporation can not own stock in another corporation engaged in agriculture.

Senator SAULSBURY. I see. So that it is not possible under the present law to efficiently organize a sugar-making company completely?

Gen. MCINTYRE. That is absolutely true at present. The only way at present would be to organize a company; and that has been done on the lands of the old owners from the Spanish times. Now, in Negros, which is one of the principal sugar-growing islands, they are organizing corporations to build these factories or centrals, but of course they expect to get their cane from the old growers, who have been producing sugar from the Spanish times.

Senator LIPPITT. They contract for that, do they?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. The growers are independent of the factory entirely in that event, are they?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; although gradually they become more or less dependent on the factory, because that is the place they have to go to sell their product.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, of course, if they build the factory they have to make a number of those contracts?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; they must do that.

Senator LIPPITT. They must make long-term contracts, so as to guarantee themselves a product for the factory?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir. I did not fully answer the question of the Senator about the friar lands, because we got away from it. We spoke of the friar sugar lands, and then we spoke of the San Jose estate. I wanted to add that quite a considerable part of the Calamba estate, another one of the friar lands, has been bought, and that is being used as a sugar estate.

Senator LIPPITT. It has been bought by the same people, do you mean?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No; not by the same people. It was on a different island; it was a somewhat analogous case, although the amount was not so large, and it has not attracted so much attention.

Senator SAULSBURY. Who bought that estate of 50,000 acres?

Gen. MCINTYRE. It was purchased by three men, Mr. Havemeyer, Mr. Welsh, and Mr. Senff, who has since died.

Senator RANSDELL. As a general proposition, when the natives or any others desire to settle on those lands at the rate of 40 acres

each, how long must they remain in possession of the lands, so as to acquire a title which they can transfer to somebody else?

Gen. McINTYRE. About five years.

Senator RANSELL. So that you have about the same restrictions that we have in the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir. That is, for homesteading; of course a man could buy his land outright and get title in that way.

Senator SHAFROTH. What do they have to pay for ordinary lands in the Philippines, bought from private parties?

Gen. McINTYRE. The price of land bought from private parties varies a good deal; and good sugar land bought where it could be utilized would be very expensive. The very fact that a man must buy from a limited number of people—that he can not go on the public domain, but is restricted to this class of lands—makes the price quite high.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, outside of sugar lands, are not the lands in the Philippines very cheap?

Gen. McINTYRE. If you want lands in small quantities they are very cheap.

Senator LIPPITT. What do you mean by "very cheap"?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is, in quantities such as you could get from the Government, you would not have to pay any more—they fix an almost nominal price; almost the same price that the Government fixes as a minimum after surveying the land; it is practically sold to you at option, and you practically have to pay what some one else is willing to offer for the land, and there is no competition. I will see if I can get the exact figures.

Senator SHAFROTH. Some one told me that raw land could be bought in the Philippines at from \$1 to \$3 an acre.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is, that could be bought at that price from the Government; they do not get that much for it.

Senator RANSELL. But you said that the Government would not sell more than 40 acres to one person?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; under those restrictions. Now, you take the friar lands, by and large, the parts that have been sold at about the rate of \$144 a hectare—that is, 2.4 acres for \$144, making it very nearly \$60 an acre. But that, of course, included land which had been occupied; it included in a great many places houses, because there were villages on these lands, and in some cases a city of considerable size would be on the land.

Senator LIPPITT. Then that is not quite a fair estimate.

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that would be rather expensive.

Senator LIPPITT. Take the large cities, like Manila, for instance, there is a good deal of land that is used for agriculture around them?

Gen. McINTYRE. In the vicinity?

Senator LIPPITT. Yes; in the vicinity, and I suppose the value of land for agricultural purposes depends largely on its position with relation to a market?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Have you any idea what agricultural land in proximity to Manila, for instance, is worth?

Gen. McINTYRE. If you will permit me, I should like to get that information and furnish it to you.

Senator LIPPITT. I did not know whether you would have it in your mind or not.

Gen. McINTYRE. No; I would have to guess.
(The statement referred to is as follows:)

The difficulty in giving the prices of agricultural land in the Philippine Islands arises from the fact that transfers by sale are so rare that the price is not even approximately fixed, it being so largely dependent on how much the owner may need money or how much the purchaser may desire a particular piece of land. Good government lands in the Philippine Islands may be purchased at \$2 per acre. The matter, however, is complicated by the fact that land which has been lying fallow for a number of years in the Philippine Islands can not be cleared for the first crop at a less cost than \$6 per acre, while frequently the cost for clearing for the first crop would not be less than \$20 per acre. Taking actual sales of lands near Manila and other cities, under cultivation but without valuable improvements, about \$50 per acre would seem to be the average value of first-class lands.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. McIntyre, you stated that about 60,000,000 acres of the public domain still remain?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us about what the amount of government domain was at the beginning of the American occupation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, the amount has not greatly diminished; the errors in guessing the total are greater than the amount that has been disposed of; we have disposed of very little.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that due largely to the limitations, or to the want of demand?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think it is due largely to the limitations, and to the fact that for a number of years it was difficult to get people who desired the land; that is people who were desirous of owning land; there had never been any difficulty about getting lands in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Philippine Government—the central or insular government—levy any tax on lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. The central government does not, but all the provincial and municipal governments do. The land tax is collected by the provincial treasurer.

The CHAIRMAN. It is analogous to our condition, then, where counties and cities and States levy taxes on lands in this country, but the Federal Government does not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; the central government levies no land tax.

Senator LIPPITT. I would like to ask you, Gen. McIntyre, where this land that the Government owns is situated? When you say they own this land, do you mean all these great number of uninhabited islands, or do you mean land that is of some use?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, the land is of some use, but of course you will understand that it is the land which is remaining after selection; you see the people have selected their land, and they have selected it much more with reference to the centers of population than with reference to the value.

Senator LIPPITT. I would like to go further back than that. What was this land that our Government acquired as a result of the conquest of the islands; was that land that had never been in individual ownership? Was it simply unappropriated land?

Gen. McINTYRE. It was the Crown lands of Spain, the public lands which had never been in private ownership.

Senator LIPPITT. Crown lands; did Spain assume to own all of the land in the Philippines at one time?

Gen. McINTYRE. At one time, yes.

Senator LIPPITT. And then Spain gradually gave private title to the lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; private title.

Senator LIPPITT. And what they did not give private title to belonged to Spain?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it belonged to Spain.

Senator LIPPITT. And so the public lands are composed of everything that Spain had not given title to?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. And all the land that they had not given title to belonged to the Spanish Government?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. So that a large part of this public land is of no use and would not be of any use for many years?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is correct.

Senator LIPPITT. Unless the Philippines had an enormous increase in population?

Gen. McINTYRE. Unless they increase very rapidly.

Senator LIPPITT. Is there any great quantity of it that is so located that it might naturally be taken up if it was free to be taken up in the easiest way?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think so. The land which is now occupied and owned is the land near the centers of population, and it would be simply a question of extending out a little farther.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. But the Philippines, with the exception of one or two islands, are so settled that the land is not what we would call far from a settlement at all in the United States; there is very little of it like that.

Senator KENYON. But some of those settlements would not be very desirable to live near, would they? You spoke awhile ago of the non-Christian people—the wild people:

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I was speaking in this matter with reference to the other parts of the islands; and, of course, the non-Christian people are being developed, so that a good many of the people who have settled on the lands have gone, from choice, near the non-Christian people, with the idea of getting their labor. The wild people now do not make a situation that frightens anybody.

Senator KENYON. You spoke of the Christian population and the non-Christian population. What do you mean by that? It is sometimes pretty difficult to tell about that nowadays.

Gen. McINTYRE. I used that language as being simply the language of the law. By the Christian population in the islands they mean simply the people that had come within the church in Spanish times. The Moros are Mohammedans, and are excluded from that definition, and then the various pagan tribes are also excluded.

Senator KENYON. What is the proportion of Mohammedans and pagans?

Gen. McINTYRE. Including all of the people of the Philippine Islands, they form about one-tenth of the population.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean that would be six or seven hundred thousand?

Gen. McINTYRE. Six or seven hundred thousand.

Senator LIPPITT. I saw that Dean C. Worcester estimated in his book that there were a little over a million non-Christians in the islands.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I was using the figures of the census of 1903.

Senator SHAFROTH. He estimates them as one-eighth of the population.

Senator LIPPITT. He estimates them as a little over one-eighth.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, that would be about one-eighth.

Gen. McINTYRE. The census gives the number of Christian people as 6,987,686 and the wild people as 647,740.

Senator KENYON. What islands do they inhabit—those people that you call the “wild people”?

Gen. McINTYRE. They occupy principally Mindanao, the large island of the southern group, and the small islands in that vicinity, and also the central part of Luzon.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a map of the islands with you?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. I will show where they are [producing map]. They are inhabiting this large island of Mindanao [indicating] and these adjacent islands, now known as the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, and then the mountainous part, right in the center of Luzon.

Senator KENYON. Do those different people mingle? Is there anything in common between these wild men and the civilized people? How do they get along together?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, as to that, conditions have changed a great deal. When we went to the Philippines there had been considerable hostility between them. Take, for instance, those wild people in central Luzon; there had been a great deal of hostility between those mountain wild people and the lower plains people; there was trouble between them, arising largely from the advantage which the more advanced people would take of the other in trading, and from the general hostility between them, a good deal such as we have seen in the West, except that there was the marked difference that the Christian people are not racially different from the non-Christian people there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that some of the wild people are located here [indicating on map]?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; these are generally called “Moros.”

The CHAIRMAN. Well, so as to get it into the record correctly, I will say those people in the southern part of the Philippine Archipelago?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; those in the southern part of the archipelago; also those in the mountainous part of Luzon.

The CHAIRMAN. Those in the northern part?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; or the northern central part.

The CHAIRMAN. Then these wild people are widely scattered, and not centralized together?

Gen. McINTYRE. With the exception of those two groups, they are not; those two groups are quite compact. And then there are a few wild people in some of the other islands, in the mountains, but those are not numerous.

Senator LIPPITT. Take all those islands down here [indicating]; are they mostly uninhabited, or what is their condition?

Gen. McINTYRE. They are mostly inhabited; all those you see on the map are inhabited; all those that have names. Now, this island of Cebu is the most densely occupied in the archipelago.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the chief town in that island?

Gen. McINTYRE. The capital is called Cebu also; and that is the chief town. It is about the second town in business and about the third in population in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. About what population?

Gen. McINTYRE. The population of Cebu is about 40,000 and the population of the island of Cebu is between 650,000 and 700,000.

Senator RANSELL. What is the area of the whole Philippine Islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. One hundred and fifteen thousand square miles.

Senator KENYON. Is that a pagan island—Cebu?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; it is Christian. It is one of the oldest Christian islands—that is, it is the one that Magellan visited first in going to the Philippines, and it is the one to which the Christian religion first came.

Senator LIPPITT. In looking at the map I do not see how he got to it first.

Gen. McINTYRE. It seems remarkable, but he was killed on a little island called Mactan, just across the channel.

Senator LANE. How do they derive their means of subsistence on that island?

Gen. McINTYRE. On the Island of Cebu they grow quite a considerable amount of corn, and that is being developed; they have a good deal of cattle in the northern part of the island, and they grow also tobacco and some cane, and they have quite a bit of coconut; and then it is the trading center for this vicinity [indicating], so that it is one of the principal shipping points, although very little manila hemp is grown on that island.

Senator LIPPITT. You say they grow corn and that is being developed?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is not entirely a new industry, but it is being developed.

Senator KENYON. What are they doing to civilize those people—anything?

Gen. McINTYRE. Oh, yes; for instance, they have in that mountain country, where the people were hostile to strangers, built roads and trails and the people meet at markets to trade; and they have schools, and we are gradually doing everything that we can to bring them into closer touch with the civilization around them.

Senator KENYON. In case the Philippines have a government of their own, would there be any antipathy between those people of the south and the people of the north?

Gen. McINTYRE. The people of the extreme south and those of the north?

Senator KENYON. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is a matter about which there is a great difference of opinion. I think, personally, that between the Moros and the other people of the Philippine Islands there would be difficulty. I do not think what we call the other wild people would create any difficulty at all; that is, any serious difficulty. The Moros are perhaps more likely to give trouble, although that, we think, is disappearing.

The CHAIRMAN. How many different dialects are there in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. That, again, is a question depending very largely on how much of a difference you would require to classify language as a distinct dialect. People usually say there are about 17 dialects. Generally speaking, there are about 5 that are quite distinct. But even in those cases, a Filipino—for instance a Tagalog from the vicinity of Manila—could go to the Visayan Islands, where the language is quite distinct from his own, and he could acquire the Visayan language in quite a short time; whereas the average American has a great difficulty in doing so—and I personally think that an educated American has more difficulty than a man who has no education.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there would be 17 possible dialects, but only 5 very distinct and marked ones?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I will put the exact number in, but I will say that is about correct.

(The statement referred to follows:)

While, as stated, there is a wide disagreement as to the number of dialects in the Philippine Islands, classing the Visayan as 1 dialect, 93 per cent of the population of the islands speak 1 of the 19 dialects. The principal of these 19 dialects are Ilocano, Pangasinan, Tagalog, Bicol, Visayan, and Sulu.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, are those written or printed dialects?

Gen. McINTYRE. All of them written. At present they use our letters. The reduction of some of these to written language, of course, followed the Spanish discovery and occupation of the islands. What we mean now when we say it is a written language is that it is a written language now, rather than prior to the Spanish occupation.

Senator KENYON. Did cannibalism exist when we went there?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; there was no cannibalism.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell the committee to what extent education has been introduced into those islands by the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. For a number of years we have had between 400,000 and 600,000 children in the public schools. We have, usually, in the islands about 700 American teachers and between 7,000 and 8,000 native teachers, so that in all the centers of population of any size at all we have had public schools and we have had a great many of what are called barrio schools, which reach the outlying districts, though you can see that we have never been able to have all of the children in the islands taught.

Senator RANSELL. English is being taught, is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. English is being taught.

Senator RANSELL. Are the children rapidly acquiring the English language?

Gen. McINTYRE. They are.

Senator RANSELL. They are fine linguists, are they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. They take to it rapidly, yes, sir; and individually they are quite progressive pupils in the schools; they do well generally in school. We have brought a number of them over to this country, and generally they have had no difficulty in keeping up with our school children in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. That tends to unify the people, does it?

Gen. McINTYRE. It tends to unify them; it assists in making them one people, instead of groups of distinct people, in that we are giving them a common language and giving them roads and, to some extent, railroads and increased transportation so that they can visit each other and get to know each other.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the expense of that education borne?

Gen. McINTYRE. The expense is borne altogether by the Philippine government. That is, the provincial and municipal governments bear some of it, but it is all from the revenues of the islands; there is no outside assistance at all. And in addition to the public schools they have private schools—more particularly with reference to the higher institutions.

Senator LANE. Coming back to the land question for a moment, you say the Government has been allowing citizens of that country and others to acquire title to lands for agricultural purposes. What percentage of Filipinos have applied for lands in proportion to the entire number—or do you know?

Gen. McINTYRE. If you will permit, I would like to put that in the record.

Senator LANE. I wish you would, because I would like to know what per cent of those are Filipinos.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

Total applications for use of public agricultural land from July 26, 1904, to June 30, 1913.....	19, 313
Total applications for purchase of public agricultural land during same period.....	892
Total applications for lease of public lands during the same period....	459
Total number of applications for free patents; that is, for land occupied previously without adjudicated title.....	15, 885

Many of the applications, for one reason or another, were not granted.

In the foregoing applications for free patents were made by Filipinos exclusively, as were most of the applications for homestead. Americans are included among the applicants for sales and for leases, but the percentage of Americans applying to purchase lands is almost negligible. In September, 1910, a list of applications for lease was examined with a view of determining the proportion thereof made by Americans or American companies, and it was found to be 27 per cent. The reason for this is that an individual may lease up to 2,500 acres, but can not purchase in excess of 40 acres.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. You see the number that have tried to get public lands is very small, and is discouraging.

Senator LANE. That is, of Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; but of course the Filipinos owned about 6,000,000 acres of land; they had title to that—

Senator RANDELL. I would like to know something about the timberlands of the Philippines—especially the United States Government lands. Is there much of that?

Gen. McINTYRE. They estimate in the Bureau of Forestry that they have about 2,400,000,000 board feet in the forests there, and the forest land, of course, covers about one-half of the public lands.

Of course a very small part of that is suitable for profitable development.

Senator RANSDALL. How does that compare with the timber wealth in Senator Lane's State of Oregon? 2,600,000,000 board feet does not signify very much to me. Oregon is a great timber State; how much is it, as compared with Oregon, do you know?

Gen. McINTYRE. My estimate is that this timber we are considering, being hardwood, makes it more valuable.

Senator RANSDALL. More valuable than the timber of Oregon?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; if it could be developed. But of course the timber of Oregon can be utilized so much more readily than that in the Philippines.

Senator RANSDALL. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. You take the timber in the South—the pine lands; where we would have a forest—and every tree would be just like its brother, and there would be a close stand and an even stand, and transportation within easy reach; you could utilize that very readily; but in the Philippines it is a very different matter. In an acre of that land you would have as many varieties as trees that you could use.

Senator RANSDALL. And some of those varieties are very valuable?

Gen. McINTYRE. Some of them are very valuable, but the condition described is one of the difficulties and one of the reasons why it does not lend itself to profitable utilization, as do the pinelands, for instance, in the South—those are the ones I am most familiar with—or the timberlands in Oregon. And right now we are buying in the Philippines quite a considerable amount of timber from the Pacific coast, notwithstanding our forests out there.

Senator RANSDALL. What are the varieties of timber in the Philippines chiefly?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, all their names are different from ours; they have what is called Philippine mahogany; and of this they have several varieties; they have narra tindalo, ipel, and calantas; but all of those timbers are different from our United States timber.

Senator RANSDALL. But somewhat similar to the mahogany of commerce?

Gen. McINTYRE. Somewhat similar to the mahogany of commerce; yes. Those are the hardwoods. And, then, they have other woods which are much more like the timber of the Pacific coast of the United States.

Senator RANSDALL. Do they have walnut?

Gen. McINTYRE. I do not think so, although they have nut trees that are somewhat similar in texture. I have never seen a walnut there.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do they permit people to take up any of these forest lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Under the forest system the utilization of the timber is leased, and the timber is cut under the supervision of the bureau of forestry and so much is paid for the timber utilized. In other words, you can not acquire title to forest lands of the government, but the timber is cut under government supervision, and it is paid for according to the amount which is removed.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have you any statistics showing how much timber is cut in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; I will put that in the record, if I may, in order to be accurate.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

From 1901 to 1913, inclusive, approximately 67,000,000 cubic feet.

Senator LIPPITT. I suppose coming under the direction and auspices of the forest service makes it a pretty expensive way of cutting timber?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think they would be inclined to be quite liberal in order to encourage the development of the forests. But the difficulties arise from lack of transportation and from the distribution of the growth of trees and the fact that for a great period of time the thing was done very wastefully. They cut the timber which could be readily transported, and absolutely cleaned those places up, so that the timber which is left is the timber which is somewhat more difficult to get at.

Senator LANE. Is it the Filipinos that had this wasteful method of cutting timber?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, it was under the Spanish Government.

Senator LANE. Then that was before our occupation of the islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; and in a wholesale way, I think it was done by the Spaniards.

Senator LIPPITT. We were talking about the number of non-Christian people in the islands a while ago, and you read those statistics. Is the estimate made by Dean C. Worcester generally acceded to as being in considerable measure accurate; or is there any controversy over it in any way?

Gen. McINTYRE. There would be a controversy over it, for this reason, that we were taking the population from the census, which was of necessity not exact with reference to the wild people; it was almost impossible to get it exactly; so that these census numbers were criticized even at the time they were published, although, of course, they were well intentioned—every attempt was made to have them correct.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand; they did the best they could.

Gen. McINTYRE. And Mr. Worcester has had direct charge of these wild people practically ever since our occupation, except the Moros; they were under other jurisdiction. So that he gives the number based on his own study and observation of the situation; and a man would have some temerity, or at least he would lack confidence in disputing Mr. Worcester's figures, because Mr. Worcester has had better opportunities of getting this information than others.

Senator LIPPITT. In other words, there is a fair presumption, perhaps, that the number of non-Christian or semicivilized or uncivilized people is considerably larger than those census figures indicated?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think quite likely that is true.

Senator LIPPITT. Perhaps Mr. Worcester is not far out of the way.

Gen. McINTYRE. I did not intend to raise any question as to that.

Senator LIPPITT. No; but we merely wanted to know what the facts probably were.

Now, how do the people dress in the Philippine Islands? Are there any considerable number that are practically without clothes?

Gen. McINTYRE. Only among the wild people, and among those the dress varies somewhat with the section and the tribe. The people in the mountains of Luzon—the men wear very little clothing; the women are modest.

Senator LIPPITT. The same as the people in the tropical countries of India and Ceylon?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the women are modestly clothed.

Senator LIPPITT. What does that mean, "modestly clothed"?

Gen. McINTYRE. I mean they cover those parts which we usually regard the exposure of as immodest.

Senator LIPPITT. Do they wear a gown which covers the whole body?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; practically the whole body.

Senator LIPPITT. Take such people as the Moros; would the women very generally be unclothed, from our standpoint?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the Moros in general are quite well clothed; that is, differently clothed from us, but quite well clothed.

Senator LIPPITT. Take the wilder people there in Luzon, are they generally clothed?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the men there, except where they wear a coat or a wrap or something for very cold weather, wear a—

Senator LIPPITT (interposing). Breechclout?

Gen. McINTYRE (continuing). Little more than a gee string. But in the constabulary we have companies composed of these wild people, and they go barelegged and barefooted in the mountains, but they wear coats, and they adapt themselves to the custom of wearing clothing gradually.

Senator LIPPITT. Take the children around Manila, are they ordinarily clothed?

Gen. McINTYRE. They ordinarily are. You take Manila: The people there are quite as well clothed as in any of our West Indian Tropics.

Senator LIPPITT. In most of our West Indian islands they are not clothed at all.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, it is somewhat similar in Manila.

Senator LIPPITT. It is very common in the West Indian Islands to see the little children not clothed at all.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is about the way it is in the Philippines.

Senator LIPPITT. I was wondering if the situation was about the same in the Philippines.

Gen. McINTYRE. A good deal the same.

Senator LIPPITT. It is a very common thing in a tropical climate to see children 5 or 6 or 7 years old playing around the streets without anything on at all, and if they have on anything it is very limited. I suppose the conditions are about the same in Manila?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; but less so than in smaller places.

Senator LIPPITT. In the smaller places that is quite common?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; quite common.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is it not a fact that in all of the oriental countries the people wear very little clothing?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is generally true.

Senator SHAFROTH. In China, in Hongkong, in Shanghai, and even in Japan, is it not a fact that the people who work on the streets have no clothing on at all except a breech clout?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is quite true.

Senator SHAFROTH. And is it not a fact that the people of the Philippine Islands wear as much clothing, if not more, than the people of the same latitude over in Asia?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think that is decidedly true.

Senator LIPPITT. What communication is there between these different islands? Do the people go back and forth at all?

Gen. McINTYRE. They do; between some of the islands the communication is very frequent. Now, there are interisland steamships that go from Manila down to Iloilo, and some to Samar and—

Senator LIPPITT. Do they go out from Manila?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. For instance, there are regular trips from Manila to Panay and Leyte. There is constant travel from Manila to Iloilo, and from that point very frequent travel across to Negros. In fact, those islands are pretty closely connected by steamship lines. Most of the produce taken out from Negros is taken over to Iloilo.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the name of that island?

Gen. McINTYRE. Iloilo is the chief port of the Island of Panay.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those waters in the archipelago ordinarily quiet, do you know?

Gen. McINTYRE. Ordinarily; yes. Very frequently you can look out and it is a good deal like a lake, except in size and color. Of course, on the other hand, they have quite constant breezes, but the waters are not rough, although on the China Sea, going to Manila, you usually have a rough trip. But in the islands the waters are generally quiet.

Senator KENYON. What would be the best time of the year for an American to go there?

Gen. McINTYRE. I have always thought our summer time was the best, for the reason that the climate there at that time is better than it is in most places in the United States.

Senator KENYON. July and August?

Gen. McINTYRE. July and August, except for the rains, would be very good; a little later would be the best time. Their hot months are March, April, and May. The distinction there, of course, is into the wet season and the dry season rather than the hot and the cold season. But March, April, and May are the disagreeable months.

Senator KENYON. How far do they go down in the boats?

Gen. McINTYRE. To Zamboanga; you can go to Zamboanga in boats. Of course they are not sailboats. And then there are trails across the island.

Senator SHAFROTH. What is the development there in railroad building?

Gen. McINTYRE. When we went to the islands the only railroad was this railroad from Manila to Dagupan.

The CHAIRMAN. How many miles is that?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is 120 miles. Since that time they have built this road [indicating on map], which is approximately 100 miles.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state what road that is?

Gen. McINTYRE. It goes from the city of Cebu south to that point, Argao [indicating], and also to the north to Danao.

The CHAIRMAN. How many miles long is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. About 100 miles on the island of Cebu, and the same company has approximately 120 miles on the island of Panay. This line, starting from Iloilo, goes north to Capiz, on the island of Panay. Those roads are owned by the same company, the Philippine Railway.

Senator LIPPITT. Are those railroads completed and in full operation?

Gen. McINTYRE. They are completed and in operation.

Senator LANE. Are they owned by the Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; they are owned by the Philippine Railway Co., which is an American company. They have been built since we have been out there.

Senator LIPPITT. Are they profitable?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the last year they earned, in addition to the cost of operation, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent toward the payment of 4 per cent interest on their bonds.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, they are not doing anything for their stockholders and are paying about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their bonds, which are 4 per cent bonds.

Senator LIPPITT. Does the government guarantee the bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the government guarantees the bonds, and the government has to pay the balance of the interest this year.

The CHAIRMAN. The Philippine Government?

Senator LIPPITT. No.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the Philippine Government.

Senator LIPPITT. Oh, yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. And then on this 120 miles [indicating] we have a road in full operation from Manila, with branches down to a little beyond Lucena, which is the capital of Tayabas Province—that is, this line is in full operation from Manila, with branches to Cavite, Balangas, and other points.

The CHAIRMAN. How long is that?

Gen. McINTYRE. I will give you the exact mileage. It is about treble what it was. This is the same road [indicating], and the mileage is now about three times what it was.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that owned by the same Philippine Railway Co.?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; this is called the Manila Railroad Co., and they are different people altogether. The old company was English, and practically the people that owned the English road own it now.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that profitable now?

Gen. McINTYRE. It has always paid interest on its bonds, and also interest on its stock.

The CHAIRMAN. So that instead of having 120 miles of railroad there are now over 600 miles of railroad in the island?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; over 600 miles of road.

Senator LIPPITT. Are they all steam railroads?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is it not a fact that the Filipinos travel on the railroads a great deal?

Gen. McINTYRE. They do; and one of the striking facts is that in the Philippines the earnings from the passenger traffic are more than those from the freight traffic.

The CHAIRMAN. Are their freights regulated in anyway?

Gen. MCINTYRE. They are regulated. We have a board of public utility commissioners. We formerly had a rate board, but now have a board of public utility commissioners.

The CHAIRMAN. Appointed by the Governor General?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; appointed by the Governor General.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we come back to section 3 of the bill, if there are no further questions to be asked on this subject.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Section 3 is a bill of rights and is almost identical with section 5 of the present organic act.

Senator LIPPITT. May I interrupt you right there? Would it not be a good idea to have a copy of this bill printed, showing in italics the changes from the organic act?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I think it would be.

Senator SHAFROTH. Are the changes very marked between this bill and the organic act?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Section 3 you could practically pass over; there is no material change there from section 5 of the organic act. But the difficulty about putting the bill and the organic act in parallel columns is that a good deal is formulated in this bill—which I will come to in a little while—which, while it agrees with the present law, does not agree in form with the organic act; the form is quite distinct. In this section the form is that of section 5 of the organic act.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you not think the print had better be of the present law instead of the organic act?

Gen. MCINTYRE. It would be the organic act as amended.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, as amended.

Gen. MCINTYRE. We could do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You could put the new matter in italics, and put the matter which is omitted from this bill in parenthesis. I notice, however, that there is a new line in this section 3.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; in lines 13 and 14, the words "private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation" are inserted in this bill—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let me interrupt you there a moment. Suppose the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands should decide against a man who claimed that his private property had been taken for public use without just compensation; could he appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the United States?

Gen. MCINTYRE. He could appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; yes, sir.

On page 4, lines 13 and 14, the words "nor shall the law of primogeniture ever be in force in the Philippines"; those are new words which do not appear in the present law.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any special reason for inserting that language?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No, sir. It was done on the floor of the House; it was not suggested from the islands.

On page 5, beginning with line 12 and ending with line 20, beginning with the words "and no religious test shall be required," etc.; that is new, not in the present bill.

The CHAIRMAN. And also the provision beginning "no public money or property shall ever be appropriated," etc.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that entire paragraph.

Senator BRISTOW. You mean in the present law; you said in the present bill.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; I mean in the present law.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand that that provision, "no public money or property shall ever be appropriated," is all new?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is all new; it was inserted on the floor of the House.

Senator LIPPITT. From line 12 down to the provision as to polygamous marriages; that is new also?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is new also.

The CHAIRMAN. That provision that I referred to would prohibit the Legislature of the Philippine Islands from giving any support to any church or any religion?

Gen. McINTYRE. I take it that that was the intention.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any question there that would seem to require that—is there any controversy?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir. I think this was inserted more with reference to some State in the Union. You see, this is a question that has not arisen with reference to the Philippines. It was inserted on the floor of the House on motion.

Senator RANSDALL. As you understand this, would it prevent any contribution to a religious or charitable institution—one, for instance, to take care of the aged?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is possible that those words "as such" in line 19 may relate back so as not to prevent that. For instance, in the Philippine Islands there are two or three hospitals which are receiving assistance from the Government in return for service rendered.

Senator RANSDALL. It seems to me that as the work of such institutions is purely charitable, that ought not to be prohibited; and yet this would cut them out.

Senator LANE. No; the Government could pay them for their hospital work; they would pay them as a hospital, not as St. Marys Hospital, for example; I have seen that worked out.

Senator RANSDALL. I would like to see that provision very carefully examined.

Gen. McINTYRE. It was thought that the old provision, from lines 8 to 12, covered the religious question in the Philippine Islands.

Senator RANSDALL. I think that ought to be very carefully investigated, Mr. Chairman. It is so very far-reaching the way it is worded now, because there are some charitable institutions that are a wonderful help to the State.

Senator LIPPITT. It ought to be gone over very carefully. What else is there that is changed?

Gen. McINTYRE. In section 4 there is no change whatever from existing law, but it has not heretofore been formulated as a statute; and this form is identical with section 12 of the Porto Rican organic law; that is the law just as it is now.

Senator KENYON. Section 12?

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 4 of this bill is practically identical with section 12 of the Porto Rico law.

Section 5 is a statement of the present law, but it is now stated in the following form as part of section 1 of the organic act: "The

provisions of section 1891 of the Revised Statutes of 1878 shall not apply to the Philippine Islands"—and this section 5 simply formulates that, in order that it may be understood.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, the hour of 12 o'clock has arrived, and I think we had better take a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.

I have a letter from Dean C. Worcester stating that he would like to appear before the committee, and that he can illustrate his remarks with lantern slides to show the conditions in the islands before and after the American occupation.

Senator KENYON. That will be very interesting.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee took a recess until 3 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Gen. McIntyre, can you give us any explanation of the fact, to which Senator Reed called attention just before we assembled this afternoon, that the bill of rights, as contained in section 3 of the bill H. R. 18459, differs in language from the bill of rights as contained in the United States and the State constitutions?

Gen. McINTYRE. The only explanation which I could submit would perhaps not be satisfactory. It is this: That the old bill of rights in the organic act of 1902 was doubtless used as the basis; this section 3 of the bill differs from section 5 of the existing law only in two or three minor respects, which I pointed out in passing over the bill; this is copied from the bill of rights which is now in effect in the Philippine Islands.

Senator SHAFROTH. I presume when independence is given to the Philippines this would be abrogated, anyhow?

Gen. McINTYRE. Oh, yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. And then they will form their own constitution, making such provisions in their bill of rights as they deem proper.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how about trials by jury?

Gen. McINTYRE. Their system does not call for trial by jury.

Senator REED. They have the old Spanish law there, as much as it exists anywhere, have they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the old Spanish law based on the Roman civil law. And under those codes which they had in use there was no jury, and even where they have suggested and to some extent applied a somewhat similar practice it was always different from our jury system. It consisted principally of having, to sit with the judge, two "assessors," or two lay judges, as to the facts of the case; but it was a very different proposition from what we understand by trial by jury.

Senator KENYON. Do they have capital punishment in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have capital punishment.

Senator KENYON. By the judges?

Gen. McINTYRE. By the judges; yes.

With reference to capital punishment in the Philippines, the jury system has not been extended to the islands, and all criminal cases are heard and determined by the judges alone. However, the code of criminal procedure in force in the islands, being paragraph 50 of General Order No. 58 of the military

governor, as modified by section 4 of act No. 194 of the Philippine Commission (Comp. Phil. Acts, sec. 3305), provides:

“ * * * The record of all cases in which the death penalty shall have been imposed by any court of first instance, whether the defendant shall have appealed or not, and of all cases in which appeals shall have been taken, shall be forwarded to the supreme court for investigation and judgment as law and justice shall dictate.”

The records in such cases must be forwarded to the supreme court within 20 days, but not earlier than 15 days, after rendition of sentence.

The CHAIRMAN. But in the main, this bill of rights is about the same as was incorporated in the organic act?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; the organic act which is now in force. In fact, there are but two or three little changes; those which I have enumerated here to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then we come to section 5 which provides that the statutory laws of the United States hereafter enacted shall not apply to the Philippine Islands except when they specifically so provide, or it is so provided in this act?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is in the present law, but in section 1 of the present law it is stated briefly as follows:

The provisions of section 1891 of the Revised Statutes of 1878 shall not apply to the Philippine Islands.

That is the section of the Revised Statutes which provides that statutory laws of Congress shall extend to all the territory of the United States, and the Philippine Islands are thus exempted in the original organic act; so that this is simply a formulation of that.

The CHAIRMAN. So that only those laws enacted by Congress apply to the Philippines which are made specifically applicable to those islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will pass to section 6 of the bill.

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 6 is a formulation of the present law as contained in the present organic act, but which was not put in that form, and this form is identical with section 8 of the organic act of Porto Rico—this section 6.

In section 7 the first paragraph is identical with section 15 of the organic act of Porto Rico; and identical power was granted to the Philippine Legislature originally, but it was not formulated in the organic act.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, the next paragraph seems to be new.

Gen. McINTYRE. The next paragraph is by way of construction in part of the general act and is new.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what does that provide, in line 9, page 7?

Gen. McINTYRE. The theory was apparently that it was necessary to state, lest there be some misunderstanding, that the law should be extended to the tariff, with limitations, and to the laws affecting revenue and taxation generally. It would perhaps be included, anyhow, even if that were omitted.

Senator REED. This is intended to give that legislature the right to enact a tariff law of their own, disregarding any laws which we may pass; is that the purpose?

Gen. McINTYRE. Any law which you have passed, Senator Reed; this authorizes them to amend or alter, and the subsequent sections limit that to this extent, that any tariff act which they pass must be approved by the President of the United States before it becomes

effective, and they can not pass a tariff act which will affect the trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands; that is subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress.

Senator REED. In what paragraph?

Gen. McINTYRE. That comes in section 10, on page 9 of the bill.

Senator REED. Well, it seems to me that those two sections are in conflict. I will read them, Mr. Chairman:

SEC. 7. That the legislative authority—

That means the Philippine Legislature—

herein provided shall have power, when not inconsistent with this act, by due enactment to amend, alter, modify, or repeal any law, civil or criminal, continued in force by this act as it may from time to time see fit.

Now, that, of course, means all laws which have been heretofore enacted.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Now, we come to the limitations:

This power shall specifically extend with the limitation herein provided as to the tariff to all laws relating to revenue and taxation in effect in the Philippines.

Well, I see that reads somewhat differently from the way I thought. It depends on punctuation; as I read it at first, I read it, "This power shall specifically extend with the limitation herein provided as to tariff."

Gen. McINTYRE. I see.

Senator REED. "To all laws relating to revenue and taxation affecting the Philippines"; and I thought those provisions would conflict. It would be much plainer if you would say: "With the limitations provided in section 10."

Senator KENYON. Should there not be a comma after the word "extend" in line 9, and after the word "tariff" in line 10? That would make it plainer.

Senator REED. Now, section 10 provides—

that while this act provides that the Philippine Government shall have the authority to enact a tariff law, the trade relations between the islands and the United States shall continue to be governed exclusively by laws of the Congress of the United States.

The purpose of that, of course, is plain enough, and I suppose the language can be understood. I read it hurriedly the first time, and I thought those two provisions were in conflict; I do not believe now that they are.

The CHAIRMAN. It is expressed in a rather clumsy way.

Senator REED. I would suggest as an amendment in section 7, instead of the words "herein provided," the words "provided in section 10 of this act," unless there is some other section covering the same subject; and then it would provide, "this power shall specifically extend, with the limitation provided in section 10," as to the tariff, etc.

Senator KENYON. Are there any other sections where the tariff is referred to generally?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir; that would close that matter.

Senator KENYON. It should read, "herein provided in section 10."

Senator REED. And then we could strike out the words "as to tariff."

The CHAIRMAN. We will make a note of that, and then go on to the next section, section 8.

I want to ask you, Gen. McIntyre, about immigration. Does that include immigration laws? Does Congress now have jurisdiction over immigration?

Gen. McINTYRE. It probably would, Mr. Chairman. As this bill was originally reported to the House, I think, or at least in one of its previous forms, the second paragraph of section 7 included the words at the end, "to immigration in the Philippine Islands," and those words were stricken out in the House. Whether this striking out would simply have the effect of removing the specific reference thereto, or would have the effect of not permitting the Philippine Legislature to legislate with reference to that matter is in question.

The CHAIRMAN. As it is now, the Chinese immigration is excluded?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; Chinese immigration is excluded.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Japanese immigration to the islands excluded?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that is, it is not excluded.

The CHAIRMAN. No; it is not excluded provided they come within certain conditions.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is correct. We have the United States immigration laws exactly.

Senator KEYON. That provision was stricken out in the committee of the House, as it was in the original bill. I wonder why that was?

Gen. McINTYRE. My understanding was that Judge Towner, of your State, Senator Kenyon, recommended that it be stricken out, on the ground that that is a national question rather than a question for the Philippine Islands alone, and I do not think the matter was discussed; I think that had that effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Section 8 of this bill is general, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 8 is new in form, because in the original organic act the powers of the legislature were not formulated.

Senator REED. Well, I am interested in that question of immigration. I do not see where it is specifically covered thus far.

In section 2, in the proviso, it reads:

That the Philippine Legislature, herein provided for, is hereby authorized to provide by law for the acquisition of Philippine citizenship by those natives of the Philippine Islands who do not come within the foregoing provisions, the natives of the insular possessions of the United States, and such other persons residing in the Philippine Islands who are citizens of the United States, or who could become citizens of the United States under the laws of the United States if residing therein.

Now, that does not put any limitation upon their right to go further; at least it is not clear. And my own judgment is that as long as we have any responsibility in these islands we ought to regard the question of immigration and citizenship pretty carefully.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, we will make a note of that, then, and go on to the next section.

Senator SHAFROTH. There is a great antipathy between the Filipinos and Chinese; and it is more marked, and decidedly so, than is the case between any others of the oriental people. A great many Chinese live in the Philippines; and the past history of the country shows that there has been an intention, at some times, to subjugate the Philippines.

Senator REED. Well, I had this in mind in what I said—I use this purely as an illustration; but let us assume that the granting of complete independence to the Philippines should not occur for some years; we can not tell when it will come; so far as I am concerned, I would be quite willing to grant it to-morrow.

Senator SHAFROTH. So would I.

Senator REED. But it is not the purpose of this bill to grant it. And the next election that we have may reverse these policies—at least some of us believe that may be the case. Accordingly, this bill which we are enacting might remain a law for many years; long periods of time might intervene.

Now, suppose that Japan, for instance, was to conclude that it wanted to lay the foundation for some difficulties with the United States; that country is not far distant from the Philippines. Suppose it should begin to assist the colonization, either under national patronage, or without that being apparent on the face of it, the purpose being to fill these islands with a large number of citizens of Japan, and possibly with the veterans of their armies. It might be a very necessary thing that this Government, being charged with the responsibility of the welfare of those islands, and also, of course, the responsibility for the preservation of the integrity of any possession of ours, should have the right at all times to prohibit that sort of movement.

Now, I am using Japan purely to illustrate and not to single that particular country out; the same illustration might be used with reference to any other nation.

So I think, Mr. Chairman, that before we let this bill pass from us that question ought to be carefully considered by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say for the information of Senator Reed that we are not considering this bill paragraph by paragraph now, but only giving Gen. McIntyre an opportunity to present his suggestions. But I will make a note here of your suggestion, Senator Reed, to be especially considered when we come to that point.

Will you take up section 9 of the bill, Gen. McIntyre?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Section 9 of this bill is section 12 of the Philippine organic act as at present, with slight modification. It has in addition a clause giving the Philippine Government control of the lands which were purchased under the old organic act from the religious orders in the Philippine Islands. That is, the language from line 21, page 7, to line 2, page 8, is inserted for that purpose.

Senator REED. May I ask if this is intended to cover the lands that we acquired by purchase from the church?

Gen. MCINTYRE. This includes the entire public domain, and they have inserted in the bill that specific clause with reference to those lands, so that those lands are placed entirely under the control of the Philippine Government. As a matter of fact, it really does not change the law at all, because that is the law now.

Senator REED. Well, is there any limitation in this bill such as in our law with reference to those lands being acquired in large volume by corporations, for example?

Gen. MCINTYRE. This bill does not touch that question at all; it continues in force the present restrictions, but it does grant to the Philippine Legislature the power to alter or amend those limitations.

Senator REED. Yes. So that if I understand you correctly, this bill, as it stands, amounts to this, that whereas we have spent a large amount of money to acquire these lands and have at least retained a control of them to the extent of providing that not more than a certain amount in acreage shall go to any one individual or any one corporation, while we preserve those limitations in this bill, we give to the Philippine Legislature the right, if they see fit to do so, to wipe them all out, and accordingly the Philippine Legislature might do that to-morrow, or as soon as this bill is enacted?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. It might repeal those provisions and grant these lands, all, if it saw fit, to one corporation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, if you will permit me—there may be a misunderstanding—these lands were purchased with the funds of the Philippine Government, and Congress has never imposed any limitations with regard to the friar lands; and the only limitations which were placed upon the amount of land which could be sold to any person or corporation were placed by the Philippine Legislature.

Senator REED. They were placed by the Philippine Legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; as to friar lands; as distinguished from the public domain.

Senator REED. Yes; I understand.

Gen. McINTYRE. Now, the amount of public domain which can be sold to one individual or corporation was very closely restricted in the organic act.

Senator REED. Well, will this bill change that?

Gen. McINTYRE. This continues that in effect, but does give the Philippine Legislature authority to alter or amend that.

Senator KENYON. With a veto power in the Governor General and a veto power in the President of the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; with a veto power. And furthermore, there is a provision later in the bill which specifically provides that no law shall ever be passed in the Philippine Islands with reference to lands or mines or timber without the specific approval of the President; that is, in addition to the veto power of the governor general and of the President acts of that kind must be specifically approved by the President.

Senator RANSELL. That is specifically provided in this section 9 also, where it says:

But acts of the Philippine Legislature with reference to land, timber, and mining, hereafter enacted, shall not have force of law until approved by the President of the United States.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the act must be approved here in Washington.

Senator WEEKS. I do not understand why that limit of six months is inserted there. Suppose the Philippine Legislature made an act effective on its passage?

Senator SHAFROTH. It would take some little time to get the act here.

Senator WEEKS. It would only take about two months.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is true.

Senator WEEKS. And I do not see why the President should have any more time to determine what to do than in the case of an act of Congress.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, he might be busy when the act reaches here, and then he might want to communicate several times with the Philippines.

Senator WEEKS. He can not be so busy that it would take him several months to determine whether he wanted to sign or not.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, he might want additional information; he might want to call for several reports from the Philippines. Six months is not too long a time in that case.

Senator WEEKS. Well, if he wanted to call for reports he could use the cables.

Senator SHAFROTH. I do not think six months is too long a time.

Senator WEEKS. I think it is too long a time—an unreasonable time. Why was that provision put in?

Gen. McINTYRE. That was put in in the House; there was originally no time named; it was presumed that the President would dispose of the Philippine acts in the natural order of business; and this provision was inserted, really, so as to put a limit on it, for fear that it might be dragged along indefinitely; I think that was the intention. I know it was done in the House.

Senator SHAFROTH. It was intended, then, as a limitation of time rather than an extension of time?

Gen. McINTYRE. It was so explained, because there was no limit originally.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, I believe that six months is not too long a time for the President to get proper information concerning bills of that nature.

Senator KENYON. How long does it take the mails to come from the Philippines?

Senator SHAFROTH. I think about four weeks. I was 28 days on the ocean coming back.

Gen. McINTYRE. From Washington it takes a little longer than that; you have to count on various causes of delay. Mails do frequently come in a month from Manila, but as a rule you have to count on about six weeks.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; because the steamships do not leave every day.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All this part of section 9 of the bill is new matter, is it not? That is, the present legislature of the Philippine Islands can not pass on these subjects?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it could as to the friar lands, but not as to the other subjects. It could under the terms of this act, giving the Philippine Legislature full power, with the restrictions set forth in the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. With the approval of the President?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator WEEKS. Has there been any criticism of that provision?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think not; I think it is very generally approved and one of the reasons is this: For 10 successive years, I think it is, the Philippine Government made certain recommendations with reference to the land laws, and to be effective they had to be acted

on by Congress, and it is not a matter that was of sufficient importance to take the time of Congress apparently; so that nothing was ever done. And this, notwithstanding the fact that when it investigated the land laws of the Philippine Islands—the lower house made an investigation—it also recommended certain changes which were never made.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think that under this law one man could go to the Philippines and purchase all of those friar lands, obtaining the passage of an act of the Philippine Legislature for that purpose, and that it would become effective if the President did not veto it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Under this law?

Senator WEEKS. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. It would become effective if the President did not veto it.

Senator KENYON. That is what the bill says. You see, if he does not specifically disapprove it, it becomes a law.

Senator SHAFROTH. Inasmuch as they imposed the restrictions themselves, it seems to be a violent assumption that they would ever permit that to be done.

Senator WEEKS. Well, there has been an enormous amount of that sort of thing done in all newer countries; and perhaps the President's veto will be sufficient to protect that; but I have a feeling that there should be in the law some limitation of the amount of land which one corporation or one individual should control under such circumstances.

Senator REED. I agree with you about that, Senator Weeks. Now, nothing that I say here must be taken as an expression of any disrespect for the Filipino people, but it is in line with what the Senator said about newer countries. We had an example of that in our country. We granted in this country vast public domains to railroads; we would not do it again under the same conditions. And Mexico furnishes another good example. I understand that there are several individuals in Mexico who have acquired lands largely, I think, under grants from the Government, one or two of them having a territory, I understand, as large as the State of Missouri.

Senator WEEKS. Well, that is the basis for all the trouble in Mexico, as a matter of fact.

Senator REED. Exactly.

Senator WEEKS. That the landed interests of Mexico are in comparatively few hands, and, in effect, it makes the rest of the people poverty stricken.

Senator REED. In the early days of this country the Crown granted tracts of land which were so large as to stagger the imagination.

The CHAIRMAN. I will make a note, then, on this paragraph that there should be some limitation on the power of the legislature in that respect.

Senator WEEKS. Well, yes; I think that ought to be discussed by the committee, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Some limitation on legislative power—

Senator REED. With reference to land.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you, Gen. McIntyre, under this section as it stands now, could the Philippine Legislature make a land

grant as a subsidy, for instance, for the construction of a railroad to a private corporation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Subject to the approval of the President, I think it could.

The CHAIRMAN. It could?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. I will say, in passing, that the grant of authority here in the bill is identical with the grant which was made in Porto Rico, even as to form. But, of course, all the facts were different, because in Porto Rico there was a very limited amount of public land. Under that provision the Porto Rico Legislature has provided that no public land can be sold; it has to be leased for a certain period. So that shows how one legislature has handled a gift of power identical with this.

The CHAIRMAN. Section 10 of the bill you have already referred to in part?

Senator WEEKS. That same limitation of six months which I have referred to for the President to sign Philippine acts, which was in section 9 of the bill, is also in section 10?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WEEKS. But the provision in section 10 relates exclusively to the tariff. And certainly it ought not to require six months for a tariff law to become effective; it might be very desirable that the new tariff should go into effect without delay. I should think three months would be ample time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a subject which can be taken up when we reach that paragraph for consideration.

Will you explain section 11, Gen. McIntyre?

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 11 is practically a statement of the existing law, down to the proviso that the entire indebtedness of the Philippine government shall not exceed at any one time the sum of \$10,000,000 exclusive of the friar-land bonds. At present, the limitation is \$5,000,000; and that is an increase of authority of \$5,000,000.

Senator WEEKS. Does not the United States guarantee those friar-land bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir; they are Philippine government bonds.

Senator WEEKS. And there is no United States guaranty of them?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir; there is no United States guaranty.

Senator SHAFROTH. Does the Philippine government now impose any duty on exports from the islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. It does not now. The Underwood Tariff Act repealed that provision.

Senator SHAFROTH. They used to get a large part of their revenues from export taxes, did they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they had a large revenue from the export tax on hemp; and there was also an export tax on copra, sugar, and practically on all of their products.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the objection to export taxes?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, we have prohibited export taxes here. The theory, of course, is very much the same as here. With the exception of hemp all of the products of the Philippine Islands enter the markets of the world on a competitive basis; and while hemp is a monopoly, it really competes with sisal and other fibers of a somewhat lower grade; it is continually on the edge of that competition.

Senator WEEKS. Even in the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Even in the United States; yes. We use the manila hemp in this country only for those purposes for which these cheaper fibers can not be substituted. We use it for first-class naval rope, or rope that is used in the water a great deal.

Senator WEEKS. It is the best hemp in the world.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This section 11 gives the Philippine Legislature power to levy taxes on real estate?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is a very general grant of power of taxation. It does include real estate, inheritances, incomes, and practically every tax that can be imposed in the States.

The CHAIRMAN. But up to this time they have levied no tax on real estate?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they have a tax on real estate, but the proceeds of the tax go to the Provinces and municipalities and not to the central government.

The CHAIRMAN. Then under the present system the Provinces and municipalities have no power of their own with reference to real estate taxes?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they have been granted the power to tax real estate within certain limits. The provincial board may determine within certain limits what taxes shall be imposed on real estate. That is one of the powers of the provincial board; they fix that; and they have the power, in case the conditions of weather or other conditions make it desirable, to suspend for a period the land tax, as, for instance, where crops are bad in the Province or for other reasons, the provincial board may do that.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe I understand. Has the Philippine Legislature the power at the present time to levy taxes on real estate?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; but it has done so only for the benefit of the municipalities and Provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. But have the municipalities and Provinces at present the power of levying taxes on real estate?

Gen. McINTYRE. Within certain limits they may do so, the limit being fixed by the legislature.

The CHAIRMAN. The Provinces and municipalities then get their power to do so from the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; from the legislature as to that tax.

Senator WEEKS. Why was that limitation of 7 per cent of the assessed value of real estate fixed?

Gen. McINTYRE. That was the limit imposed by the organic act of Porto Rico; and it was taken as being about the limit which they would authorize.

Senator WEEKS. Is that not rather higher than is usually allowed in our communities?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think not, Senator Weeks. The present law authorizes an indebtedness of 5 per cent for municipalities in the Philippine Islands.

Senator WEEKS. That is what I had in mind, that 5 per cent was about the usual limitation that we require in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. In the latter part of section 11 of the bill, the limit of the entire indebtedness of the Philippine Government, ex-

clusive of the friar-land bonds, is fixed at \$10,000,000; the present limit is \$5,000,000, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is necessary to extend that limit to \$10,000,000?

Gen. McINTYRE. I really think that the \$10,000,000 limit would be safe; the War Department recommends a modification of that proviso, but I thought I would give you those recommendations afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Gen. McINTYRE. We recommend that that be made more liberal, and also that it be modified in certain respects.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do they recommend that it be more than \$10,000,000?

Gen. McINTYRE. We recommend more than \$10,000,000.

Senator SHAFROTH. How much more?

Gen. McINTYRE. At least, as a minimum, we recommend the limit be made \$17,000,000, and that all reference to the friar-land bonds be stricken out, so that when the obligation of those bonds is paid—when that \$7,000,000 is paid—the Government will have authority to increase their indebtedness by a corresponding amount.

Senator KENYON. What is the amount of the friar lands bonds—\$7,000,000?

Gen. McINTYRE. \$7,000,000.

Senator SHAFROTH. What would you do with this additional \$12,000,000 which you suggest?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is intended practically altogether for public works of various kinds, and development.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there any program laid out for anything of the kind?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; the Philippine government has the program laid out which includes the use of practically all of that.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is any of it proposed to be used in the construction of railroads?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; this is not for any railroad construction at all.

Senator KENYON. What does it cover?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have used the other money, and this money would be used, for the construction of roads and bridges, public buildings, harbor improvements, and things of that kind; some will be used for school buildings; it will be used for all classes of public buildings.

Senator LANE. Well, would the expenditures that you have suggested require 7 per cent of the aggregate tax valuation of the lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; it would not reach that limit.

Senator LANE. What would it reach—have you any idea?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; I can get the taxable value. This amount would be rather a small percentage of the total taxable values throughout the islands.

Senator LANE. Well, I see that they are allowed in section 11 to contract an indebtedness amounting to 7 per cent of the aggregate tax valuation, so I assume it would require 7 per cent.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is, that the municipalities and Provinces are limited to 7 per cent; and the central government is limited to this total that is specified in this section.

Senator LANE. Well, that 7 per cent is pretty high; it is too high a tax to put on any community to pay interest on the cost of improvements.

The CHAIRMAN. In the case of a municipality or Province going into debt to the extent of 7 per cent of its assessed valuation, how does it do it, and who approves it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, heretofore, in nearly all cases, it has been done by a loan from the central government. The central government will loan the Province or the municipality a certain amount, repayable under certain terms included in the loan. So those evidences of debt have not reached the public; they have not been sold in any way, with the exception of those of the city of Manila and the city of Cebu. The city of Iloilo sold some bonds, but they were purchased by the central government.

The CHAIRMAN. I was not asking who purchased them in the market, but what authority approved them. For instance, in Manila, what authority provides for the issuance of bonds and going into debt; is it submitted to a vote?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that is done by the legislature; it is not referred to the people for popular vote.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the legislature authorizes the city of Manila to borrow money?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But who in the city of Manila decides that that right shall be exercised?

Gen. McINTYRE. The municipal council.

The CHAIRMAN. They have the power to do so?

Gen. McINTYRE. They would ask for the authority, and the authority would be granted; but under existing law no indebtedness can be incurred without the approval of the President of the United States. And the recommendation of the War Department is that this limitation should be included in any future grant of this authority. And furthermore, under existing law, these bonds are not taxable in the United States; and the department recommends that that be continued in the law for the reason that, under court decisions they are not taxable, but it is difficult for the Government to sell a bond and guarantee it as nontaxable for fear that a new decision might be made; whereas the broker who buys the bond from the Government sells it on the basis of the court's decision.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that a man buying a Philippine bond now is not required to pay taxes on it?

Gen. McINTYRE. No tax on it.

The CHAIRMAN. And in this bill it is provided that in the future a man owning Philippine bonds shall not pay taxes on them?

Gen. McINTYRE. We suggest that; it is not in the bill at present.

Senator SHAFROTH. I understand that a very fine hotel has been erected in Manila by the government?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that was built by a private corporation; but the Philippine government, in order to encourage them, purchased some of the bonds of that hotel, which bonds they now hold.

The CHAIRMAN. As a part of the sinking fund?

Gen. McINTYRE. As a part of the sinking fund; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us what the sinking fund amounts to—that is, the sinking fund providing for the redemption of \$7,000,000 of friar-land bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir. At the date of the last report the amount in the sinking fund for the friar-land bonds was ₱3,740,724; that was the 31st of last December. Of that amount, ₱1,467,424 was in the form of provincial and municipal loans and ₱900,000 was invested in the bonds of the Manila Hotel.

Senator REED. How much is a peso?

Gen. McINTYRE. Fifty cents gold; just one-half of our dollar. Eighty thousand pesos was invested in the public-works bonds of the Philippine government—that is, the 4 per cent bonds issued under the authority of the acts of Congress—and ₱1,293,000 was in the first-mortgage bonds of the Philippine Railway Co.

Now, as to the public-works bonds, of which there have been a total of \$5,000,000 issued—the sinking fund on the same date was ₱1,552,000. They were invested as follows:

₱581,000 in provincial and municipal loans, ₱410,000 in friar-land bonds, ₱104,000 in public-works bonds, and ₱457,000 in the bonds of the Philippine Railway Co. The balance of each sinking fund was in cash.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Gen. McIntyre, that is rather a peculiar thing, that the sinking fund for the friar-land bonds is invested in outside securities, while the sinking fund of these regular public-improvement bonds is invested in friar-land bonds.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be better practice to retire the friar-land bonds from the sinking fund?

Gen. McINTYRE. If they were going to retire them, it perhaps would. But I think there is a difficulty about that issue of friar-land bonds that has occurred to me as perhaps deterring them from investing their sinking fund in those bonds, and that is that those bonds have always been slightly above par on the market, although perhaps that would not now be the case, and in 1914 we could have called all of the bonds if we had been in a position to do so; but we were not in a position to do so, and the question would then be whether we would go on the market and buy them, or whether we would call a small part, a fractional part, which we were in a position to call, to the detriment really of the people who happened to hold those particular bonds, and so it was decided not to make a call for any of the bonds. This was a matter determined by the Philippine Commission.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do those friar-land bonds represent the purchase price paid for the land?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. How much does that amount to?

Gen. McINTYRE. The bond issue was \$7,000,000; the land cost something less than that. The product of the sale was a little more than enough to buy the land.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you remember how many acres there were in the friar lands?

Gen. McINTYRE. They usually call it 400,000 acres.

Senator SHAFROTH. That was about \$17 an acre, was it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator WEEKS. I would like to ask you, Gen. McIntyre, if you do not think the kindest thing we could do for the Filipino people would be to prevent their incurring any indebtedness?

Senator SHAFROTH. Not in a new country.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, we could not have done what we have done there without incurring indebtedness. The proceeds of those bonds have helped wonderfully. Even as it is we have expended 20 per cent of all the revenues in public works. Most of the public works are more or less of a permanent nature, and to put them forward rapidly would require that the taxes be made altogether too heavy.

Senator WEEKS. We pay for our public works in this country as we go along. The curse of this whole world is running into debt, and we are going to have serious trouble from that in this country—and everywhere else.

Senator KENYON. Yes; private as well as public.

Senator WEEKS. I was speaking of public debts.

Senator SHAFROTH. There are very few roads in those islands, except what have been put in in the last few years; most of the others are merely paths; and it seems to me that it would be greatly to the interest of those people to permit them to build roads and bridges.

Senator WEEKS. Well, I am willing to consider that question; but I am disinclined to make it easy for people to incur indebtedness anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you think of a limitation, Senator Weeks, to provide that no bonds should be issued except for public works?

Senator WEEKS. Well, I think it is somewhat dangerous to authorize an issue of bonds for general public works without having a definite schedule of what is going to be done and what it is going to cost, and all that sort of thing. We would not do that in our own municipal affairs. If bonds are to be issued they would be issued for a specific purpose, and the cost of that project would be carefully determined.

Now, to give to a board of aldermen of any American city, for instance, authority to issue \$5,000,000 of bonds and tell them to go on and spend them for public works would almost inevitably result in great waste.

Senator KENYON. And graft.

Gen. McINTYRE. If I may say it, Senator Weeks, this is the grant of power. Before these bonds are issued an act is passed by the legislature which prescribes the object of the issue and the specific purpose for which it is to be used.

Now, we have issued bonds over there, in the first place, for the friar lands. That required, first, an act of Congress, an act of the Philippine legislature, and the specific approval by the President of that act before the bonds were issued. Before the city of Manila issued bonds for sewers and waterworks the specific project was mapped out—the building and putting in of a new water system and the first sewer system that they had ever had. And that act was passed by the Philippine Legislature, and it was approved by the President; so that, while this is a grant of authority to them, it

does not mean that they can on the strength of this make a bond issue; they have to go through all of those steps first.

Senator WEEKS. Does that hotel pay?

Gen. McINTYRE. The hotel is at present paying. For a little while it did not pay, but it pays the interest on the bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the cost of the hotel?

Gen. McINTYRE. I could not answer offhand, Mr. Chairman. I will get that information and put it in the record; also with reference to the Government's percentage.

Senator WEEKS. What proportion of the cost of the hotel was bonded?

Gen. McINTYRE. I will put that in, if I may, because I have a full report of that.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think the whole cost was bonded?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; not the whole cost. The stock was paid for, dollar for dollar; the building represented cash for the stock as well as the bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the interest on the bonds always been paid?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the interest on the bonds has always been paid.

Senator SHAFROTH. The land did not cost anything, did it, having been filled in from the harbor?

Gen. McINTYRE. My impression is that that was government land and was practically given to the hotel; but I will put the details in.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

The capital for the Manila Hotel was obtained from 4,500 shares, fully paid.....	P450,000.00
First-mortgage 4 per cent 22-year bonds of P2,000 each.....	900,000.00
Cost of site, building, and equipment, as certified by the insular auditor	1,280,418.67

The hotel has 149 guest rooms, half of which have connecting private baths, and it has all the accessories of an up-to-date, first-class hotel. It is generally described as the best hotel in the Orient, and recent reports show that it is crowded with guests.

Senator LANE. The hotel is run for private profit, is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; for private profit.

Senator LANE. And there is invested in it a certain sum, I understood you to say, of money belonging to the Philippine government?

Gen. McINTYRE. The Philippine government; yes.

Senator LANE. As a loan?

Gen. McINTYRE. As a loan. The theory was that there was a great public necessity for a modern hotel there; there was none in Manila.

Senator LANE. At the same time there were some bonds maturing that the Government owed?

Gen. McINTYRE. Oh, no; this was a sinking fund.

Senator LANE. Set aside for the friar-land bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; those particular bonds would become due in 1934 and the others up to 1937.

Senator LANE. Does the government get any interest on the money?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LANE. What per cent?

Gen. McINTYRE. My impression is that those bonds are 5 or 6 per cent bonds. [The bonds are 4 per cent.]

Senator LANE. Those hotel bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LANE. It is a safe investment, is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. It was so regarded; and then, of course, it was regarded somewhat as being a public necessity.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think it was?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think so; I think it was a very proper investment under the circumstances; it was very difficult to get the necessary amount of capital there to build the hotel; they hoped to develop tourist traffic and help the islands.

Senator WEEKS. How large a hotel is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is quite a large hotel for that vicinity, the Far East. I will put in the record quite a little description of it, if I may do so.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

The capital for the Manila Hotel was obtained from 4,500 shares, fully paid-----	₱450,000.00
First mortgage 4 per cent 22-year bonds of ₱2,000 each-----	900,000.00
Cost of site, building, and equipment, as certified by the insular auditor-----	1,280,418.67

The hotel has 149 guest rooms, half of which have connecting private baths, and it has all the accessories of an up-to-date first-class hotel. It is generally described as the best hotel in the Orient, and recent reports show that it is crowded with guests.

The CHAIRMAN. Section 12, which comes next, seems to be an enlargement of section 8.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And vests the legislative power in the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. In view of this section 12 covering the same matter, section 8, I think, might be omitted; it seems to be identical.

The CHAIRMAN. A duplication?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they were originally somewhat different, but by amendment they have been made the same.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we will take up section 13.

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 13 is a new section which has reference to the Senate of the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. And the senate takes the place of the present commission?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; of the present commission.

The CHAIRMAN. And the number will be 24?

Gen. McINTYRE. Twenty-four; and the present commission is nine.

Senator WEEKS. How are the senatorial districts arrived at?

Gen. McINTYRE. The bill provides that the Philippine Commission shall divide the islands into 12 districts—1 district to be the non-Christian territory and 11 districts to be in the Christian Provinces—that is, it is practically so divided.

The CHAIRMAN. How can the other district, the appointive district, be the non-Christian territory when a part of the savages live on the north and the others on the far south?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, it is noncontiguous; they will be widely separated. But the authority in the bill is that the governor general may appoint those two Senators without reference to their residence, and he could of course select one with a view to his interest in the

wild people of the north and the other with reference to the Moros in the south.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those two Senators required to be Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. They might be Americans?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they might be Americans.

Senator KENYON. What is their compensation to be?

Gen. McINTYRE. The compensation of the Senators as the bill is now written is to be fixed by the Philippine Legislature; just as is the case with the present assembly. It has been suggested, and probably at the proper time the department will recommend that there be inserted, in view of the short time before the first election provided for in this bill, the location and boundaries of the various districts in the bill as it is passed, rather than leave that to the commission or anyone else; because there will be a very short time—but that point I will discuss later.

Senator KENYON. Have the commission determined the districts yet?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; they have not.

Senator WEEKS. Are there any Americans or Europeans in the present Senate?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; at present there are four, the Governor General—

Senator WEEKS (interposing). Oh, yes; those four.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; those four and five Filipinos.

Senator WEEKS. Are there any Americans in the present legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; there are none.

Senator WEEKS. They are all Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they are all Filipinos in the assembly.

Senator WEEKS. Is not two years a short time of residence in the islands to qualify a man for election to the senate?

Gen. McINTYRE. I take it that that would very largely be governed by conditions. I think ordinarily a man would have to be out there a great deal longer than that before he would be in a position to be elected.

Senator WEEKS. He ordinarily would?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator WEEKS. But the requirements in almost every country are longer than that, even for citizenship?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, this provision will apply to an American as well as much as it will to anyone else, and I presume if the time was made somewhat short, so as to permit some Americans, if the people wanted to elect them, to become members of the legislature.

The CHAIRMAN. If that is all on that section, we will pass to section 14.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is a corresponding section with reference to the lower house. At present the members of the lower house are elected for four years. This provides for three years in order to agree with the senatorial term of six years, so that the representatives and senators can be elected at one election.

Senator WEEKS. Then there will only be an election every three years?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; every three years.

Senator KENYON. A representative need only have lived in the Philippine Islands one year?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LANE. You have a lower house there now, have you?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir. This section makes a very slight change in the lower house. There are nine members added in the lower house, and the requirement is that those nine members shall be appointed by the Governor General to represent the people of the wild districts; they represent the people who are not now represented in the assembly.

Senator LANE. Are those to be natives of the islands?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No; just as in the case of the two senators appointed, they may be selected with reference to their interest in these people, whether they are natives or Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice the requirement is that in all cases they must be able to read and write either Spanish or English?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the possibility been considered at all of limiting the requirements to English?

Gen. MCINTYRE. It has not, Mr. Chairman, for the reason that men of the age necessary to represent their people in this body have not usually had the advantages of our schools; and while a great many of them have learned English, yet the knowledge of English would be rather a harsh requirement, because generally the man would never have had an opportunity to go to an English school in his life; he must have learned it since his school days. So that this requirement has not been changed; and the business of the lower house is, because of the conditions stated, conducted in Spanish.

Senator SHAFROTH. Gen. McIntyre, do the men go to these schools in the Philippine Islands?

Gen. MCINTYRE. They have night schools in certain places which men attend; but generally speaking—

Senator SHAFROTH (interposing). When I was in the Philippines I went to one of those night schools, and they had an enormous crowd, and they were men of mature years; and they just seemed to be intent on learning. That condition still exists, does it?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; that still exists.

Senator WEEKS. Were they attempting to learn other things than the language?

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; but principally the language.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the use of Spanish dying out?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No; the use of Spanish is not dying out, for the reason that, owing to the encouragement of education in general, the number of people who are speaking Spanish is not decreasing.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not taught in the public schools, is it?

Gen. MCINTYRE. It is taught in certain grades of the public schools, just as we teach foreign languages here. But the hope of the public schools, of course, is to make the use of the English language general. Of course, a great many of the families speak Spanish, and a great deal of the business is conducted in Spanish; and

for that reason, education being more general, Spanish is not dying out and probably never will.

The CHAIRMAN. Heretofore the business of the upper house has been conducted in English, has it?

Gen. McINTYRE. In English; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And under this bill will it be conducted in Spanish?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is left to the upper house to decide; and I take it that for some time it will be a matter of convenience to have it conducted in Spanish, just as in the lower house at present.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that does not give a very good prospect of having English supplant Spanish as a legislative language in the Philippines.

Gen. McINTYRE. I think when the younger men come along, Mr. Chairman, that will remedy itself; but I think it would be a rather harsh provision to require English now, while the principal legislators are men who were educated before the opportunity to study English became general.

Section 15 provides the qualifications for electors. This provision is at present embodied in the law of the Philippine Commission. It is a matter on which Congress has not heretofore legislated; and the changes which would be effected by this section are that this lowers the age of voters from 23 to 21 years, and enables those persons who read and write a native language to vote, which has never been the case heretofore.

Senator WEEKS. What do those terms mean in paragraph (a)?

Gen. McINTYRE. A captain municipal, or municipal captain, corresponded to the mayor of a small city; he was the head man of the city. A gobernadorcillo is about the same kind of official. An alcalde is the same, except that it is for a larger town or city. Tenientes are delegates of the alcalde or mayor for a small barrio. Their practice was to have, in the Spanish times, one of these tenientes for every remote barrio; and the teniente was the head man for that ward or district.

Cabeza de barangay means, literally, the head of a family. Of course, after the family became extended, instead of being a family by blood, he was the head of a group who lived and operated together.

The ayuntamiento was the city council, where they had a city council.

You see, those terms were put into our law in the early days of our occupation; they were first in the military orders and afterwards in an early act of the Philippine Commission; and that was embodied in this act, so as to deviate as little as possible from the present law.

The main change in that provision is the addition in paragraph (c) of those who are able to read and write a native language.

Senator LANE. In this paragraph (b) there is a property qualification, limiting it to those who own \$250 worth of real property or pay a tax of \$15 a year.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LANE. Would not that bar about 90 per cent of the native Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. If that were the only qualification, perhaps it would; but, you see, a man does not have to comply with all three of those. He complies with only one. You see, if a man can read and write, even though he owns nothing, he can vote.

Senator KENYON. Or if he owns this amount of real property and can not read and write, he can vote.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; he could vote in that case. You see, he is not required to have all of those qualifications; he can have any one of them.

Senator LANE. All right; I understand.

Senator WEEKS. What portion of the males over the age of 21 years under those restrictions would be entitled to vote?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, this addition of the native language there makes it almost impossible to say. Of course, under the restrictions heretofore in force, we can easily give you the percentage, which is small; the addition of the native language would probably very materially increase the percentage. The department recommends that that section be omitted altogether from the law, in order that the first election under this law should be under the existing law in the Philippine Islands, and that there should be at that time no radical change in the electorate.

Senator KENYON. Do you mean that paragraph (c) should be omitted entirely?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that the entire section should be eliminated. That is a matter now in the entire control of the Philippine Legislature, and the department thinks it should continue there, and that the present qualifications which are more restrictive than those should be in effect at the first election. Thereafter the Philippine Legislature could amend that; the theory being that the addition of this very large class to the electorate, which would necessarily be done within a very short time after the passage of this bill, would make the first election very confusing, and it would be more desirable to have that election under their present law to which they are accustomed.

Senator WEEKS. Now, this is an act of Congress, and it is not a constitution, of course. Could the Philippine Legislature amend this act of Congress?

Gen. McINTYRE. It could not unless the act so provided later on.

Senator WEEKS. Is it so provided in the bill?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it is so provided.

Senator WEEKS. How is Congress to know, if the Philippine Legislature is going to pass additional laws, whether any laws that Congress will pass will conflict with what the Philippine Legislature has done?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, if they conflict the act of Congress simply annuls any act that the Philippine Legislature has passed.

Senator SHAFROTH. Congress still retains that power until absolute independence of the Philippines, does it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; Congress retains that power as to all matters.

Senator WEEKS. Is there not a possibility, however, of a good deal of confusion from that source?

Gen. McINTYRE. From their power to amend?

Senator WEEKS. From their power to amend this legislation, or from the power of Congress to pass acts which might be in conflict

with what their legislature had done. I do not know that it would be the case; but it seems that there might be a possibility for a great deal of confusion.

Gen. McINTYRE. There would be such a possibility; but that is watched rather closely here; they are required to report their legislation to Congress, and Congress has power to annul any part of it, and, on the other hand, they would have to watch what Congress does very closely.

Senator WEEKS. How much legislation have they been passing?

Gen. McINTYRE. In the Philippine Islands?

Senator WEEKS. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. About 2,500 acts altogether since the commission began to legislate.

Senator LANE. I want to ask you this question: Now, take, under classifications (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), there would not be a large number of Filipinos coming under class (*a*), would there?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is getting less and less all the time, and I should take it that now the number would not be very large.

Senator LANE. Would it be as many as a few thousands or hundreds—how much would it be? Have you any way of estimating it?

Gen. McINTYRE. I should say some thousands.

Senator LANE. And under (*b*) there would be large numbers that would not vote. Now, under (*c*), the majority would not vote, would they?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think that more people vote under (*b*) than under (*c*) at present.

Senator LANE. Then, that would be 90 per cent under (*b*) would be excluded, and under the first paragraph of this section it allows anyone to vote who has been a citizen and resident of the Philippine Islands for one year and of the municipality in which he offers to vote for six months. Now, it struck me that that would be a discrimination against the native, by allowing the stranger to come in with that small restriction contained in the first paragraph—I know how it was out in our country—it would be quite a discrimination against the native Filipino. Does it not strike you that way?

Gen. McINTYRE. It so happens that practically all the voters are native Filipinos; all the others would be negligible.

Senator LANE. In this first paragraph anyone coming into the islands—

Gen. McINTYRE (interposing). Well, you see, that is changed to some extent—

Senator LANE (continuing). Anyone coming into the Philippines could within one year be allowed to vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Every "male citizen"; he has to be a citizen.

Senator LANE. Yes; I see.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that this section disfranchises an American citizen who now has the right to vote.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; he is disfranchised.

The CHAIRMAN. And there would be several thousand Americans who have the right to vote there now who could not vote under this bill?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; no American can vote under that section.

Senator WEEKS. Then, could an American be elected a legislator or senator?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; in both cases he is required to be an elector.

Senator WEEKS. Then he could not be elected to the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; in both cases he is required to be an elector.

Senator WEEKS. That would mean that the legislature would be composed entirely of Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Those are among the reasons why we recommend that that section be omitted from this bill.

Senator WEEKS. That is, you do not think it is absolutely wise to limit the possibility of electing others than Filipinos to the senate or the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. No. I think certainly we should not recommend that here, that an American citizen be deprived of any right or privilege.

Senator RANSELL. What are the words here in this section which restrict the right of citizenship to Filipinos? It says "every male citizen." Could not a man be a citizen of the Philippines whether he was a Filipino or not?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; it says "every male citizen of the Philippines." But there is at present no law by which a man could become a citizen of the Philippines. In this bill we authorize the Philippine legislature to pass an act under which they could become citizens.

Senator RANSELL. But there is none at the present time?

Gen. McINTYRE. There is none at the present time.

Senator LANE. There is no way at present of acquiring Philippine citizenship?

Gen. McINTYRE. There is no way at present.

Senator RANSELL. That makes it all right then. I did not understand that.

The CHAIRMAN. The next is section 16.

Gen. McINTYRE. This provides for the districting of the islands in the first election.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think that suggestion of yours, that that ought to be specified in this bill, for the first election, a very good one. That is, have the districts specified in here, so as to avoid the delay necessary in getting the matter through the Philippine Legislature.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; I think that would be better.

Senator SHAFROTH. In other words, let the districts be named and described, and provide that they shall be the districts until otherwise provided by the Philippine Legislature.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is the provision we suggested.

Senator RANSELL. Have we the information at hand to enable us to do that?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think we have, Senator Ransdell, because it would have to be based on the last census which was taken. We have that by Provinces, and we would have to make the senatorial districts as near equal as possible; and we would have to include in each district an entire number of Provinces; so that I think we would have very little more difficulty here than they would there; and, of course, it would be simply for the first election. So that I think we could do that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not believe in electing any Senators at large?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is not so provided here. And I think, personally, that there will be some difficulty about that. You see the islands cover a great deal of territory, and it would be very difficult for a man to make a campaign over the whole island; and a man in order to have any chance at all would have to be some man who had been in the public eye all over the islands; and there would be a very limited number of men available.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you prepare a tentative draft of a substitute provision for this section, General?

Gen. McINTYRE. I will be glad to do so, Mr. Chairman.

(The memorandum submitted by Gen. McIntyre is as follows:)

SEC. 16. That for the purposes of the first election hereafter to the Philippine Legislature, the Philippine Islands shall be divided into twelve senate districts, as follows:

First district: Batanes, Cagayan, Isabela, Ilocos Norte, and Ilocos Sur.

Second district: La Union, Pangasinan and Zambales.

Third district: Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, and Bataan.

Fourth district: Bulacan, Rizal, Manila, and Cavite.

Fifth district: Batangas, Mindoro, Tayabas, and Laguna.

Sixth district: Sorsogon, Albay, and Ambos Camarines.

Seventh district: Iloilo and Capiz.

Eighth district: Negros Occidental, Negros Oriental, Antique, and Palawan.

Ninth district: Leyte and Samar.

Tenth district: Cebu.

Eleventh district: Surigao, Misamis, and Bohol.

Twelfth district: The Mountain Province, Baguio, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

The representative districts shall be the 81 now provided by law, and 3 in the Mountain Province, 1 in Nueva Vizcaya, and 5 in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

The first election under the provisions of this act shall be held on the first Tuesday of June, nineteen hundred and fifteen, and there shall be chosen at such election one senator from each senate district for a term of three years and one for six years. Thereafter one senator from each district shall be elected from each senate district for a term of six years. That at said first election each representative district shall elect one representative for a term of three years and triennially thereafter: *Provided*, That the Governor General of the Philippine Islands shall appoint, without the consent of the senate and without restriction as to residence, senators and representatives who will, in his opinion, best represent the senate district and those representative districts which may be included in the territory not now represented in the Philippine Assembly: *Provided further*, That thereafter elections shall be held only on such days and under such regulations as to ballots, voting, and qualifications of electors as may be prescribed by the Philippine Legislature, to which is hereby given authority to redistrict the Philippine Islands and modify, amend, or repeal any provision of this section.

NOTE.—The senate districts as enumerated will be as nearly equal in population based on the census of 1903, as they may be with due regard to the necessity of including an entire number of Provinces in each district and with regard to continuity of territory and means of communication and a common native language.

The twelfth district includes all of the territory not now represented in the Philippine Assembly. This is true also of the nine representative districts in the Mountain Province, in Nueva Vizcaya, and in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

The population of the twelve senate districts is as follows:

First district.....	620, 823	Seventh district.....	641, 036
Second district	626, 999	Eighth district.....	679, 628
Third district.....	539, 795	Ninth district.....	655, 159
Fourth district.....	729 372	Tenth district.....	653, 727
Fifth district	599, 545	Eleventh district.....	481, 936
Sixth district	561, 231	Twelfth district.....	795, 580

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is there anything more in that section which you want to discuss, Gen. McIntyre? If not, we will take up section 17 of the bill.

Gen. MCINTYRE. That provides the terms of members of the legislature and for elections in cases of vacancy. It is in the usual form. The suggestion is made that the last sentence be so modified that the terms of senators and representatives appointed by the Governor General shall be the same as those in the case of elected senators and representatives.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the terms of senators expire at the same time?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No; the original draft provided that; but the bill as revised provide that every three years the terms of one-half the senators should expire.

Senator WEEKS. I should think that would be a good suggestion about the terms of the appointive senators. A man might be an inefficient or even an incompetent senator and still the Governor General might not care to take the responsibility of removing him.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; that is the thought, that it would remove that difficulty.

Senator WEEKS. If he was efficient, he could be reappointed.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. I want to ask you a question in reference to the nature and character of the Filipino people. Have they any of the elements of a good many of the Latin American republics, tending toward revolution and insurrection?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Well, we can only judge that by the record; and for the 300 years that they were under Spain the Filipinos had, we might say, no revolution.

Senator SHAFROTH. They submitted to law and order, did they?

Gen. MCINTYRE. They submitted to law and order.

Senator SHAFROTH. Even if the orders were somewhat tyrannical?

Gen. MCINTYRE. That was generally the case. The insurrection of 1896 was the most serious insurrection; and, of course, we met the continuation of that.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, in the conduct of the average Filipino individual, is he hard to manage?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Not at all; very easy.

Senator SHAFROTH. He obeys orders, does he?

Gen. MCINTYRE. He obeys orders, and they are people that are taught, and have been taught for ages, and it is well inculcated in them, to respect authority; and the exceptions to that are very limited.

Senator WEEKS. Now, are you speaking of all of the different classes and tribes?

Gen. MCINTYRE. That was spoken generally of the Filipino people, and even the Moros, and those who are warlike are respectful to their own authority. The trouble with the Moro has been the failure to recognize the authority of the Government. That feeling, our people report, is disappearing.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do the records of the courts indicate that they are violaters of the law to any unusual extent?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Not to an unusual extent; no. And in many respects—the cases differ somewhat—but on the whole they are law-abiding people. They are a little prone to litigation in civil matters.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes. Do they incline in any way to acts of violence?

Gen. McINTYRE. I should say not; judged by similar people in a similar condition elsewhere, I shall say decidedly not.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do they commit any of the crimes that are charged against them—are many of them guilty of larceny or robbery?

Gen. McINTYRE. Some, but not a great many.

Senator SHAFROTH. Not a great many.

The CHAIRMAN. In the municipalities they have had self-government for some time, have they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain to the committee to what extent graft has developed under those circumstances, and what, if any, precautions have been taken to avoid that?

Gen. McINTYRE. Practically from the beginning the precautions to avoid graft have been very strict. That is, in the municipality the municipal treasurer is practically in every case a delegate or agent of the provincial treasurer, which gives the provincial treasurer an opportunity to overlook him. And then there is the auditor's office in Manila; the auditor, by his district auditors, examines the accounts of both the provincial treasurer and the municipal treasurer, and by a system of report they are required to very carefully account for all the funds and their accounts are scrutinized at the source.

So that, in so far as any misapplication of funds is concerned, the number of defalcations has been remarkably small. In fact, the auditor each year in his reports lists every defalcation in the islands and the number is surprisingly small.

It was found along that line (the record has not been perfect by any means) that at first the municipal officers did not understand their duties with reference to public funds, and the disposition was to regard the taxes at the disposition of the municipality as being somewhat of a personal prerogative; that is, the people in authority could dispose of them for their own purposes, and there was to that extent a misapplication, in that there was not a use of the public funds for the benefit of the public, and there was restrictive legislation passed by the commission—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). By the commission?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Not by the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, the legislature has continued that, of course, but it was passed before there was a lower house. This legislation restricted the purposes for which these funds could be used. For instance, it was provided that not more than a certain per cent could be used for salaries, and other restriction, so that there might be a more proper and beneficial use of the money.

The CHAIRMAN. The commission first—shortly after our occupation of the islands, was it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. After the military officers had turned it over to the civil authorities?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long did they act alone?

Gen. MCINTYRE. For six years; so that practically all of the legislation that was passed for those six years—that is, to 1907—was passed by the Philippine Commission, which at that time was the exclusive legislative body. The assembly was created in 1907; and since that time the legislation, of course, has been passed by both houses.

Senator SHAFROTH. Gen. McIntyre, there is in Manila an observatory that calculates the course and approach of typhoons for a distance of some 500 miles from Manila; and there is sent out from that observatory to all parts of the Orient information as to the course of the typhoon. I will ask you who conducts the calculations for that data?

Gen. MCINTYRE. This observatory was originally established as a private institution by the Jesuit Fathers, and later the Spanish Government made it the observatory of the Government; and we have continued that; so that now Father Algué is the director of the weather bureau of the Philippine Islands. He is the head of this observatory, and he is perhaps the best authority on typhoons and cyclones in the world.

Senator RANSDALL. Is he a Jesuit?

Gen. MCINTYRE. He is a Jesuit.

Senator SHAFROTH. Now, the people who make the calculations in that observatory, are they not Filipinos?

Gen. MCINTYRE. They perhaps have three Spanish priests, and practically all the rest of the personnel is Filipino.

Senator SHAFROTH. Some 30 or 40, is it not?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; and most of the observers elsewhere than Manila are Filipinos.

Senator WEEKS. Who furnishes the funds?

Gen. MCINTYRE. They are appropriated by the Philippine government. It is run very economically as a weather bureau; but there is an annual appropriation by the government.

Senator SHAFROTH. In the drug stores of the islands when I was there I noticed that all of the prescription clerks were Filipinos. Is that still the case.

Gen. MCINTYRE. They may perhaps be one or two exceptions, but that is generally true.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes. And those medicines are put up on prescriptions written in Latin, are they not, and the labels on the bottles are in Latin?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; those men are many of them graduate pharmacists, who are prescription clerks.

Senator SHAFROTH. A great many of the lawyers are Filipinos, are they not?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; a great many of the best lawyers. The chief justice of the supreme court is a Filipino.

Senator SHAFROTH. Some of them have very high positions under the American Government, have they not?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; we have had an attorney general now for a number of years who is a Filipino. The chief justice of the supreme court since its organization is a Filipino, and a number of others.

Senator SHAFROTH. I will ask you whether the train conductors and the locomotive engineers are not Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Practically all.

Senator SHAFROTH. And the station agents?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. And the telegraph operators?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have some American telegraph operators, but generally speaking, with reference to the railroad, the old railroad, the Manila & Dagupan Railroad employs very few Europeans. There are some in the accounting department, and, generally speaking, the civil engineers.

Senator SHAFROTH. Those are Europeans?

Gen. McINTYRE. Those are Europeans, mostly; not all of them, however.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; but the conductors and engineers are practically all Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LANE. Are the Filipinos acquisitive in their dealings—"near," as they call it in New England—are they close traders?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think not. The Chinaman is really the "near" man of the Philippines.

Senator LANE. He is an artist. How is the Filipino as to that?

Gen. McINTYRE. The Filipino is rather a liberal liver. We were spaking of clothing this morning. The Filipino is a man who likes to wear good clothes and spends his money freely, as a general thing.

Senator LANE. As a class, they are not men who hoard and deal closely like the Chinese?

Gen. McINTYRE. They do not hoard; but many are well off.

Senator SHAFROTH. Are not a great many of the cashiers of banks and receiving tellers and bookkeepers of the banks native Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. If you take one of the older English banks, like the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, they will have an agency at Iloilo or Cebu, or some other town; and they will have one Englishman, and the personnel outside of that will be usually Filipinos.

Senator SHAFROTH. Take the bank in Manila: What proportion of the help that you would see going into a bank would be Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. That would be about the proportion. Of course, in the larger banks in Manila the number of Europeans will be greater; but there would always be employed a number of Filipinos.

Senator SHAFROTH. Perhaps nine-tenths of them?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; perhaps nine-tenths.

Senator SHAFROTH. They had also been engaged, I presume, in various public offices as accountants and things of that kind, in connection with the Philippine Government administered by the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is it generally recognized that they perform their duties well?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is so reported every year—those in the public service. We had at the time of the last report in the Government service 2,218 Americans and 7,710 Filipinos; that is, in the classified service. That, of course, does not include those in the municipal and provincial service, in which practically all are Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. That includes simply the insular government, then, does it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; simply the insular government.

The CHAIRMAN. They are all paid by the Philippine Government, are they?

Gen. McINTYRE. Those are so paid; yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. But the provincial officers are paid out of the provincial treasury, are they?

Gen. McINTYRE. The provincial officers are paid out of the provincial treasury and the municipal officers from the municipal treasury.

Senator SHAFROTH. And they are practically all Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. In some of the provinces the treasurer is an American; he is a civil-service man.

Senator RANDELL. Have the Filipinos a literature of their own separate from that of Spain?

Gen. McINTYRE. The literature in the native language is not very large, although in practically all of the languages they have some books. But with the exception of one or two they have in practically every one of the languages a newspaper now. But the literature was very largely religious books that were prepared by the friars for instruction in religion. They have not a very wide printed literature.

Senator RANDELL. Did they have poets and historians and novelists among the native Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Not a great many; in fact, they have relatively few who wrote books of any particular standing. There were books of all classes; but if you will take, for instance, the bibliography of the Philippine Islands published by Pardo Tavena, you will see that there is not a wide literature among the native Filipinos.

Senator SHAFROTH. Rizal was their great statesman, was he not?

Gen. McINTYRE. He was the most brilliant literary man in the Philippines, but he wrote as a Spanish-speaking man.

Senator REED. What proportion of the adult population can read and write?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I have the census statement as to that; of course that has changed a great deal since then; that was 10 years ago. Of the males 21 years of age and over, 32.2 per cent at that time were reported as literate; that is, they could read and write Spanish or English or some other language.

Senator RANDELL. What census was that?

Gen. McINTYRE. 1903.

Senator REED. What do you think the per cent is now?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is very hard to tell. You see now for 16 years we have had schools there, and for 10 years we have had from 300,000 to 400,000 pupils in the schools. A good many of those have not reached the age of voting yet.

Senator REED. What would be your estimate? Of course we can not bind you to anything definite by that.

Gen. McINTYRE. Where I would have difficulty is in estimating the number who could read and write the native languages. For instance, when we went there 10 per cent of them could read and write Spanish; that number is still at least 10 per cent; and I think, taking the population by and large, that it would be perhaps 50 per cent to-day that could either read or write in Spanish or in English or in a native dialect.

Senator REED. What effect would it have if we allowed them to vote whether they could read and write or not?

Gen. McINTYRE. The chances are that the elections would not mean anything under a system where they could all vote. I do not think it would mean an intelligent selection at all. It might not differ in results; it might give in a particular case the same result, but I think the result would not mean anything at all.

Senator REED. Well, would you say that if a man owned some real estate, and can not read and write, that that qualifies him to vote any more than the man who works on the place and has no real estate?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think it does. I say so because so frequently that indicates native ability without opportunity, and the ability of a man of that kind would probably be larger than that of a man who could read and write and did not own anything. I think the man who has been thrifty would perhaps be the better of the two.

Senator KENYON. Do they have political parties in the Philippine Islands, and political speeches?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they have very heated campaigns.

Senator REED. With regard to the class of voters mentioned in paragraph (a) in section 17 of the bill—those who held various minor local civil offices under Spanish rule—are any of those people unable to read and write?

Gen. McINTYRE. Some of them; but I think the point is that the man prefers to qualify in that capacity because it is simpler, and he qualifies on the record. I think those men as a general thing would qualify under all three heads of that section. There would probably be a few exceptions, but, generally speaking, a man who had held that office would be a man who could read and write the native language, at any rate.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell what the number of electors was at the last election?

Gen. McINTYRE. I could put that in the record. I can only guess at it now.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand it was very small.

Gen. McINTYRE. It was very small. In the last general election the total vote was 235,786 out of a total registration of 248,154.

Senator REED. Every instinct that I have is against disqualifying any man from his vote. There may be a necessity for it there in the Philippines. We have not done it in our country; we let them vote. But in the case of the Philippines I thought perhaps there was some special reason in view for disqualifying some of those people.

Gen. McINTYRE. I think the special reason is that those people had never voted; they were not people who had learned anything at the beginning, and therefore it was thought that it should be somewhat more restrictive.

Senator REED. What proportion of children of school age are now going to school?

Gen. McINTYRE. We figure about one-half of those of school age. The number at school runs from 400,000 to 600,000, and we think there are at least 1,200,000 who are of school age.

Senator REED. There is no system of compulsory education, is there?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the assembly has tried to pass an act for compulsory education, but the difficulty was that the act would be more or less meaningless when the facilities could not be given.

Senator REED. Do you not think it would be a good idea for us to pass such an act, or at least establish a public school system for them and compulsory education, before we let the islands go?

Gen. McINTYRE. The money would have to come from the United States, and heretofore their government has got no money for the purpose from the United States at all; it is an independent government in so far as its finances are concerned. It has been recommended in the past that Congress appropriate money for education in the Philippine Islands, but I think that has not been pushed, partly from the desire to maintain financial independence of the government.

Senator REED. Is it not more important that they should have sufficient schools than that they should have these public works and improvements which have been referred to?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I think that those things will be a great help toward the schools. I think the creation of facilities for travel enabled the people to get to the schools, and they are, in a way, a schooling in themselves.

Senator REED. Do they appear to have any desire for knowledge—any real desire to learn?

Gen. McINTYRE. A very great desire; the schools are crowded. The question of getting all these children to school is not that the children are laggards or desirous of staying away; it is the limit of our facilities.

Senator REED. How much do you think it would cost to give them all at least a primary education, so that they could learn to read and write?

Gen. McINTYRE. I can give the exact amount so it can be put in the record. But I will say now that it cost about \$9 a year for every student that we have in the public schools in the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. How is that cost defrayed—by the local governments?

Gen. McINTYRE. By the local governments entirely.

Senator REED. But that includes, of course, some high schools and grammar schools, and so on?

Gen. McINTYRE. All classes.

Senator REED. The question I am interested in is the cost for a primary education, by which I mean so that they can be taught through "reading, writing, and ciphering," to use the old expression.

Gen. McINTYRE. I do not think it would be much cheaper, for the reason that the children that we reach now are those that can be reached at the least expense—at centers of population. To go out for those that are remote would cost relatively more. So that I think the price would be about the same.

Senator LANE. \$9 per annum per pupil?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LANE. That is very low.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that is very low.

The CHAIRMAN. That is over \$5,000,000 a year in the aggregate, and it is several times more than the expenses of the insular government.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; on education.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean the total expenditures of the insular government, as I recall it, are not \$5,000,000.

Gen. McINTYRE. Oh, yes; they are about \$15,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. It seems to me that if we are going to fit these people for citizenship we could do them no greater service than to see that they have some education. However, you will put in whatever figures you have on this subject.

Senator SHAFROTH. You have been doing that school work for 15 years?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; and we are going ahead.

Senator SHAFROTH. And you have an attendance of about 600,000 students, which is a pretty good showing. The night schools there are crowded by men of mature years, and when they attend schools in the Philippine Islands at night you may know that they want an education.

The CHAIRMAN. Who furnishes the books in the schools?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have an arrangement by which, where the children are able, they furnish the books themselves, but where they are not able the Government does so. They buy their books right along in the United States. That matter depends upon local conditions.

Senator REED. What do they pay teachers over there?

Gen. McINTYRE. We have about 700 American teachers, and in general we start them at \$1,200 a year, and they go from that up to as much as \$3,000 a year.

Senator REED. Are there any colleges over there?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they have the University of the Philippines, which is maintained by the Government; and then they have the church colleges in addition.

Senator REED. Does that university provide a pretty fair education?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; the University of the Philippines is in a fair way of having the standard of one of our universities here.

Senator KENYON. How many students are there?

Senator SHAFROTH. St. Thomas University used to have 1,200 students; how many does it have now?

Gen. McINTYRE. My understanding is that it keeps just about the same. I think I can give you those figures. Last year there was an enrollment of 1,400 students in the University of the Philippines.

Senator KENYON. Do they have any military training there?

Gen. McINTYRE. We have not had heretofore; but they have established a military school for the instruction of the constabulary. That is the local police.

Senator KENYON. Is that very largely attended?

Gen. McINTYRE. These boys are there by special appointment of the members of the legislature—somewhat on the plan of West Point. Those boys are sent there with the idea of being instructed and then being appointed in the constabulary.

Senator KENYON. Well, if the Filipinos were granted their independence, what chance is there for their development along military lines, so that they might join with these other Christian nations in killing each other off?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, at present they have these Filipino scouts, a body of about 5,000 men who are trained as soldiers, and they have the constabulary, which is the insular police force, but which has military training also. That body is supported by the insular government.

Senator REED. Is it your opinion that if these people are turned loose to work out their own salvation, they will maintain a stable government there and become more and more educated and civilized and competent to take care of themselves?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, the theory of this bill is that at this time they are not.

Senator REED. I say, is it your opinion that they will, if they are given the right to govern themselves—will they develop along the right lines?

Gen. McINTYRE. Do you mean if they were given independence to-day?

Senator REED. Oh, no; in a reasonable time.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I think that would have to be studied very carefully at the time, Senator Reed. My disposition is to think that that is somewhat in the future.

Senator SHAFROTH. Gen. McIntyre, you spoke about the student at the University of the Philippines. That is a new institution, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. It has not been going but two years?

Gen. McINTYRE. Just a few years.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think they have been operating for a period of about two years?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. And their attendance now is 1,400?

Gen. McINTYRE. That was the number last year.

Senator SHAFROTH. Consequently, opening only two years ago, they would not have any juniors or seniors at all until after the two years had passed?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, they have graduated one or two classes in some of their schools.

Senator SHAFROTH. But they must be few in number?

Gen. McINTYRE. They are few in number.

Senator SHAFROTH. The St. Thomas University, that was referred to as having about 1,200 students, is an old institution and has been there for very many years, has it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Is it still running?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is still running.

Senator REED. And it still has about 1,200 people?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think it has about that number. I could get those figures for you.

September 1, 1912, 767 students were enrolled.

The CHAIRMAN. The next section provides for the sessions of the senate and house of representatives and the pay of members. Now, the pay of senators and representatives is left to the legislature. Do you think that is wise?

Gen. McINTYRE. The legislature has that authority with reference to the present assembly.

Senator KENYON. What do they pay the members now?

Gen. McINTYRE. Thirty pesos—\$15—a day for each day of session, and the sessions are limited by law to 90 days; but there is usually a short extra session.

Senator KENYON. Are they paid for the extra session also?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, there is nothing in this organic act as to the limit of the session, is there?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; there is no limit there. That is given fully here [indicating]. It has been provided that, instead of having a 90-day session, the discretion be left to the legislature. In the old organic act it was limited to 90 days per annum. It has been suggested that the salaries be named in the bill, but that is a matter on which the War Department has not definitely passed; that is, it makes no recommendation as to that.

Senator REED. I would like to make the suggestion that they ought to get a certain pay per diem, and that if they run beyond a certain period the per diem ought to be reduced materially.

The CHAIRMAN. The way it is in most legislatures.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is a good suggestion. But the Filipinos are very economical. They reduced the expenses of the government last year \$2,500,000.

Senator REED. They are drawing pretty liberal pay—\$15, or ₱30, a day.

Senator KENYON. How much did you say their expenses were reduced?

Senator SHAFROTH. They reduced them \$1,000,000 last year, and I have seen somewhere that they have reduced them \$2,500,000 altogether.

(Thereupon, at 5 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until Wednesday, December 16, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1914.

COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10.30 o'clock a. m., Hon. Gilbert M. Hitchcock (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the members of the committee that they will find before them an annotated bill. This is the House bill, as passed, with notations made by Gen. McIntyre and the clerk of the committee, showing the changes from the organic act.

Senator SHAFROTH. As amended?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; as amended. This was printed in this way for the convenience of the committee to show what changes have been made.

Now, General, will you please resume where you left off in the bill?

STATEMENT OF BRIG. GEN. FRANK M'INTYRE, CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS, UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT—Continued.

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 19 we were discussing, I think, Mr. Chairman.

Section 19 is a change from existing law in that at present the Governor General being a member of the commission or upper house has no veto power. Under this he is given the usual veto power and then, if any bill or joint resolution shall be passed over his veto, the President of the United States has authority to approve or disapprove such an act and his action is final; that is, if a bill is passed over the veto of the governor.

Beginning with line 10, on page 17, there is a clause which is identical with the present law and is contained in section 9 of the Philippines organic act. I am now reading from the other print [members of the committee having annotated print]. It may be the lines are different. It is the provision that gives to the Congress of the United States the power and authority to annul any law passed by the Philippine Legislature.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is the present law.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is the present law and is continued here.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not find it in line 10.

Gen. McINTYRE. I think that is the difficulty [different prints], Senator, but it reads:

That all laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature shall be reported to the Congress of the United States, which hereby reserves power and authority to annul the same.

The following sentence is slightly modified from the clause in section 7 of the present organic act, and the annotated bill will show just exactly the way in which that is so modified. That continues the appropriation in case the legislature fails to appropriate.

Senator LIPPITT. General, in that clause that "all laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature shall be reported to the Congress of the United States, which hereby reserves power and authority to annul the same," is there no time limit on that?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; that is a general power which Congress has at any time.

Senator WALSH. That has never been exercised?

Gen. McINTYRE. That has never been exercised with reference to the Philippine Islands.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is the same authority as they have in connection with the Territories.

Gen. McINTYRE. The same authority that Congress has in connection with the Territories; yes. They can do it at any time. Section 20—

The CHAIRMAN. Let me understand clearly. When the Governor General vetoes a law or an act passed by the Philippine Legislature and it is overridden by a two-thirds vote of the legislature, is it necessary for the President of the United States to put his veto on it within six months?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. I think the time limit was put in on the floor—

That the President of the United States shall approve or disapprove an act submitted to him under the provisions of this section within six months from and after its enactment and submission to him.

Senator CRAWFORD. Suppose he should fail to take any action at all?

Gen. McINTYRE. "But if not approved within such a time it shall become a law."

Senator KENYON. And that is the same in the case of veto?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; unless vetoed he would have nothing to do with it, except in this specific case.

Senator LIPPITT. He would not have anything to do with it unless it passed over the veto?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; unless it passed over the veto.

Senator SHAFROTH. The question is that this gives six months after the enactment and submission for approval. It would have to be submitted.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it would have to be submitted.

Senator SHAFROTH. Perhaps that is all right, but I think the word "enactment" is very confusing before the words "and submission."

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it is. It would create a doubt.

Senator LIPPITT. It means six months after its submission for approval, of course.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator WALSH. I think, General, the idea there is that it is automatically submitted when it is passed over the veto. That is to say, you do not want to say until in due course of affairs the thing is properly certified by the Governor General and the certifying officer of the State and transmitted by due course of the mail and goes through the War Department with such attendant delays as may ensue there and eventually goes to the President. I take it that this means that automatically, it being passed over the governor's veto, it is thereafter submitted to the President, and the six months commence to run from that time.

Senator SHAFROTH. It seems to me we ought to strike out the word "enactment" or the word "submission." They don't mean the same thing.

Senator LIPPITT. In the early part of the section, line 15, page 17, it says:

If, after such consideration, two-thirds of the members elected to that house shall agree to pass the same, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of all the members elected to that house it shall be sent to the Governor General, who shall transmit the same to the President of the United States.

Now, I do not know how long that process of submitting it to the Governor General, having him veto it, and having it passed over his veto by the legislature might consume, but I suppose that it might consume three or four months.

Senator SHAFROTH. Suppose it is lost in transit? I think it ought to be "at the time of submission." I know where acts are passed by our legislature at the close of the session the governor has 30 days from the time of delivery of the instrument to him to sign.

Senator CRAWFORD. It seems to me the only question here is whether the word "enactment" is not unnecessary.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator CRAWFORD. It would not be submitted unless enacted, and the time begins to run from the submission. I think it is rather harmless, but it might just as well go out.

Senator WALSH. I think so. But a law does not become an act until it has gone through with all the formalities; so there is little danger.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there not a little danger there of discrediting the Governor General there by this provision? Suppose the Governor General vetoes an act and the legislature passes it over his head?

Gen. McINTYRE. This has gone through several forms from the time the bill was introduced until it passed the House. The original thought was to give the governor the absolute veto, but there seemed to be such an objection to giving to anyone that authority that this was submitted so as to meet the views of those who were opposed to an absolute power of veto in the governor and would give that power to veto to some one who was somewhat away from any local disagreement that might arise.

The CHAIRMAN. Then would it not be better to have the veto stand unless the President, within six months, overrode it?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think, Senator, there would be—well, of course, this would enable the legislature to adjourn—

The CHAIRMAN. That is, it might not make it necessary for the President also to veto it.

Gen. McINTYRE. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. But make the governor's veto good unless over-ridden by the President's approval.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think that this is intended to guard against a feeling that something would necessarily arise between the executive and legislature, and probably the Philippine people, and that being the case it seems to me there ought to be an affirmative action upon the part of the President as to which of the matters in dispute between them should be their law. I therefore favor very much the President exercising this veto power in the event it is certified to him, he being a disinterested party and a person who sees from afar off.

Senator WALSH. I like that arrangement because it really substitutes the President in that event for the approving authority when the Governor General has signified his opposition to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. I will pass that for the present and make a note we are at least all agreed it should be made more definite.

Senator SHAFROTH. Strike out the word "enactment."

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else in section 19 that the Senators want to call to the attention of Gen. McIntyre?

General, you did not fully explain what the difference is between this provision concerning the continuation of appropriations and the old provision.

Gen. McINTYRE. The old provision in its operation was held to authorize the Governor General to allot an amount equal to the total appropriated in the preceding bills or for the preceding fiscal year, and to make such disposition of that amount as he thought the conditions of the service required. The object of the change here was to require for each purpose of the former appropriation bill an equal sum to be allotted, and it would take away from the Governor General the wide discretion that he has heretofore had in the disposition of the total sum appropriated.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, heretofore the arrangement has been that if the legislature failed to make a current appropriation, then the old appropriation as to the total remained, but the Governor General might change the details or reapportion the amount?

Gen. McINTYRE. Change the details; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was necessary because the two houses did not always agree, and there had to be some way of preserving the government.

Senator SHAFROTH. In the same way our Porto Rican government has been under the same situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The same thing. Now, all this does is simply to continue the total.

Senator WALSH. And the same distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. And it continues also the distribution.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it continues the distribution.

The CHAIRMAN. But suppose in that case an appropriation bill passed this year containing an appropriation for certain public buildings, and the legislature fails to make an appropriation for the next year, would those appropriations for public buildings still

continue even though the buildings had been completed and the money was not necessary?

Gen. McINTYRE. It would under this provision; yes, sir. The Governor General could allot to that purpose even though the purpose was deemed to be—

Senator LIPPITT. The protection against that is the fact that the treasury would only pay out when directed by the Governor General, and, of course, it is to be presumed he would not duplicate that expense.

Senator KENYON. Would not the language "so far as may be done" protect it.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes; that also protects it.

Senator KENYON. There is the same discretion in the Governor General.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the present government this clause has been availed of for a number of years, has it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think that was the condition for at least three years.

The CHAIRMAN. That was due to the fact there was a disagreement between the upper house and the lower house on the appropriation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the old appropriations were continued from year to year?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. What has happened there in the Philippines in regard to the legislature? Under the present condition of having a commission controlled by a majority of Filipinos, has it been working smoothly or has there been a conflict between the commission and the Governor General, or how has it acted?

Gen. McINTYRE. There has been no conflict, it has worked very smoothly. There has, however, been but one complete session of the legislature under this condition. It is now in session for the second time, but there has been but one completed session of the legislature since the Filipinos have had a majority in the upper house. In that session, for the first time in four years, the appropriation bills were passed and there was no conflict between the two houses.

Senator WALSH. You say that was the first time in four years?

Gen. McINTYRE. That was the first time. That was last year. Now it is in session again.

Senator LIPPITT. Why was it that for the three years the legislature refused to pass the appropriation bills? Did they want larger appropriations or were they protesting against their being so large?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is a matter of controversy, and it is very difficult to state precisely, because the two houses did not state the reasons in the same way. In a general way, the difficulty started by the lower house contending—and this is what happened one year—that the appropriation bill should necessarily originate in that house and that the commission should not originate the appropriation bill. Then, of course, there were essential differences as to the details of the bills on which they could not agree. And, inasmuch as they had this provision there, the upper house, which favored the views of the

Governor General, was in a position to go ahead with the government without the necessity for compromising on an appropriation bill or without the necessity of yielding so much as they might have been disposed to yield if they had not had that provision.

Senator WEEKS. Was it based on the smallness of the appropriation or only the question of principle?

Gen. MCINTYRE. It was based, I should say, more on the question of the distribution of the appropriation than on the amount. I do not think, for instance, on the large question of economy, that one house was disposed to be more economical than the other.

Senator LIPPITT. Was there some particular appropriation—some particular thing—that was in controversy that one house wanted and the other did not? There must have been something.

Gen. MCINTYRE. There were several such things.

Senator LIPPITT. What are they?

Gen. MCINTYRE. For instance, there would generally be in the appropriation bill, as it passed the lower house, a considerable cut in the salaries of those officials which the commission felt it was necessary to protect.

Senator LIPPITT. What officials were those?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Those were generally the American officials, the heads of the different bureaus, and the principal executive officials of the government. The commission would take the ground that they would lose the services of those men if there was a serious cut in the salaries.

Senator LIPPITT. I suppose the Filipinos wanted to lose their services?

Gen. MCINTYRE. That was probably the moving cause.

Senator LIPPITT. Did that affect the judges?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No. There was never a disagreement as to the judiciary.

Senator WALSH. What were those officers, generally?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Generally they were chiefs of bureaus of the government. For instance, officers such as the director of civil service, director of education, director of public works, collector of internal revenue, and so on.

Senator WALSH. Was there nothing more deep-seated than the matter of salaries?

Gen. MCINTYRE. There were other things, but frequently the little underlying causes would not be made of record; that is, they frequently would start in with a preconceived determination that there should be a disagreement. And it is very hard to analyze disagreements and to say that this was the cause and that was the cause.

The difficulty arose partly from the system; the lower house could pass laws and know that the commission would not pass them. They could enact the laws which might appeal to the people, knowing if the law was not a good law that the commission would reject it. And the system, in that way, failed to develop the best that there was in the assembly, because it was deprived of a great deal of the responsibility for legislation it would have if the two houses were of the same general origin.

Senator LIPPITT. In the present legislature, have they reduced the salaries of some officers?

Gen. MCINTYRE. In the last appropriation bill, generally speaking, officers receiving salaries above \$3,000 were cut 5 per cent, and those receiving salaries above \$10,000 were cut 10 per cent. That was with the exception of the judiciary and the exception of certain officers. But, generally speaking, that governed the salary question in the last appropriation bill.

Senator LIPPITT. So that the effect of the change has been to allow the policies that the lower house of the legislature wanted to put in force to be enacted?

Gen. MCINTYRE. In so far as the salary question is concerned.

Senator LIPPITT. In so far as that particular question was concerned?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Has that caused somewhat of a demoralization or changes in the personnel of the service?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Doubtless some changes have resulted from that.

Senator WALSH. Who have resigned in consequence of a reduction in salary?

Gen. MCINTYRE. In many cases there would be more than one reason given. As, for instance, I remember offhand that the director of agriculture resigned and one of the reasons given was that his salary had been reduced by this arrangement.

Senator WALSH. Do you know the character of man who succeeded him?

Gen. MCINTYRE. An excellent man succeeded him, a man who had been there as assistant in the department for a matter of 12 years.

Senator WALSH. You do not feel that the department has suffered particularly, then, General, by reason of the change?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Judging on the basis of experience in the islands, the new man has had more experience than the man who resigned. The man who resigned had been there less than 2 years and the man appointed in his place has been there for 12 years. Those figures are approximate.

Senator SHAFROTH. It seemed to me that some of those salaries at the time they were made were very high. For instance, the cabinet of the Governor General received \$15,000 a year, when our own Cabinet officers at that time got only \$8,000. Since then, however, our Cabinet officers have been raised to \$12,000.

Senator KENYON. Have they been reduced out there?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. When they admitted the Filipinos into the service they put them on a \$5,000 basis and then gave the others, heads of departments, \$10,500, and \$5,000 as members of the commission, which I do not think was right.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes; the salaries of the heads of departments, secretary of the interior, etc.

Senator SHAFROTH. They received \$10,500 as department chiefs and \$5,000 as members of the commission.

Senator LANE. Did I understand you to say there was a veto power over the lower house which was exercised on their council by the upper house?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Doubtless in some cases, and I think in a great many cases, it was so. I think the system was established and the

lower house would pass a number of acts which it knew the upper house would defeat.

Senator KENYON. Has the Governor General, under this bill, power to call a special session?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator KENYON. That is provided for in this measure?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. The session lasts ordinarily 60 days?

Gen. McINTYRE. Under the existing organic act the regular session is limited to 90 days and then the Governor General may call a special session. Under this bill the length of the session is left to the legislature.

Senator WALSH. You were interrupted when you were proceeding to tell about the officers who apparently had resigned by reason of a cut in their salaries.

Gen. McINTYRE. I mentioned the secretary of agriculture first. I would like, if I may be permitted, to refresh my mind with the records. The number is not great. You see, the cuts did not affect the judiciary. It may have influenced some men to seek an opportunity to transfer to the United States men who would have continued in the service if they could not have gotten positions elsewhere; but in those cases it would be somewhat difficult to list them. The consulting architect was the only other resignation for this cause.

Senator CRAWFORD. Was there a sort of jealousy between the upper and lower houses flowing out of the fact that the Americans dominated the upper house and the Filipinos the lower, and that, in itself, created a jealousy between the two?

Gen. McINTYRE. I would have some difficulty in answering that question. I rather think that it did not, but that the personality of some members of the upper house would rather affect that question rather than whether they were Americans or Filipinos. For a while, you see, with the Americans having a majority of the upper house, things moved very smoothly, and thereafter there came the deadlock. And the deadlock having once been established and there being some resentment on the part of the lower house in seeing that they were unable to accomplish a great deal, by refusing to appropriate, I think that continued their resentment, and I think that unless something had been done the deadlock would perhaps have been indefinite.

Senator WALSH. Did that situation become an issue in the contest for places in the lower house?

Gen. McINTYRE. In general, practically every man who appealed to the people would take to himself credit for the fact that he had resented any imposition from the other house and that he had stood for the people, as he would put it.

Senator SHAFROTH. I would like to suggest that in regard to the length of time for the sitting of the legislature, inasmuch as the legislators are paid a per diem of \$15 a day, it seems to me there ought to be a limitation as to the time they are to hold. I know in a State legislature if you should have any \$15 a day, they would be in session all the time.

Gen. McINTYRE. That was changed here, Senator.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; it was changed to 90 days.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. You see, the present law of Congress limits the session to 90 days and then the law of the Philippine Legislature fixes the per diem. And under this bill the limit of the session is removed and the bill provides for an annual salary to be fixed by the Philippine Legislature. Both of those would be changes.

Senator KENYON. Is there any power in the Governor General to terminate the session in any way?

Gen. McINTYRE. There is not in this bill.

Senator SHAFROTH. I have felt that the best law of any in relation to the termination of a session of the legislature is a 90-day session with a provision that after the 90 days they shall draw only a nominal amount, \$1 a day. That would give them time to finish up in the last day or two their work, and at the same time would close the legislative session within a reasonable time.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you prepare and offer an amendment of that sort?

Senator LIPPITT. I might say that Rhode Island goes you one step better than that. They provide a per diem payment for 60 days and no payment at all for any extra session.

The CHAIRMAN. That is our provision, too, in Nebraska, except that it is not for 60 days but for 90 days.

Senator WEEKS. I would like to ask you: Do you think these salaries which have been reduced were too high?

Gen. McINTYRE. My thought is not, with this exception: The salaries were higher than the Philippine Government could pay if the positions were filled by Filipinos; that is, if there was a gradual replacing of American officials that had been theretofore considered necessary by Filipinos, the salaries should then be reduced in order to bring the salaries within the means of the Philippine Government. So long as it is necessary to keep an American in a position in the Philippine Islands it is absolutely necessary that the salaries shall be liberal.

Senator WEEKS. Were they materially higher than the salaries for similar places in our Government here?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they were materially higher. They were fixed originally higher.

Senator WEEKS. How much higher?

Gen. McINTYRE. The Governor General's salary was \$20,500, and the heads of the executive departments received \$15,500.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, provided they were commissioners?

Gen. McINTYRE. Commissioners, at the heads of the executive departments.

Senator SHAFROTH. All the Americans were?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; originally.

Senator LIPPITT. Nevertheless, it is necessary to bear that distinction in mind, because, as a matter of fact, the salaries of the heads of departments were \$10,500.

Gen. McINTYRE. \$10,500, and \$5,000 as members of the legislature. The legislative members of the commission received salaries of \$7,500. That, for example, I think, was too high.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, the Americans?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; those who were legislative members of the commission without portfolios.

Senator LIPPITT. They were Filipinos?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. You see, it was increased from the original \$5,000 to \$7,500. At the last session of the legislature they decreased that salary to \$6,750. It is still too high and more than we would pay for a member of the legislature in a State whose revenues approximated to those of the Philippine Islands. And yet those men, you see, were usually Filipinos, so that that salary would have no justification according to our standard.

Senator LIPPITT. There was one case in which they were Americans, were there not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; there have been times when one of them was an American.

Senator LIPPITT. Four members of the cabinet and one member of the commission were Americans, and that one officer received \$7,500.

Gen. McINTYRE. There was also, during that same period, one Filipino who was the head of an executive department and his salary was \$15,500; and there were three Filipinos who were legislative members of the commission, and their salaries were \$7,500. That creates the difficulty in adjusting the salaries to the revenues of the government. For, while it is quite clear to me that these salaries of the Americans were not excessive, yet at the same time, that would be an excessive salary to pay to a man who lived at his home, under normal conditions, for the performance of this work, and is wholly out of proportion to our salaries here.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, for a similar man, to live here?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Those salaries are not higher than paid in corresponding countries out there where they are controlled by foreigners—for instance, Great Britain.

Gen. McINTYRE. Not where the office is held by Europeans.

Senator LIPPITT. By Europeans?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Take the Governor General of Java. Does he not get a much higher salary than the Governor General of the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. In general our salaries are lower than the colonial salaries for offices held by officers from the home country. And our salaries were based there on a somewhat different theory. They were based on the theory that the office called for the payment of such and such a salary and that salary was paid whether the office was held by an American or by a Filipino.

Senator WALSH. I am not sure, Senator, that that is a very safe criterion, because as a general rule our salaries are less than salaries of like officers in the European countries.

Senator WEEKS. That is true of the higher officers.

Senator WALSH. That is what I speak of.

Senator WEEKS. Not of the lower officers?

Senator WALSH. No.

Senator CRAWFORD. There is no reason why those salaries, for instance, should be higher than that of our minister to a foreign country of about the same standing, who had to be there as a representative of the United States and had to take his family there and live there?

Gen. McINTYRE. His duty is so much more serious than those of the minister.

Senator CRAWFORD. They require more ability—administrative and executive ability?

Gen. McINTYRE. Altogether administrative and executive—much more exacting. And, of course, with reference to ministers, it has gotten to be quite generally understood that a minister must have a source of income other than his salary.

Senator CRAWFORD. He is underpaid?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. He is supposed to be paid by the honor of his office.

Senator WEEKS. Does the Governor General have any allowance?

Gen. McINTYRE. The Governor General has his house, and his house is largely furnished and lighted for him. He has an allowance of that kind, but there is no fund set aside for him.

Senator WEEKS. Is it not very common with other countries to make an allowance for the Governor General for entertaining purposes?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. The Philippine Legislature, with reference to that, is very liberal to the Governor General, and I think it is safe to say it would make any allowance he requested. But our Governors General have generally felt indisposed to call on the legislature for these things, and as a result there has probably never been a Governor General who has not returned to the United States, notwithstanding his salary, at something of a financial loss from having held office.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his salary?

Gen. McINTYRE. \$20,500. That salary, however, was decreased. At the last legislature the Governor General had his own salary reduced in accordance with the general scheme of reduction.

Senator WEEKS. That is 10 per cent?

Gen. McINTYRE. Ten per cent; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not provided for in this bill, is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; in the next to the last section of this bill. The salary is fixed at \$18,000, and that is on page 26, section 27.

Senator KENYON. Has he a summer palace and a winter palace?

Gen. McINTYRE. He has houses furnished him, and he has a house at Baguio.

Senator CRAWFORD. It is on page 29 of this new bill.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator CRAWFORD. \$18,000 and occupancy of the buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. Then that \$18,000 is lower than it has heretofore been?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is lower than it has heretofore been and it corresponds to what was provided in the last appropriation bill of the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. It is about the same as is now paid ambassadors to first-class countries?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We had better get on to section 20. That provides for the election of Commissioners to the United States.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. That is a change from the existing law in this respect, that at present the Resident Commissioners are elected

by the legislature, the two houses voting separately. This makes it an election by the people. The duties are the same as set forth in this bill. There is no change of the duties of the original commissioner, but simply in the method of election and in the term. At present he is elected for four years. This bill provides that the term shall be the same as that of a senator, and the election shall be once in six years, to correspond with the general elections of the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Commissioners, then, will be the only officers of the Philippine Government elected at large?

Gen. McINTYRE. Those two commissioners will be the only ones that are elected at large.

The CHAIRMAN. The pay is the same as Members of Congress?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the pay is exactly what is now provided by law.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have mileage the same as a Congressman?

Gen. McINTYRE. They receive a certain amount in lieu of mileage each year.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not stated here. I suppose it has been provided by special act, because it is continued.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it is continued. But that is the present law.

The CHAIRMAN. Take section 21—

Senator WALSH. Really, the only essential difference, then, is in the manner of electing?

Gen. McINTYRE. The manner of electing and the term.

Senator LIPPITT. What has been this sum in lieu of mileage? They receive the same salaries as Members of Congress, I suppose?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. That is paid by the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the Resident Commissioners are paid by the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. And what sum is paid in lieu of mileage?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think it is \$2,000.

Senator WEEKS. Let me go back to page 17 to ask you one question, where it provides that all laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature shall be reported to the Congress of the United States, which "hereby reserves power and authority to annul the same." Has there been any instance where any such action has been contemplated?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think perhaps in one bill that was introduced at one time, but it was never reported from the committee. No action was ever taken on it. Nothing has ever been done under that provision.

Senator WEEKS. What do you think of the propriety of Congress annulling an act which has been passed upon by the Governor General and by the President, if there is any difference of opinion between the Governor General and the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think, Senator, this power is inherent in Congress and it can do this even though that is not embodied in the bill. It is in all Territorial acts.

Senator CRAWFORD. We have always had it expressed in reference to Territorial acts by the Territorial legislatures.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. Congress can not divest itself of authority to legislate for those Territories.

Senator KENYON. Should there not be some limit of time in which Congress could do that?

Senator WALSH. You can not do that, Senator.

Senator KENYON. Why not?

Senator WALSH. Congress has authority to annul at any time. One Congress can not tie the hands of another Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. The next section relates to the executive power generally; is there anything in that?

Gen. MCINTYRE. The executive power at present is not formulated in a statute. The chief executive was made first president of the commission, the governing body, and later he was made Governor General to succeed to the authority of the military governor. And that was done by instructions of the President of the United States, which were afterwards ratified by Congress, so that there was no statutory formulation of the duties and authority of the chief executive and, in general, he has the power which is herein set forth. And in drawing this the Territorial laws have been very generally followed, and a part of this was taken altogether from the organic act of Hawaii.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, he now ceases to be a member of the commission?

Gen. MCINTYRE. He now ceases to be a member of the commission.

The CHAIRMAN. And is purely an executive officer?

Gen. MCINTYRE. He is purely an executive.

The CHAIRMAN. It might be more democratic to drop the word "general" and simply call him the "governor" now.

Gen. MCINTYRE. He had the title "civil governor" once, but it was changed to Governor General.

Senator SHAFROTH. The circumstance that the various Provinces have governors would make it desirable that there should be a distinguishing title for the governor of the islands. Is he the chief of the military forces there?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Not of the United States military forces.

Senator SHAFROTH. Of the Philippine Constabulary?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; he has control of the constabulary now, and it is given to him specifically under this bill.

Senator WALSH. I call your attention to what seems to be a fault in this general grant of power: This section gives the Governor General power to grant pardons and reprieves and remit fines and forfeitures, and to veto legislation, and to call upon the commanders of the military and naval forces in the islands in cases of rebellion or insurrection, and so on; and then it gives him the extraordinary power, when the public safety requires it, to suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus—

Senator LIPPITT. Where are you reading from?

Senator WALSH. From lines 10 to 15, on page 22 of the bill:

And he may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus or place the islands, or any part thereof, under martial law: *Provided*, That whenever the Governor General shall exercise the authority granted in this section he shall at once notify the President of the United States thereof, together with the attending facts and circumstances.

Of course, that refers to his suspending the writ of habeas corpus and declaring martial law; but that would require him to give notice

of everything he does to the President of the United States; for instance, if he granted a pardon, he would have to report to the President that he had granted a pardon. That, of course, should be limited to—

Senator SHAFROTH (interposing). Suspending the habeas corpus.

Senator WALSH (continuing). To the specific authority granted on this page.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir. You will notice that that proviso is new, and replaces the old words, "until communication shall be had with the President and his decision thereon made known." That was the form in the Hawaiian law, from which this was evidently copied, word for word.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be well to incorporate there that whenever the Governor General shall exercise emergency authority he shall report it to the President?

Senator SHAFROTH. You could repeat this language and make it clear; make it read:

Whenever the Governor General shall suspend the writ of habeas corpus or place the islands or any part thereof under martial law, he shall at once notify the President, etc.

Senator WALSH. You could make it very much briefer than that by saying, "That whenever the Governor General shall exercise the authority granted in the last above clause, he shall at once notify the President," etc.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think it would be safer to repeat the words, and then you would be sure of it.

Senator WALSH. Or the word "foregoing" could be inserted, so as to make it read, "That whenever the Governor General shall exercise the authority granted in the foregoing clause of this section."

Senator LIPPITT. Well, I suppose those are details of the bill that we will have to take up and consider at some subsequent time, anyway?

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you take up the next section, Gen. McIntyre?

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 22 in this bill is entirely new and is intended to cover the change from the present form of the upper house and heads of the executive departments to the new form.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that mean that the Philippine Legislature can change the duties of the executive officers?

Gen. McINTYRE. The heads of the executive departments; yes, sir. Under this act, that authority is given the legislature.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that does not relate to the powers of the governor?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir; it does not relate to any power that is specifically prescribed in this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The executive departments are those that are under the Governor General?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; they are under the Governor General.

Senator LIPPITT. Does that mean that he can abolish the executive departments entirely?

Senator WEEKS. It says so in lines 16, 17, and 18.

Senator SHAFROTH. That means just as to the commission part of it; but the legislature may thereafter abolish executive departments.

Senator WALSH. That part of the act would have to be approved by the Governor General or passed over his veto, and if passed over his veto must have the approval of the President of the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those executive departments are there now?

Gen. McINTYRE. Four.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you name them, for the record?

Gen. McINTYRE. The secretary of finance and justice, the secretary of commerce and police, the secretary of public instruction, and the secretary of the interior; those are the four executive departments.

The CHAIRMAN. How about agriculture?

Gen. McINTYRE. Agriculture has never been a separate department; it is a bureau.

Senator SHAFROTH. It is in the interior department, is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. It was formerly in the interior department, but two or three years ago they put it in the department of education.

The CHAIRMAN. Those departments would remain with their present authority as now existing, except that the heads of them would have no right to sit in the upper house, would they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the heads of them would have no right to sit in the upper house unless that is given; the Philippine Legislature is authorized to give seats in one or both houses, with or without the right of voting, to the heads of those departments. This bill authorizes the legislature to do that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in an earlier provision of the bill, is it?

Senator LIPPITT. That is at the bottom of page 23 in the section we are now considering.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I see. Does that mean that the legislature can create as many departments as it pleases, and give the head of each of such departments a seat in the legislature with the power of voting?

Gen. McINTYRE. They would have that power, but always subject to the usual methods of enacting laws; that is, it would have to be approved by the Governor General or the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Then this limitation on the size of the legislature is not absolute; it could be changed by the legislature itself?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the size of either house could be changed?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us take up section 23.

Gen. McINTYRE. Section 23 is new and provides that the President may designate the head of an executive department to act as Governor General in the absence of the Governor General. At present the vice governor does that, but under this bill there will be no permanent vice governor.

The CHAIRMAN. In that case he would designate a Filipino to act as Governor General?

Senator WALSH. No.

Gen. McINTYRE. He could in case it were desired; or if there were an American at the head of an executive department, he could be designated.

Senator LIPPITT. He could only designate a Filipino in case he was the head of an executive department?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The Governor General has the power to appoint the heads of the various departments, has he not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But they are subject to confirmation by the Philippine senate, are they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, it has been said that, if all of the appointments of the Governor General are subject to confirmation by the Philippine senate, it practically places the senate in a very strong position there; and an expression was used by somebody that, in view of that provision, "the senate would trade the Governor General out of all his power." What have you to say as to that?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, that is a question that you gentlemen are more familiar with than I am. [Laughter.]

Senator SHAFROTH. There is not much trading here, is there? [Laughter.]

Gen. McINTYRE. That is the customary provision; and under this bill, Mr. Chairman, the Governor General has immense power, and if he exercises his power with discretion, I feel that he would have no trouble in having his appointees confirmed. At any rate, they hold office from the date of appointment until the end of the next session, unless they are rejected; and with the sessions once a year—the sessions heretofore have been 90 days; under this bill they may be longer—the Governor General would be practically in a position to have all of these offices filled by his own appointees, in case the senate attempted to make his power of selection of no value. And then, of course, under this law we can have recourse to Congress; Congress is not depriving itself of the right hereafter to amend the law so as to meet any condition which may be created.

Senator WALSH. Let me inquire, as a matter of practical politics, does that mean that the heads of these departments will always be Filipinos, or do you imagine that the Governor General will designate Americans, and that the Americans will be confirmed by the senate?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think he will designate some Americans and some Filipinos. At present there are four heads of departments, three Americans and one Filipino.

Senator WALSH. But that is because the appointment is here?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. And hereafter I think the number of Filipinos would under this bill gradually be increased; perhaps at first the number might be two and two.

I do not think the Filipinos want all of the offices; I think they are perfectly willing to have certain offices continue in the hands of Americans.

We had an example of that very recently, in the case of the director of health. The director of health is an American, an officer of the United States Public Health Service. He came to the United States on a prolonged leave recently, having been over there a great many years without any leave. His assistant was a Filipino, a very excellent man; and under the law it would fall to him to be the head of that bureau, the bureau of health of the Philippine

Islands; but he asked that an American be assigned to the head of the department, and that was done with the concurrence of the commission, which is now in its majority Filipinos; an American Army officer could not be assigned under the law to the office; but he was placed in an advisory capacity, in charge of the office, an officer of the Army Medical Corps; and it operated in that way until Dr. Heiser returned to the islands.

Senator LIPPITT. What was the particular motive that induced that desire for the selection of an American?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I think the Filipino assistant was moved by two causes; in fact, it was so stated at the time. The first was the fact that the American would be a man of greater technical knowledge and experience, and the second was that the health matter in the Philippine Islands is largely a matter in which we are interested as a Nation, and that he thought that we would have more confidence in the execution of the duties of the office if we had an American in the office. Those were the two reasons given.

Senator LIPPITT. I suppose the health officer is more or less of an unpopular person in many communities out there?

Gen. McINTYRE. That has been the case; yes.

Senator LIPPITT. And perhaps it is a little easier for an American to exercise that sort of a function than for a native to exercise it, who would be closely connected by family ties and otherwise to the people of the islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is undoubtedly true.

Senator LIPPITT. Did that have something to do with it?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, that was not given as a reason, and the two reasons which were given seemed rather conclusive, and I did not go beyond them.

The CHAIRMAN. The head of an executive department can only become a temporary Governor General?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; temporary Governor General.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything in this bill which prevents the President from nominating a Filipino as Governor General?

Gen. McINTYRE. Nothing whatever.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we come to the twenty-fourth section of the bill, which relates to the judiciary.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is the law at present; it is contained in section 9 of the organic act; the changes made are only in form; that is, where the old law says, "heretofore provided by the Philippine Commission" it is changed to the words "now provided by law"; and then there is a final clause added—as a precaution, as far as I can see. I think that last clause is really out of an excess of precaution.

Senator CRAWFORD. The provisions as to those judges of the court of first instance have not been changed; that is the law now, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is the law now.

Senator CRAWFORD. They are appointed by and with the consent of the senate of the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. That has been by the commission; and hereafter it will be the senate.

Senator CRAWFORD. Yes; hereafter it will be the senate.

Senator WALSH. This section provides that—

The court of first instance of the Philippine Islands shall possess and exercise jurisdiction as heretofore provided and such additional jurisdiction as shall hereafter be prescribed by law.

Apparently, then, the Philippine Legislature can confer additional jurisdiction on those courts?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; it can confer additional jurisdiction.

Senator WEEKS. When those courts were organized, several of the appointees were residents of the United States who had had no experience in the east. Are there American lawyers now at Manila, or in the principal places in the islands, who are competent and at the same time are known to the people there, so that they would be likely to be confirmed by the legislature if they were appointed?

Gen. MCINTYRE. I think so. We had a very fair test of that recently. At the last session of the legislature an act was passed, reorganizing the judiciary; that is, in so far as these lower courts were concerned; and it vacated all of the appointments, so that the judges had to be reappointed; and the Governor General reappointed every judge on the bench, and of the new judges he appointed some were Filipinos and some Americans. The number was increased somewhat by that act.

Senator SHAFROTH. How many Filipinos are now on the supreme court bench?

Gen. MCINTYRE. On the supreme court bench there are three Filipinos.

Senator SHAFROTH. Out of seven?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; out of seven.

Senator SHAFROTH. And how many judges of the court of first instance are Filipinos?

Gen. MCINTYRE. There are 22 Filipinos and 14 Americans at present.

Senator SHAFROTH. The municipal courts of the islands, I presume, are presided over entirely by Filipinos?

Gen. MCINTYRE. There are some few exceptions, but generally speaking they are all Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree with the statement that the Filipino is peculiarly adapted to the legal profession? Has he made more of a success in that profession than in any other profession he has entered?

Gen. MCINTYRE. I think that is largely true, because he has taken more to that profession, and has had more opportunities in that profession.

The CHAIRMAN. They have made more progress in that profession, have they, than in medicine and surgery, for instance?

Gen. MCINTYRE. I think so, although there is a very good medical college in Manila, and some of their young men are progressive and are making considerable advance. But the number of lawyers among the Filipinos is far in excess of the number of doctors, although I think the disproportion is decreasing somewhat.

The CHAIRMAN. Under their present system there is no American jury trial?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In what cases do they have jury trials? You spoke of that.

Gen. McINTYRE. In the city of Manila and some other cities they have what is called " assessors," or lay judges of the facts, who sit with the presiding judge and advise as to the facts in the case. But that is not of general operation in the islands. I referred to that the other day in this way: When it was suggested that there was no jury system, I spoke of the fact that they had never contemplated that in their own laws, and that when they had taken the question up they met it in this way by providing these two lay judges rather than by following our methods.

Under this bill, while there is no jury system, the Philippine Legislature has full authority to adopt that, if it is desired.

The CHAIRMAN. Can the decisions on the facts made by these assessors be overruled by the presiding judge?

Gen. McINTYRE. My impression is that they can be. I would not answer that offhand without reading the law:

The duties of assessors in trials in courts of first instance are " to sit with the judge upon the trial of an action and to advise him in the determination of all questions of fact involved therein."

The responsibility for final decision of any question of fact rests with the judge; but if both assessors disagree with the finding of the judge, they may certify the question to the supreme court for review.

The CHAIRMAN. They are really virtually referees in the matter?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; referees.

The CHAIRMAN. Then a judge can try a man for murder and sentence him to death?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; but with reference to the power of judges of courts of first instance to sentence a man to death, the code of criminal procedure requires that in all cases in which the death penalty is imposed the record shall be sent up to the supreme court for review and judgment.

Senator WALSH. Well, they have never known jury trials in their system at all, have they?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; there is no jury trial in their system.

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed to section 25.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is identical with section 10 of the Philippine organic act at present, with the exception that the present ground of appeal in causes in which the value in controversy exceeds \$25,000 has been stricken out; so that there is no appeal based on the amount in controversy. That is the only change in that from the present law.

Senator CRAWFORD. That means, then, that appeals are allowed from all final judgments, without reference to the amount, does it?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; it means that no appeal can be taken based on the amount; where it is not justified on one of the other grounds.

Senator CRAWFORD. But if the other ground exist, then the mere fact that the sum involved does not reach a certain amount does not affect the jurisdiction?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is correct.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is what I meant.

Senator SHAFROTH. Can you tell me whether there have been many appeals from the Philippine courts to the Supreme Court of the United States?

Gen. McINTYRE. Under this clause that is omitted?

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; under the clause that is omitted in this bill.

Gen. MCINTYRE. I looked that up when it was before the House; and I found that there had been 17 appeals, and in 16 of them the decision of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands were sustained; but there have been 17 appeals altogether.

Senator LANE. What was the nature of the cases, in general?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Well, they were cases as to the ownership of property; they were civil cases generally.

Senator LANE. I was wondering if this would not work a hardship upon the Filipino, inasmuch as, if he wanted his case appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, he would have to come over here. Perhaps he might have a suit with an American citizen; I think it would involve a greater hardship upon the Filipino in that case. You say that does not discriminate against them?

Gen. MCINTYRE. No.

Senator WALSH. I think the language in lines 21 and 22, on page 25 of the bill, does not convey the idea that was intended to be expressed. It says:

And proceedings now pending therein or hereafter determined thereby in which the Constitution or any statute, treaty, title, right, or privilege of the United States is involved.

I take it that that means where the Constitution or any statute or treaty of the United States is involved, or where any title, right, or privilege under the Constitution, or under any statute or treaty of the United States, is involved. I can not conceive that it means a privilege of the United States.

Gen. MCINTYRE. No. I think there is an omission.

Senator SHAFROTH. The only question is whether under the fourteenth amendment you would not get pretty nearly everything that is given here.

Senator WALSH. That is the basis of the jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court now upon writ of error to a State court; that is, where a title, right, or privilege under the Constitution, or under a statutory provision or treaty of the United States, is involved.

The CHAIRMAN. That ought to be made more definite.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; it seems to me it ought to be made more definite.

Senator WALSH. That language does not convey the idea that the framer of it had in view, apparently.

Senator SHAFROTH. I suggest that you look up the question of the United States appeals from the Philippine Islands.

Gen. MCINTYRE. This is the same language; this does not give them any additional right of appeal.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, you have cut out the provision as to \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, heretofore a case if it involved \$25,000 could be brought up here on that ground.

Senator LIPPITT. And this changes that.

The CHAIRMAN. Hereafter the mere amount of money will not be a cause of appeal.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; I see.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any other way of bringing a case to the Supreme Court of the United States from the Philippine Islands except by appeal?

Senator CRAWFORD. Either appeal or writ of error.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, would there be under this provision?

Senator WALSH. No; but the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States is given by this act.

Senator SHAFROTH. And this section says:

Under the same regulations and by the same procedure, as far as applicable, as the final judgment and decrees of the district courts of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed to section 26.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is practically section 74 in the present organic act. The principal change is one in form, where the word "concessions" was stricken out, generally, although by error it was allowed to remain in one place in this section.

The CHAIRMAN. The word "privileges" was also stricken out?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir. There is one provision of that which has created a difficulty—I have no recommendation or suggestion to make as to it—and that is the requirement "shall forbid the issue of stock or bonds except in exchange for actual cash"——

Senator LIPPITT. Where is that?

Gen. McINTYRE. At the beginning of line 4, on page 25, in the old print of the bill.

Senator LIPPITT. What section?

Gen. McINTYRE. Twenty-six.

Senator SHAFROTH. Will you read that provision, please?

Gen. McINTYRE (reading):

That all franchises or rights granted under this act shall forbid the issue of stock or bonds except in exchange for actual cash or for property at a fair valuation equal to the par value of the stock or bonds so issued.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think that is a good provision.

Gen. McINTYRE. The difficulty of that in its application, Senator Shafroth, was this: That we require the Government-aided railroads in the Philippine Islands to issue a 4 per cent bond, the interest on which is guaranteed by the Philippine Government, but the principal is not. Those bonds could never be sold if they were required to get par for them; the bonds could not be sold under that provision.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, ought not the legislature of the Philippines to forbid that, then?

Gen. McINTYRE. The difficulty is that this, being in the Constitution, they could not change it, and yet one would pay par for such a bond.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, why can not the issuance of 5 per cent or 6 per cent bonds be authorized?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, you see, under that railroad act it was provided that that 4 per cent interest should be guaranteed; it would be very difficult to arrange a bond issue——

Senator LIPPITT (interposing). The bond is guaranteed by the United States Government, is it?

Gen. McINTYRE. By the Philippine government.

Senator LIPPITT. By the Philippine government as a 4 per cent bond? Well, that was based upon a law that we passed here, was it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; that is a law of Congress.

Senator LIPPITT. That is a law of Congress; so that you have got to come back to the Congress of the United States in order to change that provision?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, I would not want the whole provision stricken out because of one exception, anyhow.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I do not suggest any change. I simply mention that as being a difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN. A good many of those bonds have been sold, have they not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who have been purchasers?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have been sold to the public, in so far as they have been sold; but they have not been so generally sold as you might think, because the companies have tried to hold them—or the people who built the road; the price was disappointing to them. They built those roads expecting that that 4 per cent guaranty by the Government as to interest would make the bonds bring about 95. The bonds did for a short time; but they fell very much below that; so that in order to avoid great loss, they have held the bonds themselves, very largely.

The CHAIRMAN. What market value have the bonds had?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have gone down to 85; and if they were forced to sell them at this time they would not get more than 60.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the law required them to be sold at par, did it?

Gen. McINTYRE. At par; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the projectors of the road have themselves taken the bonds, have they?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have arranged to take them, and thereafter the sale would not be made by this company. It was an evasion really, but it was the only way in which the matter could be handled.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the builders of the road and the owners of the stock have taken the bonds at par and placed them on the market below par?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; that is practically what has happened.

Senator SHAFROTH. Now, why is that an evasion? I do not see why, if the person took the bonds at par?

Gen. McINTYRE. I do not mean that it is a criminal evasion; I mean this law apparently contemplated that the bonds would be sold at par and that that amount of money would be placed at the disposition of the railroad.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; but after they are once in the hands of third persons the law has no concern as to whether the bonds are at par or not?

Gen. McINTYRE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Possibly this has been the method used—were the roads built under contract?

Gen. McINTYRE. I can explain how one was conducted—and I think it is just what you have in mind: They formed a construction

company, and the construction company, in payment of its work, received those bonds at par; they received the bonds from the railroad company at par, and thereafter the disposition of the bonds was a question for the construction company.

The CHAIRMAN. And did the construction company bid correspondingly high, because the bonds were worth less than par, so that the road cost a little more than it would have cost if it had been paid for in cash?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the concession was drawn a little too strictly for that; they could only issue bonds up to the amount which the Government found had been actually expended in the work, so that the government auditor and the government railway expert supervised the construction and supervised the accounts, and the projectors of the railroad simply lost, due to the fact that they could not dispose of their bonds to as good advantage as they had anticipated.

Senator WEEKS. In reading that paragraph over, it seems to me that it is extremely drastic in its present form.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WEEKS. And will prevent any development of public-service corporations. I can not imagine why a man should go into a new country, a comparatively undeveloped country, and put his money into public-service securities controlled as closely as these are as to rate of interest and other provisions; he could do infinitely better in the United States, anyway. And on that question of developing the Philippine Islands, if it is desirable to do it, there ought to be some latitude given for a possibility in some form of profit as a result of the venture; otherwise you will not get the capital.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any limitation here upon the interest that can be paid on bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the limit was fixed in the case I cited; it was fixed at 4 per cent on the bonds, because that was the amount which the government was guaranteeing. But, generally speaking, a private corporation could issue its bonds at a higher rate of interest. But, of course, there might be difficulty about earning a higher rate, if a sufficient amount of bonds were issued to carry out the proposition.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Senator Weeks, would you not be in favor of some protection in a fundamental law of this sort?

Senator WEEKS. Oh, yes; I would be.

Senator SHAFROTH. Where is your limitation on the amount of interest on such bonds?

Senator WEEKS. I think I should want to give some study to that whole question, Mr. Chairman.

We have placed in this country in some cases limitations which have operated differently from what people supposed would be the case. For instance, you will find that in the State of Missouri the stocks of railroads are very small as compared with their bond issues. The reason of that is that the law of that State provided that stock could only be sold at par, and it has not been possible to sell the stock at par for a long time; so that the only railroad securities have been bonds.

We have had in Massachusetts very careful limitations of the issuance of securities; but even in an old section like that I am inclined

to think that the limitations have been quite as strict as have been to the best interest of the State. I think there ought to be limitations; but they should be sufficiently liberal to enable the development which you are seeking; and I do not believe you could obtain the development under such strict limitations.

Senator BRISTOW. Well, these strict limitations refer only to bonds the interest on which is guaranteed by the Government, as I understand.

Senator WEEKS. No.

Senator LIPPITT. No.

Senator BRISTOW. I think those limitations apply only on the bonds which are guaranteed.

Senator WEEKS. No; I think this limitation applies to all issues of bonds.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; this applies to all bonds.

Senator BRISTOW. Whether guaranteed or not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; I brought up that case of the railroad bonds because there was this restriction here on price and in addition there was the restriction that it must be a 4 per cent bond.

Senator BRISTOW. Let me ask you this question: Suppose a public-service corporation should issue \$10,000,000 of bonds, and the interest should be guaranteed by the Government, and it should be a 4 per cent bond. Now, do I understand that it can not issue any other bonds for any other purpose drawing more than 4 per cent?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; the requirement of that railroad act was that those railroad bonds should be first-mortgage bonds, and that any bond issued thereafter by the railroad company would be a second mortgage; in fact, they would be a third mortgage, because the money advanced by the Government under the first mortgage, under its guaranty, becomes in effect a second mortgage upon the property, and any bonds that would thereafter be issued by the company would come after that.

Senator BRISTOW. Well, they are really a second mortgage, because the first mortgage and the guaranty on it would together constitute a first mortgage.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; they are second-mortgage bonds.

Senator BRISTOW. Now, these second-mortgage bonds could draw a higher rate of interest?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, there is no limitation under the law. Of course they would, under the Philippine law, have to be submitted to the public-utilities commission.

Senator LIPPITT. But they could only be sold at par?

Gen. McINTYRE. They could not be sold at less than par.

Senator BRISTOW. They could not be sold at less than par, but they could pay more than 6 per cent.

Senator CRAWFORD. They could only issue a bond at a rate of interest which would enable the bonds to be sold at then par value.

Senator BRISTOW. The value of the bonds, then, would depend upon the rate of interest and the ability of the corporation to pay them?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; that would be the effect of it.

Senator WEEKS. A second-mortgage bond is not going to be a very attractive security, when the first-mortgage bond is selling at \$60?

Senator LIPPITT. And there, you have the Philippine Government back of it, in addition to the property.

Senator BRISTOW. You are not claiming that you could not get men to go into the enterprise, are you?

Senator WEEKS. Well, a man to go into that kind of an enterprise must have more than the ordinary interest profit, or he will not do it. Now, I believe in regulation or restriction in these matters; I would not want to be a party to making it possible for anybody to go in and exploit the public-service corporations of the Philippines. But it is useless to place around the issuing of securities such restrictions as will prevent capital from going in under the conditions proposed.

Senator BRISTOW. Of course, I can see that a second mortgage would go slowly, if there was any doubt about the payment of the interest on the first mortgage.

Senator WEEKS. It would not go at all.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there an act which permits any corporation to get these guarantees by the government?

Gen. McINTYRE. No.

Senator SHAFROTH. Only that case that you have referred to?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; and that is over now.

Senator LIPPITT. It was only to develop certain railroad construction?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, if that is over and applies only to the one instance, it seems to me that it would be all right to let these corporations that want to issue their bonds at a higher rate of interest in order to bring par do so.

Senator LIPPITT. That would be a very expensive thing to do.

Senator WEEKS. You must remember that the rate of interest on public-utility corporations is likely to be high for a very long time in this country. The money which will go to the Philippines for public-service corporations is very largely coming from the United States, and we have to govern conditions by the conditions in this country; and the business of obtaining money on public-service corporations is a very difficult one now, and is likely to be for some time to come.

I simply make this comment now, to be considered later, that we have to make these provisions sufficiently liberal to attract capital, or they are not going to get the capital.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, if you make the provisions too liberal we are running the risk of permitting large amounts of watered stock, which has been the curse of our country.

Senator WEEKS. Yes; it has been the curse of the country in many instances; but if we had not had watered stock in some cases, we would not have the development of this country that we now have.

Senator BRISTOW. Yes; and we would not have had the scandals either; if the railroad securities had been properly handled from the beginning, there would not be the tremendous losses that the stockholders of those railroads have had.

The CHAIRMAN. That practically finishes going through the bill, Gen. McIntyre. There was some special information on several subjects which you were going to furnish; that information will be incorporated in the record as a part of your remarks?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any recommendations that you care to make?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir. The department has certain recommendations to make for changes in this bill. The bill, in so far as it is an operative measure, has been studied by the department from its inception. We have been permitted to go over it in several of its previous forms; and we believe that the bill is now a conservative and excellent measure, and that it will be to the advantage of the Philippine government if it can be passed.

The suggestions or recommendations are the following:

In the bill of rights, in order that there may be no question between the Governor General and the legislature as to a matter which may excite considerable feeling, it is desired that a provision be inserted that no law shall be enacted which shall make a distinction between citizens of the Philippine Islands and citizens of the United States; the object of that being that if American citizens are living in the islands they shall be entitled to the right, as to holding office and voting, that citizens of the Philippine Islands have.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they that right under this act?

Gen. McINTYRE. They have that right at present, and it is desired that it be continued.

Senator WEEKS. Do they exercise it now?

Gen. McINTYRE. Those who have the necessary residence and are in business do. A great many of the Americans who are there are simply—

Senator CRAWFORD (interposing). Is that suggested as an amendment?

Gen. McINTYRE. That would be an amendment to the Bill of Rights.

Senator WEEKS. Does that apply to the officers and men of the United States Army and Navy?

Gen. McINTYRE. The officers of the Army and Navy are excluded from any right of voting; and it is also provided in the law there that they can not acquire the status of residence by being on military duty in the islands, and that would be continued with reference to them even though we had this provision in this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you drafted such an amendment, Gen. McIntyre?

Gen. McINTYRE. I have, and will submit it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you incorporate it in your testimony at this point?

Gen. McINTYRE. I will do so.

(The proposed amendment is as follows:)

That no law shall be enacted which shall make a distinction between citizens of the Philippine Islands and citizens of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the other amendment you desire to suggest?

Gen. McINTYRE. The other amendment was to section 11, the proviso, with reference to the indebtedness of the Philippine Islands. It is desired to modify that in this way:

Provided, That the entire indebtedness of the Philippine Government created by the authority conferred herein shall not exceed at any time the sum of \$17,000,000.

That is the limit fixed in the bill; so as to that there is no change.

Nor that of any Province or municipality is sum in excess of 7 per cent of the aggregate tax valuation of its property at any one time: *Provided, however,* That within the limits thus fixed the Philippine Government may make loans to Provinces and municipalities, and may, on the evidence of such loans, issue bonds to the amounts thereof, without reference to the limitation therein fixed to the indebtedness of the Philippine Government.

I will say that the object of that is that many of the small municipalities need money for development, and it is not practicable for them to issue bonds; this provides that the central government may advance that money to the municipality, and to the amount thus advanced may issue its own bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how great an insular debt would that possibly permit; in other words, what would 7 per cent on the assessed tax valuation amount to?

Gen. McINTYRE. If I may do so, I will put that in exactly, because I have here assessed valuation, but I could not give it offhand.

(The statement is as follows:)

The taxable value of the real estate in the city of Manila is, in round numbers, ₱90,000,000. This provision would limit the indebtedness of the city of Manila in future to ₱6,300,000 (\$3,150,000), but inasmuch as the city of Manila has an indebtedness of \$4,000,000 contracted for sewer and waterworks bonds issued under the authority of section 70 of the organic act, its limit of indebtedness would not be increased by this bill until its tax valuation had very considerably increased.

Including the city of Manila, the tax valuation of taxable property is ₱303,000,000 (\$151,500,000) and the limit of indebtedness of Provinces and municipalities under the bill would be \$21,210,000. This is assuming that every Province and every municipality would borrow up to the limit fixed in the bill, which is not at all likely.

Senator CRAWFORD. Then, the municipalities, in order to pay back the Philippine Government, of course must resort to local taxation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the local taxation will pay that.

Senator CRAWFORD. Well, do they absolutely control that question locally, the question of their levies, etc., to pay that with?

Gen. McINTYRE. There is immediately following and made a part of this general recommendation a provision that the central government shall authorize the tax, and see that it is properly applied. In fact, that is the present law. The only present difficulty is this: The Philippine Government has now loaned money to Provinces and municipalities; it has now outstanding slightly less than ₱7,000,000; and of course that means just so much money taken from the central treasury; they can not issue bonds against that at all. This provision would enable them to issue bonds to that amount, and have that money available for the purposes of the Government.

Senator SHAFROTH. The power of getting the money back into the central treasury then is within the power of the central government itself?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the central government.

Senator SHAFROTH. Without the consent of the local government?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. I should think it would have to be that way, or you would not get your money.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, they have it that way. The central government is, under section 69 of the organic act, authorized to impose taxes; in fact, the obligation to see that the municipalities meet their

indebtedness is placed on the central government, and with that obligation there is the power to do that.

Senator WALSH. What provision is there for supervision over the expenditure of moneys thus loaned?

Gen. McINTYRE. I come now to a recommendation here that the President appoint an auditor for the islands, and that the auditor shall have—

Senator WALSH (interposing). That would be simply a matter of checking up; but I am speaking of—

Gen. McINTYRE (interposing). Well, under the law, if a municipality borrows money for public works, which is usually the basis of those loans—and, of course, it has to be by local authority—the expenditure is under the bureau of public works of the central government.

Senator CRAWFORD. I suppose the Philippine Legislature could enact a law to control the details; that would be within its power of regulation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any limit to the rate of interest which the Philippine Government can pay on its bonds?

Gen. McINTYRE. On certain issues a limit was placed in the past and the limit was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But all Philippine government bonds heretofore issued have been 4 per cent bonds; and they have sold as high as 109 and never so low as par. They have usually ranged from about 102 to a maximum of 109 and a fraction.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a limit in this bill?

Gen. McINTYRE. There is no limit as to the interest.

The CHAIRMAN. As the debt increases, therefore, the Philippine Legislature may increase the rate of interest if it finds it necessary to do so?

Gen. McINTYRE. This authorizes a maximum increase of \$5,000,000 over what there is now—\$17,000,000. You see, they now have outstanding \$12,000,000; the maximum here is \$17,000,000. That is the minimum; we would like to have the authority greater; because in addition to the restriction in this bill we put in the restrictions that now exist, that no issue of bonds shall be made, except with the prior approval of the President, so that before the Philippine Government can issue bonds their legislature must pass a law, which must be approved in the way provided, and that law must receive the specific approval of the President.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is an act of Congress which now limits the interest to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, is it not?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And will that still continue if this bill is passed?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir; it will not, because that law was with respect to a special issue; so that if this bill is passed, there will be nothing to limit the rate of interest the Philippine Government might pay on its bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think, in view of the large issue your proposed amendment would provide for, that under the natural pressure there would be from the municipalities to secure government credit there ought to be some limit on the interest which the government can pay?

Gen. McINTYRE. This would seem to indicate the possibility; but it has not occurred. Those municipalities, as a matter of fact, practically owe now to the central government all that this law will permit them to borrow, and this has more in mind the authority to the central government to issue bonds to the amount of ₱7,000,000 (\$3,500,000) which they have loaned to the municipalities and Provinces. So this would not mean any large amount.

The CHAIRMAN. It occurs to me that 7 per cent of the assessed valuation of the municipalities would be, in the aggregate, a very large amount.

Gen. McINTYRE. It would, except that the tax valuation is surprisingly small in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. What per cent of the real valuation is the assessed valuation?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, there is no percentage fixed in any way; but in the sales of property it is frequently to be noticed that in purchasing rights of way for railroads and other investments that we have looked over you would have to pay five times the assessed valuation of the property in order to get it.

Senator WEEKS. That is not unusual in the case of railroad rights of way, is it? [Laughter.]

Gen. McINTYRE. And that is under the system of condemnation, appraised by local assessors.

Senator BRISTOW. In Panama have we not paid five times as much as the lands are worth for any private purpose?

Gen. McINTYRE. I imagine we have.

Senator WEEKS. Is there any provision for a sinking fund for these municipalities to pay off that indebtedness?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; the indebtedness which we have had up to the present. I have given the amount of the sinking fund—

Senator WEEKS (interposing). Well, you need not give it again, if it is in the record. I recall that in the case of the \$7,000,000 of friar-land bonds there is a provision made for sinking funds.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; and in the \$5,000,000 of public-works bonds there is a provision made, and there is a very considerable sinking fund in each case now.

And then there is added this provision, which is in the present law:

That all bonds issued by the Philippine Government or by its authority shall be exempt from taxation.

That is, it is the tax-exemption provision from existing law. The bonds are probably tax exempt, anyway; that is, under existing law. But I mean, even if this were omitted, they would probably be tax exempt in the States and cities of the United States. But the advantage of having that in the law is that the government can sell them then as tax-exempt bonds and so certify. In case it is not in the law, the government sells them, and then perhaps the broker who buys them sells them as tax exempt, basing his sale on the court decisions, which we have difficulty in doing, because that might be changed and there would be a claim against the government.

Senator WEEKS. I have suspicion that it would be a great deal wiser to make a provision for retiring a part of those bonds annually, instead of providing a sinking fund. I did not like the de-

scription of the use of that sinking fund very much. I think it would be a great deal wiser to retire bonds than to create a sinking fund.

Senator SHAFROTH. We have found it the easiest way for our municipalities to make the bonds mature in different years after a certain period so that one-fifth or one-tenth would be retired in one year, and one-tenth the next year; and that saved the reinvestment of the sinking fund.

Senator WEEKS. I do not think they sell quite as well in that case.

Senator SHAFROTH. That depends on the length of time of the bonds; it can be done if it is not too short a time. The city of Denver makes a certain proportion of the bonds payable at the end of, say, 10 years, and at the end of those 10 years they will levy an assessment of one-fifth of the amount of the bonds, and so on, in subsequent years; so that in that way it causes no hardship.

Senator WEEKS. Well, we ought to do everything possible to keep the Philippine people out of debt, and where it is necessary for public purposes, make ample reserves to meet that debt.

The CHAIRMAN. You may resume your recommendations, Gen. McINTYRE.

Gen. McINTYRE. Following that, there is a recommendation which is practically section 69 of the present law. That recommendation is as follows [reading]:

That in case of the issue of bonds by any Province or municipality of the Philippine Islands, or in case of the issue by the Philippine Government of bonds based on loans from the Philippine Government to any Province or municipality in the islands, the government of the Philippine Islands shall, by the levy and collection of taxes on the Province or municipality, its inhabitants and their property, or by other means, make adequate provision to meet the obligation of the bonds of such Province or municipality, and shall create a sinking fund sufficient to retire them and pay the interest thereon in accordance with the terms of issue.

That simply continues the power of the central government, which is responsible, to exercise the necessary supervision to meet the obligation; and it is the present law in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Senator Weeks's suggestion could be incorporated there, and instead of having a sinking fund those bonds could be retired piecemeal?

Gen. McINTYRE. There is one difficulty about being too specific in a law of this kind, that conditions may arise which would make one form of bond preferable to another; and before any issue is made this has to be gone into so carefully now; the local legislature and the Governor General and the President of the United States must approve before anything can be done, and, of course, that means approval on the best advice which is obtainable at that time—

Senator WALSH. The idea of the chairman, I take it, is that the organic act should give to the legislature the right and power to provide for the application of the amortization principle, as suggested by Senator Weeks, rather than the accumulation of a sinking fund.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I think that is contained in here, but still I would not pass on that; I think perhaps this authority is sufficiently general for that.

Senator BRISTOW. It might be sufficiently general for that, but Senator Weeks's idea was that it should be required.

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, it does not require it; that is clear.

Senator WALSH. I did not understand that Senator Weeks suggested that that should always be done.

Senator WEEKS. I did not want to lay down any hard and fast rule; but I think that should be done if possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Weeks was shocked to find that some of that sinking fund was invested in hotel bonds.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is one of the difficulties of the sinking fund bond, that they nearly always have to get a lower rate of interest than they pay themselves, or else to invest in weak securities.

Senator WEEKS. The best investment that anybody, whether a Government or an individual, can have, is to buy his own notes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; and it seems to me that that is the reason why you should have them mature at different times and pay them as they mature; that is the best way, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any other recommendations, Gen. McIntyre?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is recommended that section 15 be omitted from the bill; that is the section which provides the qualification for voters; if enacted, it would make these changes in the electorate:

First, it would deprive American citizens of the right to vote.

Second, it would deprive those Filipinos who are not subjects of any foreign power, but who are not technically citizens of the Philippine Islands, under the present organic act, of the right to vote.

Senator LIPPITT. Are there many of those?

Gen. McINTYRE. There are quite a number among the prominent Filipinos; those are the men who happen to be absent from the islands a good deal.

Senator SHAFROTH. If this section 15 is stricken out—

Gen. McINTYRE (interposing). The present law is in the annotated bill; the present law follows. It does not make a great difference. The principal difference, as a matter of fact, is that under this the age is lowered from 23 years to 21 years, and those Filipinos who are able to read or write a native language may vote; at present not having other qualifications, they are excluded from the electorate.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not mean to say that this bill excludes them?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; this bill lets them in.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. But the present law excludes them unless they have one of the other qualifications.

Senator WALSH. I do not understand how you can assert that an American would not have the right to vote in the Philippines?

Gen. McINTYRE. You see it says "every male citizen of the Philippine Islands 21 years of age or over."

Now, of course, the citizens of the Philippine Islands are defined by the present organic act, and the definition is very restrictive; so that it would exclude any American, and it would exclude a great many Filipinos.

Senator WALSH. Would not that simply require a modification of the present definition of a male citizen, so as to include them?

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, I have mentioned the smaller objections, Senator Walsh; but there is one great objection: This would change the electorate very considerably. The election follows the passage

of this bill rather promptly, and there would be considerable confusion; and for many reasons it would be better that the first election should be in accordance with the established law with which they are acquainted, and thereafter they have the power to amend the law themselves. This does not take away any power from the Philippine Legislature; it continues the power with them; they can amend it thereafter.

Senator WALSH. That is the case, unless existing act, as undoubtedly is the case, defines who are electors.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is, the Philippine act.

Senator WALSH. That is under the Philippine law?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. That is, the present organic act imposes on the Philippine Legislature the power to prescribe qualifications for voters?

Gen. McINTYRE. No, sir; it does not; it was passed with the provision that the present municipal law in that respect should govern; that is, it made a part of the organic act the old provisions which had been drawn by the military government when municipal governments were first established in the Philippine Islands; and it made those provisions the permanent law; but the Philippine Legislature had not authority under the old act; under this bill that general authority is given; they could amend that.

Senator WALSH. I see that.

Gen. McINTYRE. It comes from the fact that the Philippine Legislature is authorized under this act to amend any law applicable in the Philippine Islands which is not in conflict with this act.

Senator LIPPITT. That is in the general powers?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is in the general powers.

Senator WALSH. Where do you find that?

Senator LIPPITT. In section 12:

The general legislative power in the Philippine Islands, except as herein otherwise provided, shall be vested in the legislature.

Is not that it?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think section 7 would more clearly answer the specific question—the first clause of section 7.

Senator WALSH. That clearly refers to acts of the Philippine Legislature; that can not possibly refer to an act of Congress.

Senator LIPPITT. Do I understand that you recommend that this amendment, which materially extends the franchise in the Philippine Islands, shall be stricken from the bill, and that the franchise shall be limited under this bill to the people who would now be eligible?

Gen. McINTYRE. For the first election. Under the terms of the bill, thereafter the Philippine Legislature is authorized to prescribe the qualifications.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand that. But, so far as any action that is taken by Congress is concerned, your idea is that the franchise should not be extended at this time?

Gen. McINTYRE. Should not be extended or modified at this time.

Senator CRAWFORD. It all comes to this, that your recommendation is that we leave the electors defined just as they are now?

Gen. McINTYRE. Our recommendation is just to omit the entire section.

Senator CRAWFORD. Omit the entire section; and then the Philippine Legislature can take care of the subject after the first election?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. As I understand this bill, there are two principal features in it:

One is that it is proposed to make the method of enacting laws in the Philippines, by which an elected legislature takes the place of an elected lower house and an appointive upper house?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. That provision is still retained in this bill?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. The other important provision in this bill as it came from the House was this section 15, that we are now talking about, and which very materially extended the franchises.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. And you now propose that that change in the practice of the islands shall not be taken at this time?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. So that, in effect, the bill will then be left, so far as its broad general principles go, simply a bill which affects the construction of the legislature?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Is not that about it?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is about it—except that you attach somewhat more importance to this section 15 than I do. I think that if these corrections were made, which may have been oversights, section 15 would not be such a radical change. But still, the desire of the department is to omit that.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean to say that it would not increase materially the number of electors?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, it would.

Senator LIPPITT. Then, it is a material change, if it would materially increase the number of electors?

Gen. McINTYRE. It probably would.

Senator LIPPITT. I do not mean to exaggerate certain points, of course.

Senator CRAWFORD. It would disqualify certain others?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. It was not the number that will be disqualified that I was thinking about; it was the number to be brought into the electorate, and their responsibility for their duty.

Senator WALSH. I do not follow that.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, the present law is that nobody is eligible as an elector unless he can read and write Spanish or English. This new section provides that anybody is eligible for an elector who—

Senator WALSH (interposing). I appreciate that; if it went into force now, it would affect it widely; but if it was omitted, if I understand Gen. McIntyre correctly, the Philippine Legislature could itself extend the qualifications.

Senator LIPPITT. I am not talking about what may be done, I am talking about what actually would be done. Of course the power exists somewhere to extend that franchise; if it does not exist in the

Philippine Legislature, it exists here in this Congress; but so far as what is actually done is concerned, that is quite materially different. I just wanted to have that clearly understood.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Now, following section 23, it is recommended that three new sections be inserted, which would be numbered sections 24, 25, and 26.

Senator SHAFROTH. Suppose you read them.

Senator LIPPITT. I think it would be better for Gen. McIntyre to explain the intent of them without reading them.

Gen. McINTYRE. All right. The first section, which would be section 24, provides that the President shall appoint an auditor, and gives to the auditor the power which the present auditor has in the Philippine Islands. It is practically putting in the organic act a provision of Philippine law governing the operations of the auditor.

At present, under the Philippine law, the auditor is appointed by the Secretary of War with the concurrence of the commission. This authorizes the President to appoint such an official; the auditor is given no power which he does not now have in the Philippines and there is no power taken away from him that he has now.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think this ought to be read into the record anyhow; and I think it would give us an idea of it now if you would read it.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be incorporated in the record.

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; but if it is not read now we will be discussing something that we do not know about.

Gen. McINTYRE. The provisions of the proposed section 24 are as follows [reading]:

SEC. 24. That there shall be appointed by the President an auditor, who shall examine, audit, and settle all accounts pertaining to the revenues and receipts from whatever source of the Philippine Government and of the provincial and municipal governments of the Philippines, including trust funds and funds derived from bond issues; and audit, in accordance with law and administrative regulations, all expenditures of funds or property pertaining to or held in trust by the government of the Provinces or municipalities thereof. He shall perform a like duty with respect to all government branches.

Senator LIPPITT. What does that word "settle" mean in the beginning of that paragraph?

Gen. McINTYRE. That is the wording of the present law, and it means giving the man a clearance for his accounts. That is, if I have the disbursement of funds of the Government, I ultimately will get a certificate stating that my accounts have been examined and found correct; and I keep that and that is a settlement with the Government so far as that account is concerned.

Senator LIPPITT. I see; it is the receipt of the Government showing that those accounts are audited?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. What does that mean? Is that a financial certificate of the honesty of the officer, so that his accounts can not be gone into again, if anything should come up in the future?

Gen. McINTYRE. It is usually a protection, because that is what a disbursing officer would hold finally. Of course, if a fraud were discovered afterwards, the matter could be gone into in the court; it is an administrative settlement of the accounts.

Senator LIPPITT. It does not prevent further consideration by the courts?

Gen. McINTYRE. Oh, no.

And then the section continues:

He shall keep the general accounts of the government and preserve the vouchers pertaining thereto.

It shall be the duty of the auditor to bring to the attention of the proper administrative officer expenditures of funds for property which, in his opinion, are irregular, unnecessary, excessive, or extravagant.

There shall be a deputy auditor appointed in the same manner as the auditor. The deputy auditor shall find such official papers as the auditor may designate and perform such other duties as the auditor may prescribe, and in case of the death, resignation, sickness, or other absence of the auditor from his office, from any cause, the deputy auditor shall have charge of such office. In case of the absence from duty, from any cause, of both the auditor and the deputy auditor, the Governor General may designate an assistant, who shall have charge of the office.

The jurisdiction of the auditor over accounts, whether of funds or property, and all vouchers and records pertaining thereto, shall be exclusive. With the approval of the Governor General he shall from time to time make and promulgate general or special rules and regulations not inconsistent with law covering the methods of accounting for public funds and property, and funds and property held in trust by the government or any of its branches: *Provided*, That any officer accountable for public funds or property may require such additional reports or returns from his subordinates or others as he may deem necessary for his own information and protection.

The decisions of the auditor shall be final and conclusive upon the executive branches of the government, except that appeal therefrom may be taken by the party aggrieved or the head of the department concerned within one year in the manner hereinafter described. The auditor shall, except as hereinafter provided, have like authority as that conferred by law upon the several auditors of the United States and the Comptroller of the United States Treasury, and is authorized to communicate directly with any person having claims before him for settlement, or with any department, officer, or person having official relations with his office.

As soon after the close of each fiscal year as the accounts of said year may be examined and adjusted, the auditor shall submit to the Governor General an annual report—

Senator WALSH. This copy reads, "and the Secretary of War."

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; it should be "and the Secretary of War." The copy that I have in some manner has that omitted; the report should be made to the Secretary of War also; that is the present custom. It is the present law also. I will read that paragraph again as it should be:

As soon after the close of each fiscal year as the accounts of said year may be examined and adjusted the auditor shall submit to the Governor General and the Secretary of War an annual report of the fiscal concerns of the government, showing the receipts and disbursements of the various departments and bureaus of the government and of the various provinces and municipalities, and make such other reports as may be required of him by the Governor General or the Secretary of War.

In the execution of their duties the auditor and the deputy auditor are authorized to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and to take evidence, and in the pursuance of these provisions may issue subpoenas and enforce the attendance of witnesses as now provided by law.

The office of the auditor shall be under the general supervision of the Governor General, and shall consist of the auditor and deputy auditor and such necessary assistants as may be prescribed by law.

SEC. 25. That any person aggrieved by the action or decision of the auditor in the settlement of his account or claim may, within one year, take an appeal in writing to the Governor General, which appeal shall specifically set forth the particular action of the auditor to which exception is taken, with the reason and authorities relied on for reversing such decision. The decision of the Governor General in such case shall be final and conclusive.

Senator WALSH. Well, that would seem to exclude the courts.

Gen. McINTYRE. That is in the auditing and accounting, just to the same extent as with our comptroller; this legislation is taken from that. I doubt if the courts are excluded by that.

Senator SHAFROTH. You might just add, "subject to review by the courts."

Senator WALSH. No; not "subject to review by the courts," because that would signify the same thing as "that there shall be an appeal." I do not see why you want that in there at all.

Gen. McINTYRE. "Final and conclusive"?

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Gen. McINTYRE. The object of that is administrative settlement; and the alternative would ordinarily provide for an appeal to the Secretary of War or to some persons outside of the islands; and it is desired to have the matter closed there. Unfortunately, we can not close it, in part anyhow. A man with some grievance will continue to go on with it; but the idea is to make an administrative settlement.

Senator LIPPITT. I think that that ought to be "the decision of the Governor General shall stand as the decision of the auditor," or something like that.

Senator WALSH. No; you have to go further:

That the decision of the Governor General shall be final and conclusive upon the executive branches of the Government.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Now, that, it seems to me, would be all right.

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. And it seems to me that you should have that language here.

Senator LIPPITT. That is what I mean—that the decision of the Governor General shall be the final decision of the Government.

Senator WALSH. Yes; but you do not want to make it conclusive upon the courts.

Gen. McINTYRE. No.

Senator LIPPITT. No; upon the administrative authorities. Why do you have that provision in there separately?

Gen. McINTYRE. The idea was to reenact this law which we had had in force for so many years.

Senator LIPPITT. It is the same law; there is no reason for having a separate section, is there?

Gen. McINTYRE. No; it could be part of the same section.

The CHAIRMAN. What you mean by that language is that the decision of the Governor General shall be final, so far as the administrative officers are concerned?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; so far as the administrative officers are concerned. And the next section which follows that immediately would be section 26, which would read as follows:

SEC. 26. There shall be appointed by the President a director of civil service. Such director shall perform the duties now prescribed by law for the director of civil service of the Philippine Government, and no law amending the civil-service laws for the Philippine Islands shall be effective without the prior approval of the President of the United States.

Senator WALSH. I do not think you ought to have that word "prior" in there.

Gen. McINTYRE. You want it to read "shall be effective without the approval of the President of the United States"?

Senator LIPPITT. "Shall be effective until approved."

Gen. McINTYRE. Well, the theory, of course, is to protect the civil-service laws as they are at present. This recommendation was made a number of years ago, that the civil-service laws as established should come to the President to be approved or disapproved.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those all of your recommendations?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes; those are the only recommendations we make. I should like to have them all inserted in the record, if I may, at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

(The memorandum submitted by Gen. McIntyre is as follows:)

First. That the following should be inserted in the bill of rights:

"That no law shall be enacted which shall make a distinction between citizens of the Philippine Islands and citizens of the United States."

Second. That the following proviso shall replace the proviso in section 11:

"Provided, That the entire indebtedness of the Philippine Government created by the authority conferred herein shall not exceed at any one time the sum of \$17,000,000, nor that of any Province or municipality a sum in excess of 7 per cent of the aggregate tax valuation of its property at any one time: *Provided, however,* That within the limit thus fixed the Philippine Government may make loans to Provinces and municipalities and may, on the evidence of such loans, issue bonds to the amounts thereof without reference to the limitatoin herein fixed to the indebtedness of the Philippine Government: *And provided further,* That no public indebtedness of the Philippine Government or of any Province or municipality thereof shall be authorized, except with the specific approval of the President of the United States; and all bonds issued by the Philippine Government, or by its authority, shall be exempt from taxation by the Government of the United States, or by the Government of the Philippines, or of any political or municipal subdivision thereof, or by any State, or by any county, municipality, or other municipal subdivision of any State or Territory of the United States, or by the District of Columbia."

Third. That the following section shall be inserted after section 11:

"SEC. 11a. That in case of the issue of bonds by any Province or municipality of the Philippine Islands, or in case of the issue by the Philippine Government of bonds based on loans from the Philippine Government to any Province or municipality in the islands, the Government of the Philippine Islands shall, by the levy and collection of taxes on the municipality, its inhabitants and their property, or by other means, make adequate provision to meet the obligation of the bonds of such Province or municipality, and shall create a sinking fund sufficient to retire them and pay the interest thereon in accordance with the terms of issue."

Fourth. That section 15 shall be omitted.

Fifth. That the following new sections shall follow section 23:

"SEC. 24. That there shall be appointed by the President an auditor who shall examine, audit, and settle all accounts pertaining to the revenues and receipts from whatever source of the Philippine Government and of the provincial and municipal governments of the Philippines, including trust funds and funds derived from bond issues; and audit, in accordance with law and administrative regulations, all expenditures of funds or property pertaining to or held in trust by the government or the Provinces or municipalities thereof. He shall perform a like duty with respect to all government branches.

"He shall keep the general accounts of the government and preserve the vouchers pertaining thereto.

"It shall be the duty of the auditor to bring to the attention of the proper administrative officer expenditures of funds or property which, in his opinion, are irregular, unnecessary, excessive, or extravagant.

"There shall be a deputy auditor appointed in the same manner as the auditor. The deputy auditor shall sign such official papers as the auditor may designate and perform such other duties as the auditor may prescribe, and in case of the death, resignation, sickness, or other absence of the auditor from his

office, from any cause, the deputy auditor shall have charge of such office. In case of the absence from duty, from any cause, of both the auditor and the deputy auditor, the Governor General may designate an assistant, who shall have charge of the office.

"The jurisdiction of the auditor over accounts, whether of funds or property, and all vouchers and records pertaining thereto, shall be exclusive. With the approval of the Governor General he shall from time to time make and promulgate general or special rules and regulations not inconsistent with law covering the method of accounting for public funds and property, and funds and property held in trust by the government or any of its branches: *Provided*, That any officer accountable for public funds or property may require such additional reports or returns from his subordinates or others as he may deem necessary for his own information and protection.

"The decisions of the auditor shall be final and conclusive upon the executive branches of the government, except that appeal therefrom may be taken by the party aggrieved or the head of the department concerned within one year, in the manner hereinafter prescribed. The auditor shall, except as hereinafter provided, have like authority as that conferred by law upon the several auditors of the United States and the Comptroller of the United States Treasury and is authorized to communicate directly with any person having claims before him for settlement, or with any department, officer, or person having official relations with his office.

"As soon after the close of each fiscal year as the accounts of said year may be examined and adjusted, the auditor shall submit to the Governor General and the Secretary of War an annual report of the fiscal concerns of the government, showing the receipts and disbursements of the various departments and bureaus of the government and of the various Provinces and municipalities, and make such other reports as may be required of him by the Governor General or the Secretary of War.

"In the execution of their duties the auditor and the deputy auditor are authorized to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and to take evidence, and, in the pursuance of these provisions, may issue subpoenas and enforce the attendance of witnesses, as now provided by law.

"The office of the auditor shall be under the general supervision of the Governor General and shall consist of the auditor and deputy auditor and such necessary assistants as may be prescribed by law.

"SEC. 25. That any person aggrieved by the action or decision of the auditor in the settlement of his account or claim may, within one year, take an appeal in writing to the Governor General, which appeal shall specifically set forth the particular action of the auditor to which exception is taken, with the reason and authorities relied on for reversing such decision. The decision of the Governor General in such case shall be final and conclusive.

"SEC. 26. That there shall be appointed by the President a director of civil service. Such director shall perform the duties now prescribed by law for the director of civil service of the Philippine Government, and no law amending the civil-service laws for the Philippine Islands shall be effective without the prior approval of the President of the United States."

(Thereupon, at 12.40 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

STATEMENT OF HENDERSON S. MARTIN, VICE GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell the committee when you took office and how long you were in the Philippines?

Mr. MARTIN. I have been there practically a year. I left the United States December 18, last year.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you any previous knowledge of the Islands before going there this time?

Mr. MARTIN. Nothing except as a man would have who tried to keep up with current affairs in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had a good opportunity to judge of the people, their customs, and the laws of the Islands?

Mr. MARTIN. I think a very good opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the committee some idea of your opinion of this pending legislation, in your own way?

Mr. MARTIN. After saying that I favor the bill that is before you in a general way, I would much prefer to answer questions if you would ask them. I have not studied the bill carefully enough to say that in my judgment every section of it is correct, although I would not now be able to point to a section that I think is not correct. But I am thoroughly in favor of the theory of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you favor the preamble?

Mr. MARTIN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. What impression does the preamble make on the Philippine people?

Mr. MARTIN. The Americans who have gone over in an official capacity, I think, have always announced some such doctrine as is in the preamble. At least, the Filipino people believe we propose to do just what the preamble says. They believed that when I first went to the islands, and I suppose they have believed it since the American occupation. The preamble is only a restatement in a more formal way of what the Filipinos have understood to be our intentions.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose the preamble should be amputated from the bill, what would be the effect on the opinion of the Filipinos, if any?

Mr. MARTIN. May I illustrate that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. You might imagine a case where one of my creditors would be talking to me about a debt I owed him. There might not be any particular occasion for me to make the statement directly to him that I intended to pay the debt, but if I did make the statement, if I did tell him I intended to pay the debt, and then in a few moments undertook to withdraw the statement, I would probably alarm him. Now that the statement has been made in the bill I would expect it to alarm the Filipino people if it should be withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the desire for some government among the Filipinos confined to the political leaders, or is it widespread?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is almost unanimous among the people of the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they any cause of dissatisfaction with the way the government is being carried on now?

Mr. MARTIN. Nothing, except it be the fact that they are ruled by a foreign nation.

The CHAIRMAN. They are passing their own laws, are they not?

Mr. MARTIN. They have the assembly, and they have a majority on the commission.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any of the legislation that is obnoxious to them?

Mr. MARTIN. Not particularly so, I imagine. At least, I have not heard that.

The CHAIRMAN. But there is a sentiment that they are enough advanced to control their own government?

Mr. MARTIN. They are like other people, so far as I know other people—they want to govern themselves.

Senator KENYON. What do they generally understand to be a stable government, as it is recited in the preamble?

Mr. MARTIN. Do you mean the Filipinos?

Senator KENYON. Yes.

Mr. MARTIN. I think that would be a hard question for me to answer.

Senator KENYON. When are they expecting this independence?

Mr. MARTIN. I doubt whether they have any definite date, except they are hoping it will not be too long delayed.

Senator KENYON. What is your judgment of when a stable government could be established?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, may I discuss that without answering it directly?

The CHAIRMAN. Just state it in your own way.

Senator KENYON. Oh, certainly.

Mr. MARTIN. If the Senator would do so, I would rather he would ask a direct question.

Senator KENYON. What is your notion of the kind of stable government that should be in the Philippines before they are given independence?

Mr. MARTIN. That involves so many considerations.

Senator KENYON. This preamble recites that, you know.

Mr. MARTIN. I think there are two branches to the question. One is our duty to the Filipino people and the other is our own interests. The experiment we are making in the Philippine Islands is very interesting, and as an American it would be very interesting to me to see it continued at considerable length. I doubt, however, whether the interests of our country would be served by a considerable stay in the islands, and I think that ought to be considered in answering the question you ask. I would not say that I would think we ought to have as stable government in the Philippines before we withdraw as we have at home.

Senator KENYON. You say you think we ought to have it?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say that I think that. There are so many standards of government, as you know.

Senator KENYON. Would it not be better if we could just say that at a certain date the United States would leave the Philippine Islands instead of forming a stable government that changes according to the view?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not want to answer for anybody except myself, and my opinion on the question is only my own opinion, and in no sense the opinion of the administration in the Philippine Islands or the Administration in Washington. I would be glad if such a statement could be made.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the United States lose if the Philippine Archipelago were made an independent government at once?

Mr. MARTIN. I can not understand in what way we would lose unless it would be that indirect benefit which is supposed to come to a man who tries to benefit his neighbor. I am unable to conceive of

any other benefit that we can hope to receive from the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the Philippine Islands are of no value to the United States under their present relations with this country?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think they are.

Senator KENYON. Of any military value?

Mr. MARTIN. Of course I am not a military man, and perhaps ought not to speak of that, but I would consider them a positive weakness.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you say why?

Mr. MARTIN. They are so far away from home that I imagine it would be practically impossible to transport troops to the islands in time of war. I understand Corregidor is impregnable, but there are many other places in the islands where troops could land, where ships could go to the shore without the slightest danger.

Senator RANSELL. What would be the result if we were to give the Filipinos their freedom now in the government of the islands and the possible action of other nations toward them?

Mr. MARTIN. Answering the last part of your question first, I think it is obvious that the Philippine Islands would not be able to defend themselves against the powerful nations of the world, either at this time or any other time. If we are to stay in the Philippine Islands until they are able to defend themselves against the other nations of the world, we might just as well quit talking about independence and announce that we are in the islands to stay. What would happen so far as the local government is concerned—of course, that is a prophecy—and as I said awhile ago, I have no idea that the Filipinos could maintain as stable a government as we have in the islands. You know enough about our history to know that it is only within comparatively recent years that we have been able to maintain as stable a Government as we now have. The Filipino people are essentially oriental. Whatever is not oriental in them is Spanish. The Spaniards were in the islands some 300 years. That is longer, I believe, than they were in South America. The people of the Philippine Islands—the original stock—perhaps would compare favorably with the original stock in South America. In addition to the benefit of their association with the Spaniards, whatever that was, they have had 16 years of lessons from us, and I imagine the people of the Philippine Islands might reasonably be compared with the people of South America.

The CHAIRMAN. Which country in South America?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not like to be too definite about that, Senator. I am talking in very general terms.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you not think, Governor, that while you do not expect as stable a form of government in the Philippine Islands as we have in the United States, that you will have a form of government there that will be more satisfactory and will produce better results to the Filipinos than any government we can give them?

Mr. MARTIN. Once I read this statement: "It is not good government that people want. It is self-government. They hope it will be good government. But whether it is good government or not, they want self-government."

Senator SHAFROTH. And that would be more satisfactory to the people of the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. I think so without question.

Senator KENYON. Do you think the majority of the people of the islands would be glad to be just turned loose to-day and work out their own government and their own salvation, and have us move out?

Mr. MARTIN. I believe, sir, if the question were submitted to a vote, it would be practically unanimous.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think would be the result? Do you have any cause to believe that their independence would be interfered with by any other power?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I have suspicions, and I have heard rumors. Perhaps I have not a bit of information on that question that is not in the possession of every member of the committee.

Senator KENYON. You think they would be willing to take that stand?

Mr. MARTIN. They have considered it, sir. I know that some of them have considered it, because I have discussed it with some of their leaders. Oh, yes; they have considered the matter.

Senator FLETCHER. What means would they have of protecting themselves? What army, what navy have they got?

Mr. MARTIN. They have not any navy and never can in the nature of things have any considerable navy, because they have not enough money, and unless some unforeseen thing should happen they will not ever have much money. As far as an army is concerned, they have, or we have, a constabulary of some 5,000 men, and in addition about 5,000 scouts that have had considerable military training.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were in armed rebellion against Spain at the time we went into the Islands, or at any time? The maximum numbers? Can you tell?

Mr. MARTIN. My understanding is that the uprising was general.

Senator RANDELL. Governor, what would probably happen to the 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 Christians in the Philippine Islands if some of the non-Christian nations of Asia should take it into their heads to take over the islands in case of their freedom from us?

Mr. MARTIN. That is another interesting question, I think, Senator, when you remember on one side of the Philippines is China with 400,000,000, and on the other side is India with 300,000,000, and across the way is Japan, and back of it is Central Asia—I do not know what would happen if those people should wake up and begin to move around.

Senator RANDELL. Would there not be a very great danger that Christianity would be completely swept away in the onrush of those non-Christian nations?

Mr. MARTIN. I should not expect that.

Senator KENYON. By the non-Christian nations you mean those that are not now engaged in war?

Senator RANDELL. I am speaking about the Asiatic people in the vicinity of the Philippines.

Senator SHAFROTH. What is your suggestion with relation to any protectorate or any agreement with other nations with respect to the neutrality of the Philippines?

Mr. MARTIN. I would do anything I could for the benefit of the Philippine Islands, but when we leave I would leave bag and baggage.

The CHAIRMAN. Not keep Corregidor?

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know about a coaling station or something of that character.

The CHAIRMAN. A naval station.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; a naval station. I would, of course, make Manila an open port.

Senator SHAFROTH. Does that apply to the question of neutrality with other nations as to the Philippine Islands?

Mr. MARTIN. It applies to every question that might involve us in war.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we had an international agreement with Japan, Germany, and Great Britain to maintain the independence of the Philippine Islands, do you think the Philippine Islands would still be a difficulty in case of war or likely to provoke a war?

Mr. MARTIN. I asked that question in Manila not long ago of a gentleman whose opinion I wanted. There were some foreign sailors in Manila who were on what we call the Luneta. That is an open field. It runs between the sea and the city. It is territory that is reclaimed from the sea. He said, "I would expect within a few months some drunken sailors would get into a riot or a fight with some Filipinos on the Luneta, and that that nation would say the Filipino people have violated the terms of the neutrality agreement." I am not opposing neutrality. I am only saying that if I were in charge of it when we leave the islands I would leave under such conditions that we would not be in danger of becoming involved in war.

Senator WALSH. I am not able to follow the illustration you give.

Senator WEEKS. That agreement would be a scrap of paper, anyway, would it not?

Senator WALSH. I was not able to follow the illustration you gave.

Mr. MARTIN. This gentleman said he would expect the sailors from some nation who were on land in Manila to become involved in a row or fight with the Filipinos. Then he would expect that nation to say that the Philippine people had violated the terms of the neutrality agreement, and that it is no longer binding.

The CHAIRMAN. That imaginary nation would then step in and annex the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator KENYON. Do you think Great Britain and Germany would unite on that?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Senator SAULSBURY. Germany has no Asiatic possessions, you know. But France is down in that neighborhood.

Senator SHAFROTH. I would like for you, Governor, to give an idea to the committee as to the disposition and character of the Filipino. Is he a warlike individual?

Mr. MARTIN. He is a very likable individual—the most likable I have ever seen. He is gentle and kind. But he is a son of the Tropics, which means that he is impetuous. He has not only been raised in the Tropics, but he has Spanish blood in him. He never forgets to be polite, and so far as my experience goes he never forgets to be kind. He is not as industrious as our people, because he has never found it necessary to be industrious. The Philippine Islands are very fertile. It is a matter of small exertion for a man to sup-

port himself in those islands, and I have heard it said that men generally do not work any harder than they have to work.

Senator FLETCHER. Are there not various types and kinds and characteristics of Filipinos? Are there not various bodies in different parts of the islands, so that your general description of the Filipino may apply only to certain portions of the islands? Or do you mean to apply that to all of them?

Mr. MARTIN. There have been successive waves of immigration to the islands. I suppose the lowlands were originally inhabited by what we might call aborigines. Some stronger people came in and drove those people into the mountains, and some others came in and drove those into the mountains, and they drove the others still higher into the mountains. There are what are called wild men, which is a misnomer, in the Philippine Islands, the Igorots, for instance. The Igorots live in the mountains on the island of Luzon. The men wear what is known as a G string; that is, a thing like a towel that they wrap once around their waists, and then finally between their legs, and that is all they wear. They are frequently exhibited as specimens of the Filipinos. Then there is another tribe of little men, the Negritos, who evidently belong to some other wave, which live in some other mountains. They are shy men. If they hear you coming or see you coming they leave their villages and hide in the hills or woods. They are sometimes shown as representing the Filipinos. It would be just as fair to exhibit a Pueblo Indian as a representative of the people of the United States as to exhibit a Negrito or any of those other non-Christian tribes as samples of the Filipino people.

Senator FLETCHER. These people that you speak of are all on the island, and what part would they play in any government that might be provided for them?

Mr. MARTIN. About the part that our Indians in the West play in our Government.

Senator FLETCHER. Would they have to be excluded by law, or what arrangement could we make so as to exclude them?

Mr. MARTIN. I think the bill in a general way provides for that. Under the present arrangement the commission has exclusive jurisdiction of those people. The bill authorizes the Governor General to appoint a senator for those people from any part of the island.

The CHAIRMAN. Right on that point, suppose the legislature, having under this new measure jurisdiction over them, what sort of legislation would the Filipino legislature naturally have for those wild men?

Mr. MARTIN. The chairman of the committee on those tribes in the commission is a Filipino, Mr. Ilustre. I have been much interested in watching the action of this chairman, because I discovered, in the Philippine Islands at least, the chairman is practically the committee. He has shown a more constant interest in those people, I am sure, than an American member of the committee would have done. He has made frequent trips into the mountains and has consulted with the leaders of those tribes. He has made frequent trips to the Moros, and I have never seen the least indication of a lack of interest on his part in those non-Christian tribes. The commission has always had to curb his generosity in the matter of appropriations for those people.

Senator SHAFROTH. I wanted to ask you, Governor, whether the character of the Filipino in his actions indicated that he was law-abiding, indicated whether he would obey orders, and would respect authority.

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; very much more than we would. When you remember that the Filipino is Oriental, and that Oriental society fundamentally falls into two classes, the peasant class and a higher class, and that in China particularly they worship their ancestors, and that in China where a high official orders a citizen to commit suicide he promptly goes and does it, it is easy to understand why Orientals are inclined to obey the authority. Throughout the Orient the peasants, especially, are very much more inclined to obey the authorities than we are.

Senator SHAFROTH. Would you expect, then, that if an independent government was set up by the Filipinos themselves there would be insurrections and riots and serious conflicts between the authorities and any class of the people?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, as I said, I would not want to say that they will be able to maintain a government such as ours—and for this reason chiefly: They have political parties as we have, and they fight as we do in the campaign, and I am not sure that the defeated party over there would take their defeat as reasonably as the Democratic Party is in the habit of taking it. That would be the chief fear I have.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the government they have been maintaining in their municipalities? That has been almost exclusively Filipino for the last 15 years, I suppose.

Mr. MARTIN. I think it has been very good government, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. It is under the supervision of the central government, is it not, as to the collection of taxes and disbursement of taxes?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be necessary to continue that system of supervision by the central government?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I doubt that. I do not know as I would have any very positive opinion about that, but I think the municipal governments and the provincial governments in the Philippine Islands have been very satisfactory.

Senator WALSH. How much government do they have? Take the cities outside of Manila, how extensively do they have the conveniences of modern municipal government here, such as police, sanitary arrangements, street lighting, fire protection, and all that kind of thing?

Mr. MARTIN. The whole archipelago is policed. The larger cities, such as Cebu and Zebu, have light plants and waterworks. They have everything that their limited means will permit them to have. The Filipino people are poor. They raise all the taxes they can, and, so far as I have been able to observe, spend their money with reasonable judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they save any?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not say that they are noted for saving.

Senator FLETCHER. I was called out of the room for a moment, but was rather interested in the line of inquiry that I suspect was in the mind of Senator Shafroth, and that was whether or not, in your

judgment, there would be a likelihood of repeated revolutions on that island?

Mr. MARTIN. I made some such answer as this, that my chief fear would be that a political party in the Philippine Islands would not be as ready to obey the voice of the majority when it was defeated as we are. I have estimated the Filipinos in that particular from what I have heard of the people of South America. As I said awhile ago, I am inclined to place the Filipinos in a general way in a class with the people of South America.

Senator KENYON. Not Central America?

Mr. MARTIN. No; South America.

Senator KENYON. Do they have better governments than Central America?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I would think so.

Senator SHAFROTH. In these elections where they have participated, has there been any manifestation of rebellion, or not submitting to the vote?

Mr. MARTIN. Not that I have known. I do not think there has been.

Senator SHAFROTH. I wish that you would state to the committee, Governor, your idea of the intelligence of the Filipinos.

Mr. MARTIN. I would base that on what I said awhile ago, that in considering the Filipino people we must remember that they are oriental people, and that not only in the Philippines, but throughout the Orient, there are two classes of people, the peasants and the higher class. The peasants in the Philippines, as in China and Japan, and as I have heard, in all other oriental countries, are not educated. They are honest, quiet people, law-abiding, but they have never had a chance to take part in government affairs or any kind of public affairs.

Senator WEEKS. What proportion of the people can read and write?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think I could give you just the figures, but following what I was just saying it would be according to our standard a small proportion.

Senator WEEKS. Would it be 10 per cent of all the people?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I would think so, including the people that have been educated in American schools.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think you can base a popular government on a population of which not more than 10 per cent can read and write?

Mr. MARTIN. From what I have read I am doubtful whether the percentage in Virginia, for instance, at the time of the adoption of our Constitution was very much higher than that.

Senator WEEKS. I should be surprised if it were not.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there seemingly a desire upon the part of the Filipinos to obtain an education?

Mr. MARTIN. The children are the most eager I have ever seen.

Senator SHAFROTH. How about the grown people who attend the night schools?

Mr. MARTIN. The grown people do not attend the night schools. There is not any room for grown people in the schools, I think, in the Philippines. Let me tell you of some things I have seen. It is known, of course, in every town that all the children in the town of

school age can not be accommodated. They have not room, and they have not the teachers. So the teacher in a town will announce that on a certain day, a few days before school opens, he will give the children an opportunity to enroll at 8 o'clock on a certain morning. There will be a line of children at the schoolhouse at sunrise to enroll.

Senator FLETCHER. Do you suppose that would be kept up if the government was turned over to the Filipinos?

Mr. MARTIN. I have not the slightest doubt of it, sir. We have night schools in Manila, and the schools are in my department. Some weeks ago I asked the director of education to take me to some of the night schools one night. It happened to be a very bad night. It rained. In fact, it poured. He took me to a large school building with two wings at least, and with a driveway between them—a great open way where an automobile could drive through, perhaps two abreast—and as we approached the building I saw the driveway was crowded with people. The driver stopped and the director got out and made a way so the automobile could be driven in under the shelter. I said to him, "What is all this mob here?" He said, "They are boys hoping that some of the boys who have been admitted will not be here, and that they can get the vacant seats."

Senator SHAFROTH. When the night schools were first started in Manila, though, the grown people attended, did they not?

Mr. MARTIN. That was before my time.

Senator SHAFROTH. I attended several in Manila, and there was a large proportion of the audience that was made up of grown people.

Mr. MARTIN. I have no doubt they would attend if they could.

Senator SAULSBURY. I think you have taken a great deal of interest in education in your own State, have you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator SAULSBURY. I think I know that to be a fact, and the committee ought to understand it. You have been an official in your school department in Kansas, have you not?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I have given a good deal of my time to school affairs at home.

Senator SAULSBURY. I thought you told me that was your chief interest in public work in Kansas.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. I have always been interested in the schools, and I have never seen any such interest at home in the schools as I have seen in the Philippine Islands.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is the English language getting pretty well used in the Philippine Islands now?

Mr. MARTIN. It is the only language taught in the public schools. They have about 300,000 school children in the public schools. We have probably 8,000 teachers; among them about 1,000 American teachers. They all teach English, but you might imagine, of course, that the average Filipino teacher, who teaches for a very small sum, uses very poor English, but it is the only language that is used in the schools.

Senator SHAFROTH. It is getting in general use?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; in almost every town you find people who speak the language.

Senator WALSH. Is there a desire to supplant it with the native languages?

Mr. MARTIN. We sometimes find that, but nothing that is important.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you explain this passion of the children for education? What is it based on? What is the cause of it?

Mr. MARTIN. I can not tell you unless it is the first outlet they have had for it. The Spaniards had some sort of a school, but I imagine we would not call it a school.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they consider it as a means to a better future?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; I think so. Unfortunately, too many of them are looking for a government job. The American games are very popular in the Philippines. Baseball, I think, is as popular in the Philippines as it is at home, and that may be part of it. They are eager to learn.

Senator LIPPITT. How do you mean, Governor; that is one part of the education?

Mr. MARTIN. That is one thing that brings them to school so readily.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean the schools have the nines and the baseball is played between the different schools?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; we emphasize athletics of all kinds. We make more of it than we do at home. We bring teams that win from all over the islands to Manila once a year and have an insular contest.

Senator LIPPITT. Are those school games?

Mr. MARTIN. Baseball and volley ball and races and all that sort of thing. We have hundreds and hundreds of schoolboys, the finest in the islands, brought to Manila for a week, brought at government expense.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the original language that these children speak who go to the schools?

Mr. MARTIN. There are four or five principal dialects in the islands.

Senator WEEKS. Can those speaking one understand the other, generally speaking?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not understand so. But there are people—a multitude of people on the islands—who speak Spanish everywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. What are those children doing with the education they get? What change does it make in their lives?

Mr. MARTIN. You see, it takes 12 years to get a boy through our public schools. We have only been in the islands 16 years, and, of course, the schools were not established immediately after we came to the islands. I have asked the bureau of education to answer that question for me. But in the nature of things there are only a few boys who have graduated from high school, and they are so recently out of school, and there is so much of a demand for young men who can speak the English language and who have had some education, that it is doubtful if any satisfactory answer could be made to your question at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not all go through the whole course?

Mr. MARTIN. No; they do not. They drop out and go back to their little farms and their stores.

The CHAIRMAN. Their earning capacity is apt to be improved, though, if they follow the course through?

Mr. MARTIN. There is no doubt about that.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you think they drop out from choice or necessity?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, in a good many cases, from necessity. The Filipino parents make great sacrifices to keep their children in school, but they are not always able to do that.

Senator SHAFROTH. Will you give us an idea as to the moral character of the Filipino? Is he honest?

Mr. MARTIN. Relatively, yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Contrasted with the countries around the Philippine Islands, China, and Japan, how do they compare with the people of those countries?

Mr. MARTIN. I would think that the Filipinos are as honest as the people around them. I have never heard them charged with being dishonest.

Senator SHAFROTH. Are they addicted to committing crimes to any unusual extent?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, no. I think they perhaps quarrel over a woman or something of that kind and kill one another in hot blood.

Senator SHAFROTH. Any more so than in the United States?

Mr. MARTIN. Perhaps a little more so than in the United States.

Senator SHAFROTH. How many prisoners are there in the Philippine prisons now?

Mr. MARTIN. Two thousand eight hundred, or something like that.

Senator SHAFROTH. They come from all over the islands—8,000,000 people?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. What would you say if they had a government of their own whether you would be safe in traveling in any part of the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. I have no doubt of it in the world, sir, except as there might be a robber or something of that kind. But so far as the government was able to maintain order I have not the slightest doubt they would do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any drunkenness?

Mr. MARTIN. They are not much inclined to drink. The Americans who go over there, of course, take their habits with them. If they are in the habit of drinking at home, they drink there; but I have never seen Filipinos drink to any extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Is opium excluded from the islands by law?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. You said a few moments ago that Spanish was generally spoken. What do you mean by that? What percentage of the people speak Spanish. Ten per cent, or what?

Mr. MARTIN. More than that. Much more than that.

Senator LIPPITT. You have no way of knowing exactly?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Senator LIPPITT. If a large number of people speak Spanish and a large number of people speak English, and the people who speak English and Spanish are entitled to vote, why is there not a larger number voting?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there is—

Senator LIPPITT. If there is, as you say, a very large proportion of the people who speak Spanish, and a very large proportion who speak English, why is there not in the vote that is cast a larger number of voters than there are? I fancied that there was not a very large proportion of the people who speak the English language.

Mr. MARTIN. That question is interesting. Gen. McIntyre, or somebody could answer it, as to how many could speak English or Spanish.

Gen. MCINTYRE. The estimate at the time of the census was that 10 per cent of the people were fairly educated in Spanish, and the understanding is that that number has slightly increased.

Senator RANSDALL. Do they not have to write Spanish as well as speak it in order to vote? Senator Lippitt's question was confined to those speaking the language. Lots of people can speak a language when they can not write it.

Mr. MARTIN. I wanted to add this to my answer to you, Senator, that you must never forget that the great body of the people in the Philippines, and the whole Orient, are peasants, who practically take no part, and whose fathers took no part, in the government, and who do not want to take an active part in public affairs. When you come to consider the number of people who are educated and who are not educated, if you have in mind America, where the organization of society is entirely different, there is danger, I think, that you would be misled, that you would reach a wrong conclusion. That is true in China and throughout the Orient.

Senator LIPPITT. There is a large proportion of the people who do not have any interest, that want to be ruled? They want somebody else to decide government questions for them?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator WEEKS. Governor, you have suggested to us that practically all the people of the island want self-government. Do those people whom you term as peasants care who they are governed by?

Mr. MARTIN. I doubt whether they do, except in a very general way. I think they would rather be governed by their own people.

Senator WEEKS: Are they nine-tenths of the people of the islands, as you suggest, or about that per cent?

Mr. MARTIN. I think if our friend over there (Quezon) should go to those people and tell them that they wanted them to be for independence, that they would be for independence.

Senator WEEKS. Suppose a person of equal influence went to them and told them that they would be better off under the control of America, would they listen to that?

Mr. MARTIN. I am inclined to think that they would believe that, because, I think, that has been their experience. I think they are better off under us.

Senator WEEKS. Then is it true that 10 per cent of the people of the islands are agitating for independence, and 90 per cent do not care?

Mr. MARTIN. No, sir; I would not say that.

Senator WEEKS. Well, something like that, say?

Mr. MARTIN. When I talk about the people who want independence, I have in mind the educated people.

Senator WEEKS. Is that 10 per cent or 15 per cent? What do you call the educated people? Ten per cent or 15 per cent or 20 per cent?

Mr. MARTIN. Of course that would be a guess. I would think it is about the same throughout the Orient.

Senator WEEKS. Then, as a matter of fact, it is the educated people of the islands who want independence, and the great majority of the

people do not care very much if they have stable conditions and reasonably good government.

Mr. MARTIN. I will tell you an experience I have had which will probably answer more truthfully than I could otherwise.

Senator FLETCHER. I would like if you could answer that.

Mr. MARTIN. In a general way, I would say yes to that question, but I would want to explain it.

Senator WEEKS. Go ahead and explain it.

Mr. MARTIN. I will explain it in this way: I have made two trips over the islands for the particular purpose of visiting the schools and looking into agriculture, because agriculture is in my department. I was usually in company with the director of education and the director of agriculture, with the governor of the Province we were in, and some other people, and usually they decorated the roads, especially through their villages and everywhere and in every part of the island where I was, with the word "Independence," and where a schoolboy made a speech of welcome he could not get away without referring to independence, and what he hoped I would do for him. And wherever a presidente, a mayor of a town, made a speech welcoming us to a town he invariably had his petition for independence.

Senator WEEKS. He belonged, and so did these schoolboys belong, to the educated classes?

Mr. MARTIN. The schoolboys come from all classes, of course. You might call a schoolboy an educated man, but he probably comes from the home of some old peasant.

Senator LIPPITT. What about the business men, the men who are engaged in business in the Philippines, are they anxious for a change of government?

Mr. MARTIN. I have heard that some of them were not, but I have never seen them.

Senator LIPPITT. You have never seen a business man in the Philippines that did not prefer the American Government to independence?

Mr. MARTIN. I know one lawyer.

Senator LIPPITT. I am talking about business men.

Mr. MARTIN. The only Filipino who has ever said to me—

Senator LIPPITT. I am talking about business men.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know any.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you tell me, Governor, that there are no business men—

Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not. I tell you I have never met one. I have heard that there are business men who wanted to stay there—Filipinos.

Senator LIPPITT. What was the effect two years ago on the initiative and general disposition to undertake new enterprises in the Philippines of the announcement that they were going to have independence? Was it an incentive? Did new capital seem to be disposed to go in there? Were new enterprises undertaken in consequence, or was the opposite the effect?

Mr. MARTIN. The opposite, I think.

Senator WEEKS. Let me ask you how much American capital is invested in the islands outside of what the Government has invested there?

Mr. MARTIN. I can not give you the figures, but it is not a very large amount.

Senator WEEKS. Are other foreign nations investing money in the Philippines?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, they have invested some. There has not been any considerable amount of new money gone in the Philippines for a year.

Senator WEEKS. If you yourself believe the Philippines were to be given their independence in 10 years, would that induce you to invest your own money there, or would you be disinclined to do it on account of that possibility?

Mr. MARTIN. I would be disinclined to do it on that account and on other accounts. I think it would not be open to argument that money would want the United States to stay in the islands and would be scared if it knew we were going to leave the islands. I think everybody ought to admit that.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, is not that a good reason, from the Filipino's standpoint, for the United States to stay there?

Mr. MARTIN. He does not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, when you say "business men" you were talking about Filipino business men, and I think Senator Lippitt was talking about American business men.

Senator LIPPITT. I was talking about business men of every kind. I thought it was rather a remarkable statement, from the information that I had, that he had never met a business man who wanted us to stay there. I did not limit it to Englishmen, Chinese, or any other kind of business men.

Mr. MARTIN. All the business men, except the Filipinos, so far as I know, are very much in favor of the Americans staying there.

Senator LIPPITT. I supposed that was the case. I wanted to know whether it was true or not.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator FLETCHER. Have any Americans gone to the islands and acquired homes and settled there?

Mr. MARTIN. No farmers. A white man can not work in the fields in the Philippine Islands.

Senator FLETCHER. How about the mountain regions?

Mr. MARTIN. There are some Americans in the mountains, but of course very few. I do not know how many. They have some mines. I think I remember two.

Senator FLETCHER. Is the population increasing among the natives?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. The death rate among the infants is decreasing. The American physicians have done and are doing a splendid work for the Philippine Islands.

Senator FLETCHER. Have they large families usually?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; but 50 per cent of the babies die before they are a year old.

The CHAIRMAN. They do now, you mean?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, we have not had any census, but substantially that. That is true in China. Even a higher percentage than that die in China. I am informed.

Senator FLETCHER. Is it caused by epidemics or anything of that kind?

Mr. MARTIN. No; by lack of proper nourishment more than anything else, and lack of proper sanitation.

Senator WALSH. What line of argument did that gentleman pursue who felt it was desirable to have the American government continued?

Mr. MARTIN. He said: "We have a good government—as good a government as they have in the world—and if the Americans leave we will not have as good a government as we have now."

Senator LIPPITT. Governor, I asked you a question—that in case the Filipinos should be able to set up an independent government, what do you think would be their attitude toward foreigners,—toward Englishmen and toward Americans and toward other nationalities than the Filipinos—as to their presence in the islands? Would they consider them desirable or would they feel the other way?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I think they would desire them to be in the islands.

Senator LIPPITT. You were talking about the schools a few moments ago. I wanted to ask you this at that time, but you got off on other things: What is the tuition in the schools? You say they want to go to school, and you say they leave before they complete their course. What does a completed course mean, and about when do they leave?

Mr. MARTIN. It is the American high-school system.

Senator LIPPITT. It is up to the high school?

Mr. MARTIN. It does our high-school work.

Senator LIPPITT. How many years?

Mr. MARTIN. Twelve years, just as we have it at home.

Senator LIPPITT. At what age do they begin?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, 6 or 7 years; I can not just remember.

Senator LIPPITT. About the same age as they do here?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. They have the kindergarten system?

Mr. MARTIN. It is a duplication of our public-school system.

Senator LIPPITT. Of course, if that is so, it must have taken a great many years before any large proportion could get to the high school. We have only been there—

Mr. MARTIN. Sixteen years.

Senator LIPPITT. Sixteen years. How many are there in the high schools?

Mr. MARTIN. There are a great many now. I think I have the figures. I can get the figures.

Senator LIPPITT. The high schools are run as well as the lower schools?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Are those in the high schools people who had started their education in some other way—

Mr. MARTIN. In our schools.

Senator LIPPITT. They are all children that have come up from the American system of schools?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; and you would be very proud of them if you could see them.

Senator LIPPITT. I think the development of the Filipinos is something wonderful. I am not any pessimist on that question at all.

Senator WEEKS. Governor, do you think we ought to consider our own interests in passing this legislation—I mean the interests of the people of the United States, or our Government, or those of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not ignore either of them. In my judgment we have the most important Government in the world at home. If self-government is to exist in the world it will be because of the example of the United States. And if a man is of the opinion that our possession of the Philippine Islands endangers our home Government, I believe that man ought to favor getting out of the islands forthwith. If he is not of that opinion, if he believes we can stay there safely, I am very sure it is one of the finest experiments of colonial government in the world. I do not believe it can be duplicated in the world. If he believes we are safe in staying there and is willing to spend the money that is necessary just to see what we can do, I would think that kind of a man would favor staying in the islands.

Senator KENYON. That is, whether the Filipinos wanted it or not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is a hard question. I would not stay if they do not want me to stay.

Senator LIPPITT. You say that 90 per cent of them are perfectly satisfied?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not want to leave it just that way, sir. The people who are in the schools, the people who can read and speak English and Spanish and a great many who speak the dialect—I never said 90 per cent, somebody said that for me—are actively in favor of independence.

Senator LIPPITT. I am glad you corrected me, because you left me with that impression in my mind.

Senator SHAFROTH. I did not understand he said they were satisfied, but that they did not take any interest in the question.

Senator LIPPITT. I understood him to say, in answer to a question of the Senator from Massachusetts, that they were satisfied with any stable government, and that this was a stable government.

Mr. MARTIN. It is the best government they have ever seen.

Senator LIPPITT. Then why would they not be satisfied with it?

Mr. MARTIN. Because there is in the breast of every people the desire to govern themselves.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes; to govern themselves. But do these peasants care to be governed by an educated Filipino class or an educated American class or by a combination of the two?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not believe they are particularly friendly to us or to white men.

Senator LIPPITT. Then if they conducted their own government, very likely there would be a sort of a tendency to keep the white men out of the islands? I mean to ask that question, not to suggest it.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I doubt that. I has discussed that question with some of the Filipinos and I have heard it discussed. I have visited Americans who lived in the Provinces where there would be one or two families only—that is, American families—and I have

never heard of any hostilities. I have never heard of anything but friendship for these families. What I said awhile ago about the white men not having any friends applies to the race and not to the individual. Of course you could go to the Philippine Islands or China and you would make friends with the people around. That would be as Senator Lippitt and not as a white man, however.

Senator WEEKS. I am one of those who believe that we have about troubles enough at home without trying to correct the difficulties of other peoples. But we have stumbled into the Philippines, and what is troubling me more than anything else is the question whether if we stumble out in some way we are going to leave chaos there, and those people are going to be able to maintain even an indifferent government. We can see all around us—we do not have to look very far beyond our own borders to see anarchy existing to-day. And I am wondering if we are justified in leaving the Philippine Islands with the possibility of that kind of a condition developing there. What do you think of the probabilities of it?

Mr. MARTIN. I would think that the prudent thing to do would be to take this additional step. I can not believe there is any doubt about the safety of taking this step, and then see what happens, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

Senator LIPPITT. When you say "this step," what do you mean?

Mr. MARTIN. This bill.

Senator LIPPITT. This bill; in what form? This bill in its present form? This morning it was suggested by Gen. McIntyre that there should be eliminated from the bill the proviso extending the suffrage to those who could speak other languages than English and Spanish. There was originally in this bill the proviso that America should promise the Philippine Islands independence in 1921. The bill in its present form, with the suggestion of Gen. McIntyre in it, would be simply that we change the commission into an elective senate. Is that what you mean?

Mr. MARTIN. I mean the bill as it stands. As I stated a while ago, I would leave the preamble in the bill for the reason that I stated at that time.

Senator LIPPITT. I am sorry I was not here at the time. If you have already gone over that, all right.

Mr. MARTIN. I would give them an elective senate. I would not agree with Gen. McIntyre about the suffrage. I am not much afraid of letting the people vote. I do not believe they often abuse it.

Senator SHAFROTH. Gen. McIntyre did not object to the bill except that it was a change in the law at the present time, and inasmuch as the Philippine Legislature had the right to amend it and fix whatever qualification they want, he thought it ought to be that way. He did not express any opinion about the qualification except for the first selection.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not want to disagree with the general unless it is necessary.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you suppose, Governor, that if this franchise was left in its present condition, and an elective senate were substituted for an elective commission, that the Filipinos who now have the franchise would be anxious to extend it to other classes of their own free will? Would they be much more inclined to maintain that as a privilege of theirs?

Mr. MARTIN. I think so; that is human nature. I think that was true in our own history. The people who did not originally have the franchise got it through great trials and tribulations and after many hard fights.

Senator WALSH. This act contemplates, at least, the extension of the franchise to those who can read and write some native language. Is there an extensive body of people having a written native language?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I do not know to just what extent the people who speak the dialects only write them. I know there are some very good men that do not speak either English or Spanish.

Senator WALSH. I want to know whether there is really a written native language at all?

Mr. MARTIN. I think there is. I think there are several.

Senator WALSH. Can you give us any idea of about how extensive a body of men that would be?

Mr. MARTIN. No; except I would say it is quite a substantial number of people.

Senator WALSH. My understanding is that the Spanish teachers did not teach the native languages at all, but taught Spanish.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; they did. We do not teach anything but English. So there has not been any particular encouragement to keep up the dialect. You know they are inclined to hold onto their dialects.

Senator WALSH. You could not give us any idea, then, about how many or what proportion would be embraced in this innovation extending the right of suffrage to those who could speak and write some of the native tongues?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not even want to estimate it without thinking about it or looking into it.

Senator WALSH. Nor can you tell us very much about how they would compare in intelligence with those who can speak and write Spanish or who can speak and write English?

Mr. MARTIN. They would not be so broad, because a man who can speak Spanish can converse with men from all parts of the archipelago. The leading men in the archipelago speak Spanish and perhaps English, but certainly Spanish. Some of the leading men would speak this man's dialect, but most of them would not, so he would be limited to intercourse with people of his own dialect.

Senator WALSH. It was suggested by Gen. McIntyre that possibly some confusion would ensue at the first election if the right of suffrage was extended to those who read and write one of the native dialects.

Mr. MARTIN. Keeping in mind the reluctance with which people extend the suffrage in any country, I would say the safe thing to do is for us to extend it.

The CHAIRMAN. You said, Governor, a little while ago, that for the man who feared the dangers that would come to us by reason of holding onto the islands, you could see how he might favor independence. I do not exactly recall your statement, but what did you mean by implying that there was a danger to us in holding onto the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. So far as I have talked with our military men, I have been led to believe that we probably could not defend the islands against any considerable power that is closer than we are. And what

I had in mind was that some power that is able to do so might land an army in the islands and say, "Uncle Sam, it is your next move." That is what I had in my mind.

Senator WEEKS. You expressed what you had in your mind when you said that instead of being an element of military strength they were one of military weakness?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator WEEKS. I agree with you.

Senator SHAFROTH. Does it not arise from the fact that our base of supplies would be 7,000 miles away from our own country?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. What harm would it do us, from a military point of view, if they did take it?

Mr. MARTIN. I would think a United States Senator is in a better position to answer that than I am.

Senator SAULSBURY. What would be the attitude of the Filipinos at the present time, if you can form any judgment, if some other power should attempt to take the islands from us? Would the Filipinos as a people join with the Americans in resisting invasion and subordination to some other power or would they welcome such an invasion?

Mr. MARTIN. I can answer that better probably by telling you I have made inquiry a number of times about what would be the probable attitude of the constabulary and the scouts in case there should be any trouble either from their own people or from other people, and I have invariably been assured by the men at the head of those organizations that they would be loyal, that we could depend on the scouts and on the constabulary to the last man.

Senator SAULSBURY. Do you think that was based on the fact that they are, so to speak, in our employ, or because it is a genuine feeling that we are doing the best we can, as far as the country can, for them?

Mr. MARTIN. I think the whole Filipino people would say that if they have to be subject to any people in the world they want to be subject to us. I do not think there would be any considerable dissent from that.

Senator KENYON. And yet you said they did not like us.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think that any oriental or colored race likes the white race.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is it not a fact that the Filipinos are quite hostile to the Chinese who live in the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, yes. I think that came, however, from the fact that the Chinamen want to keep all the stores.

Senator SHAFROTH. Does it not arise from the fact also that the Chinese invaded the country several times, or attempted to seize it?

Mr. MARTIN. Perhaps so, but the Chinaman is a hard man to compete with economically—very hard.

Senator SHAFROTH. But the feeling does exist, no matter what the cause?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think the Filipinos are as friendly to anybody as they are to us in spite of what I said a while ago.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of the Chinese element is there in the Islands now?

Mr. MARTIN. Quite an important one.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any conception of the per cent of population?

Mr. MARTIN. I think I could get that.

Gen. MCINTYRE. I would be very glad to put that in.

Senator LIPPITT. The mixture of the Chinese and Filipino is very large, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. It is.

Senator LIPPITT. The ruling class is very largely that?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. How about Japanese? Are there many Japanese there?

Mr. MARTIN. Not many. I have heard that they are going somewhat into the island of Mindanao. I do not know what the fact of that is.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no prohibition against the Japanese, but there is against the Chinese?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. That was imposed by our Government, the Philippine Commission, when they first went to the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Gen. MCINTYRE. It is our immigration law—the same law we have here?

Senator WEEKS. How long did you say you had been there?

Mr. MARTIN. One year.

Senator WEEKS. When you went there did you go there with the idea that this kind of a movement was to be undertaken to liberalize our hold on the Philippines?

Mr. MARTIN. I never had paid any more attention to the Philippines than any man on the street. I never had any expectations that I would go to the Philippines. I remember making this statement to the Secretary of War: That as far as the Philippine question is concerned, I could qualify in a court of justice as a juror, because I had given it so little attention.

Senator WEEKS. Then you did not have any prejudice?

Mr. MARTIN. No prejudice or opinions.

Senator LIPPITT. But you perhaps believe in the Democratic platform?

Mr. MARTIN. I am inclined to do that, but I do not believe it has influenced me much on this question.

Senator LIPPITT. Governor, do you speak Spanish?

Mr. MARTIN. No; only a very few words.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the improvement continuing over there still? Of course, it has been very material. Is it continuing as far as the morals and daily life and economic existence of the people are concerned?

Mr. MARTIN. I think so. I think that the government of the Philippine Islands from the very beginning to this day has been such that the American people may be proud of it. I do not think it can be duplicated. That does not mean that the Americans have not made mistakes; they have, but American control has been a very fine thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they a religious people?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. I am inclined to believe, however, that they are not as religious as formerly.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for that?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it is a general breaking up.

The CHAIRMAN. When you speak of their ancient religion what do you mean?

Mr. MARTIN. The Catholic religion. The Spaniards took the Catholic religion with them to the islands, and it has been there for 300 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Catholic Church maintain schools?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. When you say they are not as loyal to that religion you mean they are not loyal to the Christian religion or—

Mr. MARTIN. Usually they are Catholics or nothing.

Senator LIPPITT. They would just as soon be Catholic as anything else?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; rather be Catholics than anything else.

Senator WEEKS. Are there missionaries there proselyting?

Mr. MARTIN. There are missionaries there.

Senator WEEKS. That is the business of a missionary, to proselyte?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I presume so.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have other denominations started churches there in any considerable number?

Mr. MARTIN. There are a few churches, but the Protestants, I think, are giving more attention to schools than to churches. They have only a few members.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do the Filipinos join these other churches or not?

Mr. MARTIN. To some extent, but not very much. I would say that they have been more successful with their schools than with their churches. The Presbyterians have one good school and the Baptists have a very good school and there are a few other schools, but probably, all told, the Protestants have not more than 2 or 3 per cent of the number of students that are in the Catholic schools.

Senator LIPPITT. Are they in addition to the public school system?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Are there extensive sectarian schools?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; the Catholics have a large number of schools.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand there are some 400,000 children in the public schools?

Mr. MARTIN. Three hundred thousand.

Senator LIPPITT. How many in the sectarian schools?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know, but of course nothing like that.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, 50,000?

Mr. MARTIN. I doubt that.

Senator LIPPITT. You say they are very extensive?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. One Catholic school in Manila has a thousand.

Senator LIPPITT. This Presbyterian school that you speak of has how many scholars?

Mr. MARTIN. Probably 400 or 500.

Senator SAULSBURY. These children in the parochial schools, I presume, go into the public schools after they reach a certain age, or take their first communion?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think they very often do that. The church provides them what education they want. If not in one school, then in another school.

Senator LIPPITT. What schools do the children prefer, or do they fill all the schools?

Mr. MARTIN. I think the public school is rather more popular, but all the schools are filled to overflowing, and usually the public schools win in the school contests.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, physical contests?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Dean Worcester, in his late work on the Philippines, puts the number of children attending school—I do not know whether it is public schools alone—at about 600,000. Do you think that is a fair estimate?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that is too much. It could be increased to that number if we had the money. If we had the buildings and the teachers we could make it 600,000 or 700,000 in a very short time—just as quick as we could get the buildings.

Senator LIPPITT. Are there a great many more enrolled than in attendance?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it would run something like it does here.

Senator LIPPITT. The enrollment is larger than the attendance?

Mr. MARTIN. It is always that.

Senator LIPPITT. I was wondering whether Mr. Worcester's statement did not apply to the enrollment rather than the attendance.

Mr. MARTIN. How could he get 600,000? I do not see how it could be done. It is around 300,000.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is, in the public schools?

Mr. MARTIN. In the public schools; and, of course, the number in the church schools could be ascertained.

Senator KENYON. You speak of this feeling for American capital invested there, but you did not enlarge on that very much. What is the feeling of the people toward this American capital?

Mr. MARTIN. I think it is not particularly against American capital. It is against foreign capital. I have found an inclination on the part of the leaders of the people to hold the land, for instance, for what we would call settlers. Just as an instance I have made an effort to interest some sugar people, because agriculture is in my department and I wanted to promote it. I had a conference with the Governor General, and the speaker, and a number of the leading Filipinos, and in that conference every Filipino opposed every proposition which involved the transfer of any considerable body of land to a corporation. There was not an exception.

Senator KENYON. Does the feeling exist that this foreign capital is inclined to exploit the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; that is the fear. And then another feeling is that they want to save the land for the people.

The CHAIRMAN. The people are not taking up the land very fast?

Mr. MARTIN. Not very fast.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you explain that?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, they do not need it. It does not take much land for a man to make a living.

The CHAIRMAN. How much?

Mr. MARTIN. I think 3 or 4 acres. Then I have heard that under the Spaniards if a man got a little property ahead he was apt to have to part with it.

Senator KENYON. Do you think they prefer not to have this development than to have the development come through foreign capital?

Mr. MARTIN. Except it is guarded strictly. I have not been able to get any sympathy for any proposition that involved the transfer of land in fee simple to corporations, but if the promoters are willing to take a lease, if they are willing to make a contract which will allow the title to revert back to the people, it is all right. For instance, a sugar mill costs about a million dollars. Of course, before a man will invest that amount of money in a sugar mill he must know that a considerable territory will be planted in sugar. The Filipinos are willing to let the corporation have the land provided the corporation will contract with the men who work this land that they may pay for the land and mill annually or by installments. But when you propose to let the corporation buy the land, or the individual buy the body of land outright, I have not been able to get any support from any of the Filipino people.

Senator LIPPITT. When you speak of the Filipino people in that respect you are speaking of the ruling class, the educated people?

Mr. MARTIN. They are the ones I mean.

Senator LIPPITT. Have the laboring people any objection to working for a white man, or any preference in working for a white man rather than a native?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not think so.

Senator LIPPITT. There is not any hostility in that respect?

Mr. MARTIN. No.

Senator LIPPITT. This feeling is among those with whom foreign capital will compete for the trade of the islands? They look upon them as another competitor?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know that I understood the question. Perhaps I had better hear that question.

(The stenographer read the question.)

Mr. MARTIN. I would hardly think that, Senator. I think the same feeling would apply to a Filipino if he tried to get hold of a large body of land. I think it is a desire to save the land for the Filipino people.

Senator WALSH. Has the Government deemed it a wise policy to encourage corporations to acquire considerable bodies of land like that for the purpose of growing sugar, the same as in Honolulu?

Mr. MARTIN. No; but a number of propositions of that kind have come up.

Senator KENYON. Do they not limit the amount of land a corporation can own?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is there any federative spirit or feeling between the inhabitants of one island and another over there, where as a group in the archipelago they would unite to prevent this, or are they entirely indifferent about the people on another island?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I do not think so. They have a song called "My Philippines," a patriotic song. I heard that song in every part of the islands in the schools. Everybody sings it.

Senator CRAWFORD. In the different islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they sing it in English?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. It has been in the public schools that I have heard it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not sung in different dialects?

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know about that.

Senator CRAWFORD. I have been in here only a little, and this may have all been covered. Do these representatives who are now in the lower house, and who will be in the upper house as well under this law, come from all the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir.

Senator CRAWFORD. And they seem to fall in and work together?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; very nicely indeed. They work together I think just as well as the Representatives from our different States work together.

Senator SHAFROTH. I suggested that Dean Worcester had stated that the number of students was a certain amount, and I find that I was mistaken in it. He says that an examination of the figures included among the statistical tables of this report will show that of the total enrollment 235,740 were boys and 138,842 girls during the month of February, 1912. And I find from the House report on this bill that the report of the secretary of education for the year ending June 30, 1911, shows that the enrollment for that school year reaches the high-water mark of 610,493. It was not from Dean Worcester, but from the report of the committee that I got confused.

Senator LIPPITT. You will notice that is the enrollment, not the attendance.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include the night schools?

Senator SHAFROTH. I do not know, it says the enrollment.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, do you include the night schools in your estimate of 300,000?

Mr. MARTIN. No; that is a wrong number I am using.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand that many of those enrolled attend for a few months and then drop out, and then another scholar attends. So the maximum number of attendance is very different from the maximum enrollment.

The CHAIRMAN. Would there be any demonstration in the islands if this bill should fail to pass?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I do not believe so, Senator. There would be great disappointment. They would be very greatly disappointed. But the Filipinos would know they have nothing to gain, and I would not expect any such thing.

Senator KENYON. Do you think they will work harder for a stable government if this bill passes with the preamble than if it does not? Will they make an effort where they can reach a point to have such a government as will warrant independence?

Mr. MARTIN. I do. And I further believe their feeling toward us would be very much warmer, their confidence would be very much stronger. I believe that to leave the preamble out at this stage would shake the confidence of the whole Filipino people in the good faith of America, and I would consider that very unfortunate. I

think we have their confidence as much as we could expect to have the confidence of a foreign people that we are ruling, and I think that accounts very largely for the settled and peaceable feeling and contented condition of affairs in the Philippine Islands at this time. I would greatly regret to see anything done that would shake the confidence of the Filipinos in the United States—or in the good faith of the United States Government.

Senator WALSH. Have you any suggestions to make, Governor, in relation to the bill before us, or any criticisms to make of any of its provisions, or amendments to suggest?

Mr. MARTIN. I think not; especially at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think there should be any limitation in the power of the legislature as to the salaries of the members of the legislature?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I think not. I think the same thing would happen to the member of the Filipino Legislature that usually happens to us if he increased his own salary.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is human nature throughout the world.

Mr. MARTIN. You can safely increase the other fellow's salary.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the Philippine Legislature should have control over immigration?

Mr. MARTIN. I would have confidence in the ability of the Philippine Legislature to legislate for the Filipino people.

Senator SHAFROTH. And their best interests?

Mr. MARTIN. And for their best interests. I would further believe that the Philippine Legislature would understand the needs and the desires of the Filipino people better than we understand them.

Senator LIPPITT. Which, the needs or the desires?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, both. There is not much difference.

Senator LIPPITT. But an uneducated people think that they have desires that are quite different from what is for their best good.

Mr. MARTIN. The Filipino leaders understand the Filipino peasants, I am sure, better than we do. I am speaking now—

Senator LIPPITT. You say they understand the Filipino character better?

Mr. MARTIN. The Philippine peasants better than we do. I am sure they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give me the date you left the Philippine Islands?

Mr. MARTIN. October 28.

The CHAIRMAN. That was after the Philippine Legislature had adopted the resolutions which have been transmitted here approving the bill?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir. I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. And urging its passage?

Mr. MARTIN. I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of the passage of that act?

Mr. MARTIN. I saw it in the papers only.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any suggestion you would like to make regarding the bill?

Mr. MARTIN. Not at this time. I hope to remain here for some time, and if at any time you should think I could be of assistance I should be glad to have you call me.

The CHAIRMAN. If the bill should fail at this session and should be postponed because it is a short session, you do not think it would be a serious matter in the islands?

Mr. MARTIN. Except that the Pilipino people are confidently expecting the bill to pass. They have no doubt about it. If it does not, why of course they would be sorely disappointed.

The CHAIRMAN. If there were agitation over there what form would they take? Would it be newspaper agitations or meetings?

Mr. MARTIN. There will be newspaper agitations whether or no, I would think. There are newspapers on both sides of the question.

The CHAIRMAN. How are newspapers divided?

Mr. MARTIN. The American newspapers I do not think are very violently opposed to it.

Senator LIPPITT. Are they opposed to it?

Mr. MARTIN. I am not sure that they are opposed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Take the Manila Times, for instance.

Mr. MARTIN. If either or any of the papers is opposed to it it would be the Times, but I am not sure that the Times is opposed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us something of the ownership of the Times.

Mr. MARTIN. I could not be sure that I was right. I think I ought not to talk of it unless I know. It is an American ownership.

The CHAIRMAN. American business interests?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Resident American business interests?

Mr. MARTIN. I think so. I am not sure that it is all resident.

The CHAIRMAN. What other papers are there besides the Times?

Mr. MARTIN. The Cable News.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that under American ownership?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir. The owner is here somewhere. He was in the room a while ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember his name?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Putnam. And then there is the Bulletin.

The CHAIRMAN. There are other American newspapers?

Mr. MARTIN. The Bulletin. Those are the three daily papers—English papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they discuss Philippine independence unfavorably?

Mr. MARTIN. They would all be against independence.

The CHAIRMAN. But not necessarily against this bill?

Mr. MARTIN. No. Of course I want it understood that I am not authorized to speak for those newspapers, or any one of them.

Senator LIPPITT. Have they not spoken for themselves?

Mr. MARTIN. I have not seen anything that would enable me to give a categorical answer yes or no to the question. I do not remember having seen any particular opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. They discuss the subject, but do not appear to oppose it particularly?

Mr. MARTIN. I have not noticed it. If I am misrepresenting them they will probably find it out and certainly right themselves.

Senator LIPPITT. Have you seen or read any articles discussing the matter?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, yes; but I have been away from the islands since October.

Senator LIPPITT. Have they not been discussing it for a year or more?

Mr. MARTIN. Not this bill.

Senator LIPPITT. I thought you were talking about the general question.

Mr. MARTIN. No; this particular bill. I understand all those papers are opposed to independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those the only papers printed in English?

Mr. MARTIN. There are three weekly papers in English.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they take substantially the same position?

Mr. MARTIN. I think I would hardly like to discuss the position they take.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Filipino papers are there in Manila?

Mr. MARTIN. Of Filipino and Spanish there are quite a number.

Gen. MCINTYRE. There are at least six dailies.

Senator SHAFROTH. How are those newspapers on the question of independence?

Mr. MARTIN. I can not read them, but my understanding is they are unanimously in favor of it.

The CHAIRMAN. If this bill should fail to pass at this session, do you think those Filipino papers would agitate the question a good deal?

Mr. MARTIN. They would express great disappointment, I imagine.

The CHAIRMAN. And attempt to arouse the people?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You think there would be no indignation meetings held, or anybody hung in effigy?

Mr. MARTIN. There might be somewhere, but I would not think anything that is dangerous would happen.

Senator LIPPITT. Would the great bulk of the people know anything about whether it would pass or not?

Mr. MARTIN. In every part of the islands they would know it next morning.

Senator LIPPITT. All those people who can not read or write?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; they know everything that goes on, as you would find if you went among them.

Senator SAULSBURY. The chairman was inquiring about the ownership of these American newspapers. How about the ownership of the Spanish or Filipino newspapers? Are they owned by individuals who express their own views, or some interests? Do they have their views taken from some interests, as far as you can say?

Mr. MARTIN. As far as I know they are owned by the people who edit them, who run them, but I have not investigated the subject.

Senator LIPPITT. Are any of the papers published in any of the native dialects?

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Ferguson, secretary of the Governor, tells me yes.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand, then, there are quite a number that are published?

Mr. MARTIN. I understand so, too, although I have not investigated the question.

Senator LIPPITT. Those are comparatively small papers, perhaps?

Mr. MARTIN. I should think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know of anything further to ask. We are very much obliged, Governor. If you are to be in town some time we may ask you to attend again.

Mr. MARTIN. I shall be here, and will make it my business to attend any meeting you desire. Let me explain once more, if you will, that the opinions I have expressed are mine, and they are not reflecting the opinions of the administration in Washington or in Manila.

STATEMENT OF MR. SAMUEL FERGUSON, SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. Eleven years.

The CHAIRMAN. What position did you hold before your present position?

Mr. FERGUSON. I went over in 1903 as a court stenographer, and was appointed later a deputy clerk of the supreme court. Then as assistant chief clerk of the executive bureau, then as special agent to the Governor General at that time, Mr. Forbes, and my last appointment was as secretary to the present Governor General, Mr. Harrison.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined this bill?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; very carefully.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it will help matters in the Philippine Islands and be a successful experiment?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very greatly, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think from what you have seen of the Philippine people they will be able to take charge of their legislation and make a success of it?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think, without any doubt, they will be able to take charge of their own legislature and make a very great success of it, as they have with the assembly.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you a personal acquaintance with the members of the lower house?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think, with all of them. I have met them. I have handled the Provincial and municipal loans for three years, and practically every representative or delegate has come in at some time or other, and often very frequently, looking for assistance in the way of insular loans.

Senator LIPPITT. What sort of loans?

Mr. FERGUSON. Loans from our trust funds for public works in the Provinces and municipalities.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean the public moneys?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean the members of the legislature were in the habit of borrowing money from the government?

Mr. FERGUSON. They would come in to seek loans for their respective districts.

Mr. LIPPITT. Not their personal loans?

Mr. FERGUSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you say from your own knowledge what members of the lower house have been reelected? Are they the same men who come back year after year or different men?

Mr. FERGUSON. Of course, the men who have attained the leadership of the lower house are those who have come back. But I think there has been a considerable change in the personnel of the house each four years.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the members of the house appear to belong to one class or from different social classes?

Mr. FERGUSON. Different social stratas, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, do you find any men who might be considered as belonging to the laboring class of the Philippines?

Mr. FERGUSON. I personally know of two or three only—that is, men who probably attended school in the early days, the American schools, and because of their knowledge of English have worked rapidly up, and are now in the lower house, but not many.

The CHAIRMAN. Are most of those who have attained the position of legislator men of any means?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. That is not so of the lower house—not most of them. Some few are men of means, as means go in the Philippines. They have no very wealthy men.

The CHAIRMAN. They have some income, as a rule?

Mr. FERGUSON. Some have their own incomes, but others have not.

The CHAIRMAN. They receive a salary of about 15 pesos a day?

Mr. FERGUSON. \$15 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. For what length of time?

Mr. FERGUSON. For 90 days of the regular session. Then it has always been customary to have a special session after the regular session to permit the making up of the time lost in the holidays. You see the session runs over through the Christmas holidays, and business usually drags for the first month or six weeks, so there is a short special session to take care of the things that have not been disposed of.

Senator KENYON. How many men are in the lower house?

Mr. FERGUSON. Eighty-one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they seem to be interested in public questions, these members of the assembly?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have a direct interest in their own locality? You spoke of their coming in and getting loans for their localities from the central government.

Mr. FERGUSON. Their greatest desire for loans is for public schools. Practically all of them want schools erected.

The CHAIRMAN. These loans are for the construction of buildings?

Mr. FERGUSON. We loan money for waterworks, sewers, schools, municipal buildings, provincial buildings, public markets, and lighting plants.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any discrimination between different neighborhoods in the loaning of money for those purposes?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; absolutely none.

The CHAIRMAN. How small a community can borrow money?

Mr. FERGUSON. Any community which, after investigation on the ground by a representative of the Governor General, and after an investigation of the borrowing capacity and approval by the Governor General, can get money sufficient to build the kind of school or buildings that we consider necessary for the municipality. When I say having sufficient borrowing capacity I mean that we take the

auditor's report for three years' time and find the difference in expenditures over receipts, take the average of that, and we estimate they can borrow money, repayable usually in 10 years' time in 10 equal annual installments, not in excess of the average saving.

Senator SHATROTH. You mean revenue over expenditures?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. You stated it the other way.

The CHAIRMAN. Do those municipalities then repay their debts back to the central government?

Mr. FERGUSON. They repay it in installments.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you find them scrupulous in doing it?

Mr. FERGUSON. There has never been a default.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose one fails?

Mr. FERGUSON. It could not be unless there was some large defalcation or something of that kind. It would be impossible for them to fail. If they should fail we would have to extend the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any power to take it out of the revenues before it reaches them?

Mr. FERGUSON. After the revenue is collected and it goes into the provincial treasury we then have the power to take it from them.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the insular government can protect itself in making loans to the provincial government?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You say this school system is your particular study?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; the public-improvement policy.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those public improvements still being pushed?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How does your insular government get enough money to make these loans?

Mr. FERGUSON. We use our sinking funds, public-work bonds sinking funds, friar-land bonds sinking funds, our gold-standard funds in part, and our insurance fund—we call them the trust funds.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give any idea of the amount of money loaned each year?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have not the figures here, not accurately; I can not. The amount to be loaned each year is increasing as our investigations have progressed.

The CHAIRMAN. It is increasing also because your sinking fund is increasing, I suppose?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You make no loans out of the revenues of the Government, but only out of the sinking funds?

Mr. FERGUSON. Only out of the sinking funds.

The CHAIRMAN. The rates at which you loan are very low, are they?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes. Our friar-land sinking fund and public-work sinking fund is estimated at an amount which would permit of the retirement of the bonds in 30 years, something more than 3 per cent and less than 4 per cent; I have forgotten the exact amount. We loan out those funds at 4 per cent a year to municipalities.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you obtain a different rate for the other sinking funds that you loan?

Mr. FERGUSON. That rate applies to the friar-land sinking fund, the public-work sinking fund, and to the insurance fund. For the gold-standard fund we make loans at 3 per cent a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain the gold-standard fund?

Mr. FERGUSON. The gold-standard fund is a fund which was created under the provision of the act of Congress of March 2, 1903, for the maintenance of the parity of the silver peso with the gold peso in the Philippine Islands. Under an act of the Philippine Legislature we are permitted to take one-half of that fund and make loans to municipalities and Provinces for permanent public work, and also to aid the Manila Railroad Co. in its construction of its railroad.

Senator SHAFROTH. That is not applied to the redemption of any notes of any kind? That is purely to maintain the parity between silver and gold?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. At that parity, namely, of 50 cents for a peso?

Mr. FERGUSON. The gold standard fund amounts to 35 per cent of all the money in circulation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the law requires you to keep 35 per cent in reserve against all silver and paper money in circulation?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; we have to reserve in paper money a silver peso for each peso of paper money. That is entirely different.

The CHAIRMAN. That you are not able to lend out?

Mr. FERGUSON. We have never done so.

The CHAIRMAN. You have to keep a reserve in gold or silver equal to every paper peso outstanding in paper money?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But of silver outstanding you keep a reserve of 35 per cent; and how is that kept?

Mr. FERGUSON. The gold-standard fund is kept partly in the United States and partly in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it virtually a gold fund?

Mr. FERGUSON. But, as a matter of fact, our money in the Philippines is in silver.

Senator SHAFROTH. How much does that fund amount to?

Mr. FERGUSON. That fund amounts altogether to 18,000,000 or 18,500,000 pesos.

Senator SHAFROTH. What is the total circulation supposed to be in the Philippines of gold and silver?

Mr. FERGUSON. 49,082,860 pesos.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that gold-standard fund increasing?

Mr. FERGUSON. It increased very rapidly until two years ago. We had no provision until two years ago whereby accretions to the fund could be used for general purposes, and our investments at 4 per cent, the interest we earned on it, all went into the gold-standard fund. So we finally had a fund which was disproportionate to its necessity. And by a law passed two years ago some \$2,000,000, or 2,000,000 pesos, was reverted to the general fund. And the law was changed so that every three months we take the accretions—the earnings—and revert them to the general treasury.

The CHAIRMAN. Then they are used for government expenditures and improvements?

Mr. FERGUSON. For government expenditures. We maintain a reserve of only 35 per cent of the silver in circulation or available for that purpose exclusive of the silver certificates in circulation protected by a gold reserve.

The CHAIRMAN. Supposing the Filipinos are put in full possession of those financial arrangements under some act like this bill, what would be the consequence?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think they will continue the present policy of loans for these several purposes, and also I am certain, if they have no other way of getting money, they will want to make further loans for developing sugar centrals and other industries in the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. When the crop-moving season comes on is there difficulty in getting money in the Philippines?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; because the movement of the crops in the Philippines is by the large exporting and importing firms. The small man does not ship crops. He takes them in on his little bull cart and sells them to the Chinese in the nearest town or barrio—a barrio is an outlying ward.

The CHAIRMAN. Do those farmers or planters have to borrow the money to raise their crops?

Mr. FERGUSON. We commenced the policy of loaning, or did some two years ago, to the sugar planters in Negros Occidental and neighboring Provinces. The method of doing that, because we could not deal directly with them, was this: We loaned it to one of the banks, and the bank would loan to many of them on good security.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell what rate of interest they pay for those loans?

Mr. FERGUSON. Eight per cent. We loan at 1 per cent to the bank, but the bank guarantees the repayment.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not agree with the statement that there is a great difficulty in the borrowing of money at certain seasons in the Philippine Islands and that interest rates are very high?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are for the small man. The small man can not get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Can not borrow it?

Mr. FERGUSON. He can not borrow it.

The CHAIRMAN. Even with security?

Mr. FERGUSON. He has no security. He has no title to his land.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. FERGUSON. It has been impossible to get it heretofore. The cost of surveying each parcel of land has been such that the poor man could not afford to have his land surveyed. Now, we began some years ago and are putting through a general or cadastral survey.

The CHAIRMAN. The public land, I am told, is sold there at a very low price in small quantities, and you say the cost of survey is an additional obstacle. Must that be borne, then, by the purchaser?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Filipino, as a general thing, the small man, has lived in his own locality and on his own land for a number of years. Perhaps his grandparents lived there before him. The land has never been surveyed, and they never had a title. To get a surveyor down to survey that small parcel of land would cost him perhaps five times what the land is worth. But he does not want to move. He wants that land that belonged to his grandfather.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he does not own it?

Mr. FERGUSON. He owns it as much as anyone. He could probably contest anyone in court who wanted to take that land, but he has no document he can take to the bank to borrow money on the land.

The CHAIRMAN. His title is not good in the courts?

Mr. FERGUSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a squatter?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; he perhaps has bought his land from somebody with equally bare title.

Senator CRAWFORD. But when he has been in possession undisturbed, holding it for 20 years, do they not recognize that title?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; in the courts, if he can get into the courts; but he has not the money.

Senator SHAFROTH. And nobody is contesting him?

Mr. FERGUSON. Nobody is contesting him. We have very few ejectment cases there.

The CHAIRMAN. The Government is not claiming the ownership of that land?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; we are doing everything we can to have it surveyed rapidly for the poor farmer.

The CHAIRMAN. And if it is not surveyed the title is considered good?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; not for the purpose of borrowing money.

The CHAIRMAN. When it is surveyed what do they compare it with? There are no public records of land ownership?

Mr. FERGUSON. As a general thing, we send down a large party and survey a certain section of a Province at request. We have a law there whereby the municipality pays one-tenth, the Province pays one-tenth, and the insular government pays one-tenth of the survey. The individual owner to whom the land is adjudged pays seven-tenths in five equal annual installments, which I think this legislature intends to raise to ten equal annual instalments on this land. The notice is given, posted in the municipal building, or the barrio adjoining, and is published in some paper, that the title to this land will be adjudged at a certain date. Each of the surveyors must—I am talking now from my general knowledge and not from any specific knowledge—must interview everyone on the land whom he can find and explain to him that this land title is going to be adjudged in court.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is there a limit to the amount which each of these little owners can have?

Mr. FERGUSON. If it is public land it is 16 acres.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is it regular in shape, or just run by metes and bounds according to what he is actually possessed of?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is very irregular. The owner will take you perhaps around in an imperfect circle and show you its boundaries, usually some natural boundary.

The CHAIRMAN. When that has been done there is a record made and the title is good?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; the government guarantees the title.

Senator SHAFROTH. Can you tell us something of the character of the representatives that are now in the house of representatives at Manila?

Mr. FERGUSON. As a general thing I have found them men of very high character.

The CHAIRMAN. As to honesty and integrity?

Mr. FERGUSON. As to honesty and integrity, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is their capacity as to intelligence?

Mr. FERGUSON. That will have to be stated comparatively. I do not know how to state that. If you ask from their method of legislating—their discussion of legislation—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; from their discussion of legislation.

Mr. FERGUSON. They are intelligent. They understand the bills that come before them.

The CHAIRMAN. And that discussion is conducted in the Spanish language, is it?

Mr. FERGUSON. In the Spanish language almost entirely. Some in English. There might be four or five or six or eight assemblymen who will discuss a bill together in English.

The CHAIRMAN. They can discuss it in either language?

Mr. FERGUSON. Some can.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you attended any of the debates there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not since the first legislature, but I hear them from my office often times. Some get oratorically inclined when they make a speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a pretty thorough discussion on the bill?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator WALSH. What have you to say as to the character of the legislation they put out?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think it compares very favorably with that of the ordinary, average State legislature. There are some bills that we call fool bills introduced, but they do not get through the assembly. Some men may come in with a freak bill, but the assembly has not, as far as I can remember, passed such a freak bill.

Senator SHAFROTH. They have committees to which the bills are referred?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. And then they are perfected and brought into the house of representatives?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there much of an attendance of people on the streets?

Mr. FERGUSON. The legislative hall is always crowded. The Marble Hall is always crowded with spectators.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have there been any defaults in the offices, either county, provincial, or State offices of the Filipinos?

Mr. FERGUSON. Some, but comparatively few.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has that occurred among the Filipinos or Americans?

Mr. FERGUSON. There have been fewer large defaults on the part of the Filipinos, I believe, than there have on the part of Americans. In 1902, 1903, and 1904 our Government system of auditing was incomplete. It would not be fair to state that the Americans have been great defaulters in the Philippines by any means. But we did not have the careful system of auditing we now have in those days.

Senator SHAFROTH. Did many of these defaults occur in provincial funds that were handled by provincial officers?

Mr. FERGUSON. The greatest number was among provincial officers and supply officers of the constabulary of the early days.

Senator SHAFROTH. Will you state what your idea is of the general disposition and character of the Filipinos so far as to whether he is a law-abiding citizen, and likely to make a good citizen, or whether he would be violent and produce revolutions?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Filipino is a law-abiding citizen, a peaceful citizen. He is violent in his personal quarrels, and we have more cutting affrays there than we have in the United States, for the reason that the instrument of labor is the bolo which each laborer wears strapped on him when he goes to work, and when his temper arises he uses it as the most available weapon.

Senator SHAFROTH. Are those disputes political or purely private?

Mr. FERGUSON. Private.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has there ever been a riot during the occupation of the Americans since the war closed with reference to any legislation or to the acts of any officer of the American Government there?

Mr. FERGUSON. So far as I remember there never has been any demonstration against any officer.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is the Filipino's tendency that of obeying the law and upholding the law?

Mr. FERGUSON. Obeying and upholding—both, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. In your judgment if the government were turned over to the Filipinos would they have an orderly system of government?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe they would eventually. I do not think they will have for a long time to come a government as efficient as the government which we have given them, but I believe they can establish and maintain a government which is suitable for themselves, and only through that will they ever learn finally to govern themselves.

Senator SHAFROTH. What do you say as to the general feeling among them as to whether or not they desire independence?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can safely say that the greater number of them do.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there any considerable number who do not?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. It is almost unanimous?

Mr. FERGUSON. Almost unanimous among them. I am talking now of my personal knowledge, those I come in personal contact with and hear talking.

Senator SHAFROTH. What will you say as to the general morality of the Filipino so far as honesty is concerned?

Mr. FERGUSON. I consider the Filipino people very honest.

Senator SHAFROTH. Contrasted with the neighboring countries there, China and Japan, would you say they are fully their equal?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are so far ahead, I think, of a Chinese or Japanese that there is no comparison.

Senator SHAFROTH. You think the Filipino is more honest?

Mr. FERGUSON. Absolutely so.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there a tendency in commercial transactions for the Filipino to take advantage?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. He is not grasping at all.

Senator SHAFROTH. He does not attempt to use the arts that some other orientals do?

Mr. FERGUSON. No.

Senator SHAFROTH. What will you say as to the character of the Filipino so far as morality in his domestic relations is concerned?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Filipino, I should imagine, is not as moral in his domestic relations as we are; not as moral as the American people are.

Senator SHAFROTH. With the people of the nations around the Filipino—the Japanese, for instance—how does the Filipino compare?

Mr. FERGUSON. Compared with the Japanese he is more moral, although small credit is due to him for that. I mean in his domestic relations, for the reason that the Japanese do not generally look on sexual intercourse with a young woman as the Filipinos do. The Filipinos are like all other Christian people, opposed to indiscriminate sexual intercourse. With the Japanese it is not a disgrace.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do the Filipinos establish and live in home relations something like we do?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; they are very fond of their own homes and their own families.

Senator SHAFROTH. They do not generally establish different institutions, calling each their home?

Mr. FERGUSON. Probably a number of them have another place they could go to, but they do not keep two homes. They do not have the means to do it if they wanted to.

Senator KENYON. Does polygamy exist anywhere in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not to my knowledge, unless it is in the Moro Province, and there may be cases there. They are Mohammedans. I have no definite knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. Are all the non-Christians Mohammedans?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; only the people in Mindanao—the Moro country.

The CHAIRMAN. The others are idolators?

Mr. FERGUSON. All the non-Christians, I believe, have religious rites of some kind apparently, but I could not describe them. They all worship idols or symbols of some kind.

Thereupon, at 5 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until Friday, December 18, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m.





GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 18459

AN ACT TO DECLARE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND TO PROVIDE A MORE AUTONOMOUS
GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLANDS

DECEMBER 18, 1914

PART 2



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1914

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JOHN W. WEEKS, Massachusetts.

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GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1914.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee assembled at 10.30 o'clock a. m.
Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Saulsbury, Ransdell, Shafroth, Bristow, Crawford, Lippitt, Kenyon, and Weeks.

STATEMENT OF MR. SAMUEL FERGUSON—Continued.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ferguson, can you take up the threads of your statement where you left off, or were you in the midst of questions and answers?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe Senator Shafroth was asking about the morality of the Filipino in his family relations.

Senator SHAFROTH. Will you continue that, please?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think I had completed the answer to that, that they are perhaps not as moral as the Americans. They are a warm-blooded people, but they are more moral than the people of the neighboring countries.

Senator SHAFROTH. What about the conditions of the Moros as to morality?

Mr. FERGUSON. As to the Moros I know nothing at first hand; only hearsay; nothing except what I have read. The Moros, I believe, practice, in part, polygamy. I believe there is a limit of four to the number of wives they may have.

Senator SHAFROTH. What proportion of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands do the Moros constitute?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say one-twentieth or one twenty-fifth.

Senator WEEKS. Is polygamy practiced by any other tribes?

Mr. FERGUSON. None that I know of.

Senator LIPPITT. One-twentieth. That would be—

Mr. FERGUSON. Four hundred thousand.

Senator LIPPITT. And there are about 8,000,000 people in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. Somewhere between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000.

Senator SHAFROTH. Can you say whether or not much progress has been made among them toward civilizing them?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very great. Since Gov. Gen. Harrison arrived in the Philippine Islands the former quasi military government has been withdrawn, with the recommendation of the commanding general, and we have now a real civil government established. After the last session of the legislature in March of this year the Philip-

pine Commission, which has sole jurisdiction over the Moro Province, created the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, which consists of a department governor and a legislative council. They also passed a bill which provides for provincial governments, creating in the former Moro Province, now the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, smaller provinces with provincial elective officials. They are contemplating now, if they have not already done so, a local government among the Moros—a municipal government.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is it contemplated that any of the Moros would participate in this government in the way of officials?

Mr. FERGUSON. In the Moro government?

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; they already participate.

Senator SHAFROTH. How long have they been participating?

Mr. FERGUSON. They had first participation in the department government since the arrival of Gov. Gen. Harrison in the Philippine Islands. Before that the department government consisted of Americans only.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has there been anything that was radically wrong in their administration or control? Do they make fair officers?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is too early to say. Of course, the Moro, as a general thing, does not read or write Spanish or English, and information must be given him in his own dialect.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has there been any complaint that he has not administered his office well?

Mr. FERGUSON. None at all, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. In the affairs of the local government or provincial government, are quite a number of these officers Moros?

Mr. FERGUSON. In the provincial government it is contemplated they will be, but at the present time the policy is to have Filipino provincial governors, with some of the other officers elected, with the idea of bringing the Filipino and Moro into closer relation and understanding.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has there been any friction between these elements at all since this establishment of government down there among the Moros?

Mr. FERGUSON. None at all, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there any participation upon the part of the men in the mountains of upper Luzon in the administration of the local government in that locality?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; I believe they have no participation in the provincial governments.

Senator SHAFROTH. They are surrounded by Christian Filipinos, and they are a very small part of the population, as I understand it.

Mr. FERGUSON. When I say they have no participation, the lieutenant of the barrio, the ward officer, and the alcalde—that would be the mayor—of the smaller towns are oftentimes—in fact, I think always—non-Christians in the hills. They also have their own local councils.

Senator SHAFROTH. Mr. Ferguson, you say you have been there about 15 years?

Mr. FERGUSON. Eleven years.

Senator SHAFROTH. During your occupation or inhabitation of the islands, do you regard that it would have been safe for you to go into any part of the islands you might want to?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir. There has never been a time when I did not feel absolutely safe, either day or night, either going alone or with others.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have any of the persons—that is, civilians—attempted to go into the parts of the islands that might be considered not as favorable as others with bodyguards or anything of that kind?

Mr. FERGUSON. There have been parts, especially of the Moro Province, in the earlier days and in one or two of the non-Christian subprovinces in the north that the constabulary had been reluctant to let people go through without a guard, but those are very isolated districts.

Senator SHAFROTH. Throughout the entire Christian portions of the islands, then, people have gone without bodyguards or without any protection whatever?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; always since I have been in the islands.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have you ever heard of an American being injured or killed unless it was by a robber or something of that sort?

Mr. FERGUSON. Only for purposes of robbery.

Senator SHAFROTH. Are they few and limited?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very few. It is surprising how few—less than in many sections of the United States, I should say.

Senator SHAFROTH. You have never heard of an uprising against an American in any part of the Christian portion of the islands from the fact that he was an American or that he was antagonistic to the Filipino people?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. I will say this, that I believe some of the municipal councils have taken formal action, protesting against some action or other of one of our former officials in the Philippines, but that was believed to be against his supposed official and personal attitude toward the Filipino.

Senator SHAFROTH. It did not manifest itself by open hostility; just purely resolutions of redress, as they term it?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Americans are there in the islands aside from the troops?

Mr. FERGUSON. I shall have to verify this, but I should say perhaps 4,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Four thousand?

Mr. FERGUSON. Four thousand to five thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any intermarrying between Americans and Filipinos?

Mr. FERGUSON. There has been some; not a great deal, but some.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that half-breed called?

Mr. FERGUSON. They call the half-breed Mestizos, the Spanish term for the half-blood.

The CHAIRMAN. It is always an American man with a Filipino wife, I suppose?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes. I only know of two other cases—of American girls who married in the United States and went out with Filipino husbands.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they continue to live together in domestic relations reasonably satisfactory?

Mr. FERGUSON. You mean the American men with Filipino wives? Apparently so. It has usually been in the Philippine Islands that the American who has married a Filipino has not been of the most highly educated class. However, I must say that most of them are splendid men—industrious, honest, and efficient in their own lines. They love their families and take care of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You say there are only a few hundreds of those cases?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not think they run into many hundreds. I should say not more than 200 or 300. This is, of course, an estimate only—there is no record of which I know.

The CHAIRMAN. They associate after marriage only with the Filipinos?

Mr. FERGUSON. There has been in the past a considerable feeling against the mixed marriage of Americans with Filipinos, but I think that feeling is somewhat dying out, especially in the past year when a number of American men so married in the employ of the Army and in the employ of the civil government lost their positions, and the entire American community and the Filipino community as well assisted them to get other work. The feeling seems to be changing into one of sympathy for those men who are married and settled in the islands: a feeling of desire to aid rather than one of antagonism.

Senator LIPPITT. When you say there is a feeling against them, do you mean among the Filipino people or among the American people?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe there is a feeling against the mixed marriage on the part of the American people and on the part of the better class of the Filipino people. I have been so told by Filipinos of education.

Senator LIPPITT. Does the Filipino object to the Filipino marrying an American woman?

Mr. FERGUSON. He does not think the union successful, the better class of Filipino.

Senator LIPPITT. Do they have a feeling of hostility to it?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not hostility to it; no, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Do they think it advisable?

Mr. FERGUSON. They think it is inadvisable.

Senator LIPPITT. But they have no feeling of hostility toward it, have they?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; none whatever to my knowledge.

Senator LIPPITT. But you do think there is a feeling of hostility among the Americans to that being done?

Mr. FERGUSON. There was a feeling of hostility on the part of the Americans. There was, but it is growing less. I do not think the majority of Americans approve of such marriages.

Senator LIPPITT. Did you say there have been some cases of American women marrying Filipino men?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of only two cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us anything about the progeny, what sort of children they are?

Mr. FERGUSON. There are none, of course, old enough to say what kind of citizens they will make, but I think they will be the average.

The CHAIRMAN. It there any physical improvement over the Filipino?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not think now of knowing any child of such a marriage.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not at all widespread, having such inter-marriages?

Mr. FERGUSON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And rather frowned on by most Americans?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; and Filipinos, I believe.

Senator RANSDALL. Has there not been a considerable admixture of the Filipinos with the Spanish in past years?

Mr. FERGUSON. A very great deal.

Senator RANSDALL. So you have Caucasian blood mingled with the Filipino blood?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator RANSDALL. It would not be anything new for the Caucasian blood to be intermingled with the Filipino blood?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not at all.

Senator RANSDALL. How many Japanese are there in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe there are no records to show that. It is impossible to estimate.

Senator RANSDALL. Are there a good many?

Mr. FERGUSON. At the present time, no; not even comparatively speaking.

Senator RANSDALL. Not many?

Mr. FERGUSON. No.

Senator RANSDALL. Do they intermarry much with the Filipino?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think the Japanese do not.

Senator RANSDALL. How many Chinese are there in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. The collector of customs, in his 1912 report, estimates 65,000, 50 per cent of whom were living in Manila.

Senator RANSDALL. Do they intermarry?

Mr. FERGUSON. They do, sir.

Senator RANSDALL. Are the Chinese practically all non-Christians?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Chinese, as a general thing, accepts the Catholic religion when he marries a Filipino woman.

Senator RANSDALL. Have you had intercourse enough with the non-Christian nations of Asia to make a comparison between them and the Christian Filipinos, as to their general character and moral behavior and the qualities which we ordinarily consider to go to make up a good man and woman?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I can give my own estimate of it.

Senator RANSDALL. I would like to have it.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say that the Chinese and Japanese both are shrewder than the Filipino. They are in a business sense. Neither is as honest as the Filipino, and neither is as moral as the Filipino.

Senator RANSELL. Then, would you infer that the Christian religion is responsible for this greater honesty and greater morality on the part of the Filipino, or do you attribute it to other causes?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe the Filipino is inherently honest, but the teaching of the Catholic Church has also been a very important factor; but I believe also his foundation for honesty is greater.

Senator RANSELL. Is he inherently moral from the standpoint of personal chastity?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not believe so. He is not perhaps immoral; rather, unmoral from that standpoint. He is warm-blooded.

Senator RANSELL. You said you thought they were more chaste than the other nations over in that section of the world. What has caused that greater chastity?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe that would be attributable to their religious training and to their manner of education.

Senator RANSELL. Do you find any difference in the grade of chastity between the married and unmarried? It has been said of some of the Asiatic nations that they are immoral prior to marriage, but that they observe their marriage vows very closely after they are married.

Mr. FERGUSON. I am unable to state that. I do not know. There is, of course, great difference in morality between the men and the women, distinctly in favor of the women.

Senator RANSELL. There is nothing of that kind in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. No more than do we does the Filipino countenance immorality on the part of a woman in the expectation of marrying her later.

Senator RANSELL. You have understood that was true, at least, of one of the great Asiatic races?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you, briefly, in your own way, give a review of the changes you have seen in the Philippine Islands during the last 11 years as to sanitary conditions, education, and business? Has there been any marked change in the appearance of the towns, the conduct of the people, or the commercial conditions?

Mr. FERGUSON. There has been a marked change in sanitary conditions since I have been there. When I went to the Philippine Islands they were just at the end of a long and very serious cholera epidemic. Dysentery was practically a deadly disease at that time. The water in the different towns was bad. The death rate was very high. Since I have been there we have cleaned up all the towns. We have in practically every town a Filipino doctor or one who understands something of medicine who has been instructed under the American system, not in schools, but by letters and books and other ways as to sanitary methods. The streets are kept clean. In the most cases we have some way of disposing of the refuse. We have some artesian wells. I say we; I mean the municipalities have some artesian wells. And for four years, until July of this year, we had no cholera in Manila. For six years, I believe, we had had no plague, notwithstanding the fact that the plague has always been present in China, three days' sail away. For dysentery the doctors have dis-

covered a cure, and it is no longer considered the terrible disease it was considered before that time. There have been constructed many miles of roads, new bridges, buildings; improvements of all kinds have been undertaken.

The CHAIRMAN. How about business conditions?

Mr. FERGUSON. Business conditions had been very good in the Philippine Islands up to the depression, which I understood was world wide, beginning early in the year 1913. However, in May of 1914 our business revived, and in May, June, and July our business in the Philippine Islands was greater, as evidenced by the internal revenue and customs receipts, than at any previous time.

Senator LIPPITT. Excuse me. I did not quite understand that answer. What did you say. Did I understand you to say that in May, June, and July the receipts from the customs were larger than at any previous time?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is my recollection. I will verify this statement.

Senator LIPPITT. Does that mean that the trade of the islands was not with Americans? As the customs receipts are solely from trade between the Filipinos and nations other than American, if the customs receipts increase, does that mean that the trade is swerving away from America to other nations, or does it mean that the total imports, American and others, have also increased?

Mr. FERGUSON. The total imports have increased. Our trade with America has increased from something like 8 to more than 50 per cent.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand that is so over a period of time. But for these three months that the customs receipts have very much increased, does that mean that the percentage of imports that come from America has decreased relatively?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. That means that the trade with America has increased also.

Senator LIPPITT. But there are no customs receipts from America?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; but we have our statistics showing the trade with the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. But I thought your statement was that the customs receipts had increased.

Mr. FERGUSON. Our total trade has increased; and the increase, I believe, is due both to increased importation from foreign countries and increased importation from America. But in estimating trade conditions we take into account customs as well as internal revenue.

Senator LIPPITT. So for that three months the increased customs receipts does not mean that the trade with America has decreased any, but that the total trade has increased?

Mr. FERGUSON. Has increased; yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you know what it was for those three months?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can find out. I have not the figures.

Senator LIPPITT. Will you put it in the record?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

(The figures referred to are as follows:)

Import and export trade.

	1913	1914
May.....	\$7,371,228	\$8,997,473
June.....	8,686,653	11,601,741
July.....	7,122,766	9,314,504
Total.....	23,180,647	29,913,718
Increase.....		23,180,647
		6,733,071

Senator SHAFROTH. Do they still have duties on exports, or have they been abolished?

Mr. FERGUSON. They were abolished by the Underwood tariff bill.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that correct? Is there not any export duty in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. None at all, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say at the present time one-half of all the imports going into the Philippine Islands come from the United States?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When we took the islands over there was only 8 per cent coming from the United States?

Mr. FERGUSON. It was only 8 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. And also that the imports from all countries have largely increased during our occupation?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the exports from the Philippines?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am talking generally, without the figures before me, but my impression is that the total trade of the islands has increased, export as well as import.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you, when you come to revise your notes, put the exact figures in, showing the growth of export trade and import trade, and group all foreign countries, and against that have the trade with the United States?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

Imports into the Philippines.

Twelve months ending June—	From—			United States, per cent of total.
	United States.	Other countries.	Total.	
1899.....	\$1,150,613	\$11,962,397	\$13,113,010	8
1900.....	1,657,701	18,943,735	20,601,436	8
1901.....	2,855,685	27,423,721	30,279,406	9
1902.....	4,035,243	28,106,599	32,141,842	13
1903.....	3,944,098	29,027,784	32,971,882	12
1904.....	4,633,216	28,587,545	33,220,761	14
1905.....	5,761,498	25,114,852	30,876,350	19
1906.....	4,333,893	21,465,373	25,799,266	17
1907.....	5,155,359	23,630,496	28,785,855	18
1908.....	5,079,487	25,838,870	30,918,357	16
1909.....	4,691,770	23,109,627	27,792,397	17
1910.....	10,775,301	26,292,329	37,067,630	29
1911.....	19,483,658	30,350,064	49,833,722	39
1912.....	20,604,155	33,945,825	54,549,980	38
1913.....	25,387,085	30,940,498	56,327,583	45
1914.....	28,571,821	27,439,749	56,011,570	51

Exports from the Philippines.

Twelve months ending June—	To—			United States per cent of total.
	United States.	Other countries.	Total.	
1899.....	\$3,540,894	\$8,826,018	\$12,366,912	29
1900.....	3,522,160	16,228,908	19,751,068	18
1901.....	2,572,021	20,642,927	23,214,948	11
1902.....	7,691,743	16,235,936	23,927,679	32
1903.....	13,863,059	19,256,840	33,119,899	42
1904.....	11,102,775	19,147,852	30,250,627	37
1905.....	15,668,026	16,684,589	32,352,615	48
1906.....	11,579,411	20,337,723	31,917,134	36
1907.....	12,079,204	21,634,153	33,713,357	36
1908.....	10,323,233	22,493,334	32,816,567	31
1909.....	10,215,331	20,778,232	30,993,563	33
1910.....	18,741,771	21,122,398	39,864,169	47
1911.....	16,716,956	23,061,673	39,778,629	42
1912.....	21,517,777	28,802,059	50,319,836	43
1913.....	19,848,885	33,834,441	53,683,326	37
1914.....	22,047,105	29,190,943	51,238,048	43

The CHAIRMAN. I wanted to ask you about—

Senator LIPPITT. Before you leave that may I ask just one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. There has been no report made to this country as to the condition of the foreign trade since the present administration, since Gov. Gen. Harrison has been in office, has there?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe that the Bureau of Insular Affairs gets the customs reports. The Bureau of Insular Affairs has published a very complete report on the foreign commerce of the Philippine Islands for the years ending June 30, 1909–1913—the last report issued.

Gen. McINTYRE. We get in the bureau a monthly report, and then we tabulate it.

Senator LIPPITT. It has not been made public?

Gen. McINTYRE. Except covering periods. It has not been published in full.

Senator LIPPITT. Would it not be a good idea, Mr. Chairman, to ask the bureau to put into the report a copy of the returns they have had up to the latest date?

The CHAIRMAN. I think it would be, but it might be well for Mr. McIntyre to let Mr. Ferguson put it in at this point.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes; so that we can have the latest returns.

The CHAIRMAN. Itemize it as much as possible, so that we can get a clear idea.

(The figures referred to are as follows:)

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Imports and exports of merchandise, 12 months June, 1912, 1913, 1914, and months July, August, and September, 1914.

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.

Articles.	Imported from—	Twelve months, June—			Month of (1914)—		
		1912	1913	1914	July.	August.	September.
Foodstuffs.	United States.....	Dollars 3,877,734	Dollars 4,126,951	Dollars 3,178,883	Dollars 110,853	Dollars 265,348	Dollars 238,382
	Other countries.....	18,499,660	14,976,338	9,653,820	896,566	986,235	803,445
	Total.....	22,377,394	19,103,289	12,838,713	1,007,419	1,251,583	1,041,827
Rice.....	United States.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Other countries.....	10,569,949	7,940,856	2,800,884	290,283	477,292	339,213
	Total.....	10,569,949	7,940,857	2,800,884	290,283	477,292	339,213
Breadstuffs, except rice.....	United States.....	1,354,009	1,828,971	1,090,067	32,206	118,417	63,617
	Other countries.....	1,209,503	1,126,581	1,044,500	91,543	71,551	84,009
	Total.....	2,563,512	2,955,552	2,134,567	123,749	189,968	147,626
Wheat flour.....	United States.....	1,043,770	1,561,177	953,535	26,945	109,621	59,232
	Other countries.....	717,628	671,261	678,377	52,181	38,008	70,179
	Total.....	1,761,398	2,232,438	1,631,912	79,126	147,629	129,411
All other.....	United States.....	310,239	267,794	136,532	5,261	8,796	4,385
	Other countries.....	491,875	455,320	366,123	39,362	33,543	13,830
	Total.....	802,114	723,114	502,655	44,623	42,339	18,215
Meat and dairy products.....	United States.....	1,010,186	891,095	728,017	33,440	48,957	58,770
	Other countries.....	2,531,088	2,416,342	2,519,907	230,805	172,582	144,869
	Total.....	3,541,274	3,307,437	3,247,924	264,245	221,539	203,639
Beef, fresh.....	United States.....	.....	45	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Other countries.....	997,299	912,105	905,356	97,101	65,255	45,923
	Total.....	997,299	912,150	905,356	97,101	65,255	45,923

Condensed milk.....	214,480	89,475	172,826	6,619	8,864	9,126
Other countries.....	551,068	632,126	643,754	77,842	31,551	42,949
Total.....	765,548	721,601	816,580	84,461	40,415	52,075
All other.....	795,706	801,575	555,191	26,821	40,083	49,644
Other countries.....	982,721	872,111	970,797	55,862	75,776	55,997
Total.....	1,778,427	1,673,686	1,525,988	82,683	115,869	105,641
Miscellaneous foodstuffs.....	1,513,539	1,406,884	1,360,809	45,207	97,974	115,985
Other countries.....	4,189,120	3,492,559	3,294,529	283,935	264,810	235,354
Total.....	5,702,659	4,899,443	4,655,338	329,142	362,784	351,349
Fish.....	419,566	558,591	318,583	8,596	7,988	38,116
Other countries.....	267,909	374,371	317,611	45,711	31,981	28,493
Total.....	687,475	932,962	636,194	54,307	39,919	66,609
Fruits and nuts.....	178,154	170,882	180,571	4,619	10,830	9,570
Other countries.....	240,469	231,311	243,796	13,948	16,472	8,102
Total.....	418,623	402,193	424,367	18,567	27,302	17,672
Spirits, wines, and malt liquors.....	126,337	111,419	82,244	5,000	5,638	8,558
Other countries.....	336,265	298,838	324,928	20,709	27,085	14,160
Total.....	462,602	410,257	407,172	25,709	32,673	22,718
Vegetables.....	256,997	207,364	193,957	8,159	14,540	13,614
Other countries.....	553,458	577,566	614,937	32,779	49,425	42,609
Total.....	810,455	784,980	808,894	40,938	63,965	56,223
All other.....	532,785	358,628	585,454	18,833	59,028	46,137
Other countries.....	2,791,019	2,010,443	1,793,257	170,788	139,897	141,990
Total.....	3,323,804	2,369,071	2,378,711	189,621	198,925	188,127
Textile fibers, and manufactures of.....	4,515,340	7,372,449	7,573,291	412,178	557,615	613,922
Other countries.....	6,514,537	6,003,207	6,604,457	508,300	410,359	281,467
Total.....	11,029,877	13,375,656	14,177,748	920,478	967,974	895,389
Cotton, and manufactures of.....	4,241,417	6,915,130	7,158,826	387,853	531,371	564,523
Other countries.....	5,103,528	4,656,576	5,035,018	376,454	299,325	205,535
Total.....	9,344,945	11,571,706	12,193,844	764,307	820,696	770,058

Imports and exports of merchandise, 12 months June, 1912, 1913, 1914, and months July, August, and September, 1914—Continued.

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE—Continued.

Articles.	Imported from—	Twelve months, June—			Month of (1914)—		
		1912	1913	1914	July.	August.	September.
Textile fibers, and manufactures of—Continued. Cotton, and manufactures of—Continued. Cloths.....	United States.....	Dollars 3, 928, 032	Dollars 5, 657, 189	Dollars 6, 020, 916	Dollars 322, 180	Dollars 453, 382	Dollars 438, 072
	Other countries.....	2, 562, 693	2, 318, 622	2, 124, 399	142, 199	108, 627	73, 263
	Total.....	5, 790, 725	7, 975, 811	8, 145, 315	464, 379	562, 009	511, 335
Wearing apparel.....	United States.....	316, 519	385, 209	389, 568	15, 270	32, 036	33, 674
	Other countries.....	868, 358	870, 615	1, 250, 004	102, 409	66, 017	53, 338
	Total.....	1, 184, 857	1, 255, 824	1, 639, 572	117, 679	98, 053	87, 012
All other.....	United States.....	696, 866	872, 732	748, 342	50, 403	45, 953	92, 777
	Other countries.....	1, 672, 497	1, 467, 339	1, 660, 615	131, 846	114, 681	78, 934
	Total.....	2, 369, 363	2, 340, 071	2, 408, 957	182, 249	160, 634	171, 711
Miscellaneous fibers.....	United States.....	273, 923	457, 319	414, 465	24, 325	26, 244	49, 399
	Other countries.....	1, 411, 069	1, 346, 631	1, 569, 439	131, 846	121, 034	75, 932
	Total.....	1, 684, 992	1, 803, 950	1, 983, 904	156, 171	147, 278	125, 331
Fibers, vegetable, except cotton.....	United States.....	92, 387	102, 197	101, 703	8, 460	9, 924	6, 270
	Other countries.....	423, 482	449, 308	557, 216	55, 665	53, 824	26, 962
	Total.....	515, 869	551, 505	658, 919	64, 125	63, 748	33, 232
Silk, and manufactures of.....	United States.....	81, 722	147, 895	125, 324	12, 981	10, 098	13, 345
	Other countries.....	762, 841	679, 475	822, 170	55, 185	53, 097	41, 006
	Total.....	844, 563	827, 370	948, 494	68, 166	63, 195	54, 350
Wool, and manufactures of.....	United States.....	99, 814	207, 227	187, 438	2, 884	6, 222	29, 784
	Other countries.....	224, 686	217, 848	189, 053	20, 996	14, 113	7, 966
	Total.....	324, 500	425, 075	376, 491	23, 880	20, 335	37, 749

Iron and steel, and manufactures of.....	4,271,647 1,797,402	4,467,147 2,141,770	7,215,505 2,889,483	321,896 170,404	335,152 130,984	352,447 91,770
Total.....	6,069,049	6,608,917	10,104,988	492,300	466,086	444,217
Machinery, machines, and parts of.....	1,323,797 802,564	1,533,605 1,037,934	2,169,562 1,498,790	130,899 72,905	136,863 43,126	191,450 47,380
Total.....	2,126,361	2,591,539	3,665,352	203,804	179,989	238,830
All other.....	2,947,850 994,838	2,913,542 1,103,836	5,045,943 1,393,693	190,997 97,499	198,239 87,808	160,997 44,390
Total.....	3,942,688	4,017,378	6,439,636	288,496	286,097	205,387
Cars, carriages, other vehicles, and parts.....	831,385 351,706	1,075,229 527,491	1,333,414 473,878	37,762 62,837	62,570 64,884	37,542 9,443
Total.....	1,183,091	1,602,720	1,607,292	100,599	127,454	46,985
Automobiles, and parts of.....	536,170 177,536	774,525 202,601	876,327 239,718	30,036 1,208	45,887 30,674	21,350 3,882
Total.....	713,706	977,126	1,116,045	31,244	76,561	25,232
All other.....	295,215 174,170	300,704 324,890	237,087 234,160	7,726 61,629	16,683 34,210	16,192 5,561
Total.....	469,385	625,594	491,247	69,355	50,893	21,753
Leather, and manufactures of.....	875,133 150,674	1,084,280 1,105,843	1,251,463 1,145,608	135,895 10,722	84,500 10,819	131,564 8,645
Total.....	1,025,807	1,190,123	1,397,071	146,617	95,319	140,169
Boots and shoes.....	545,435 41,517	672,034 23,398	742,888 41,923	75,117 2,053	45,823 674	74,637 3,216
Total.....	586,952	695,432	784,811	77,170	46,497	77,853
All other.....	329,698 109,157	412,246 82,445	508,575 103,685	60,778 8,669	38,677 10,145	56,927 5,389
Total.....	438,855	494,691	612,260	69,447	45,822	62,316
Mineral oils.....	1,406,721 166,882	1,483,761 174,095	1,819,388 204,459	132,549 20,655	60,840 41,416	220,242 11,763
Total.....	1,573,603	1,657,856	2,023,847	153,204	102,256	232,005

Imports and exports of merchandise, 12 months June, 1912, 1913, 1914, and months July, August, and September, 1914—Continued.

IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE—Continued.

Articles.	Imported from—	Twelve months, June—				Month of (1914)—			
		1912	1913	1914	July.	August.	September.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Mineral oils—Continued. Illuminating oil.....	United States.....	Dollars. 1,083,719	Dollars. 1,101,171	Dollars. 1,232,325	Dollars. 120,461	Dollars. 28,811	Dollars. 148,898		
	Other countries.....	188,461	134,101	126,474	12,870	31,607	31,607		
	Total.....	1,272,180	1,235,272	1,418,799	133,331	60,418	148,898		
All other.....	United States.....	338,002	382,800	527,063	12,088	32,029	71,344		
	Other countries.....	28,421	39,994	77,985	7,785	9,809	11,763		
	Total.....	366,423	422,884	605,048	19,873	41,838	83,107		
Miscellaneous articles.....	United States.....	4,826,185	5,777,268	6,399,867	475,752	516,550	441,139		
	Other countries.....	6,464,964	7,011,754	7,462,044	476,058	449,398	510,904		
	Total.....	11,291,159	12,789,022	13,861,911	951,810	965,948	952,043		
Books and other printed matter.....	United States.....	245,567	294,193	274,473	32,745	40,425	10,709		
	Other countries.....	211,645	335,352	218,050	18,556	17,589	6,789		
	Total.....	457,212	629,545	492,523	51,301	58,014	17,498		
Cement.....	United States.....	468	347	36					
	Other countries.....	539,281	690,753	774,760	29,789	30,388	62,683		
	Total.....	539,749	691,100	774,796	29,789	30,388	62,683		
Chemicals, drugs, dyes, and medicines.....	United States.....	338,996	411,216	405,317	39,919	41,145	38,177		
	Other countries.....	371,283	383,346	382,101	25,356	26,497	21,988		
	Total.....	710,279	794,562	787,418	65,275	67,642	60,165		
Coal.....	United States.....	362	66,778	100,615	57,310	18,844	24,486		
	Other countries.....	1,131,606	1,130,181	1,581,883	84,170	93,918	199,864		
	Total.....	1,131,968	1,196,959	1,682,498	141,480	112,762	224,350		

Electrical instruments and apparatus.....	291,423	377,619	442,918	13,645	17,207	8,403
Other countries.....	77,634	76,202	67,748	4,132	10,007	8,807
Total.....	369,057	453,821	510,666	17,777	27,214	9,210
Explosives.....	528,292	463,518	823,713	53,607	50,876	52,130
Other countries.....	11,783	9,834	9,576	1,252	696	7,398
Total.....	540,075	463,452	833,289	54,859	51,572	52,528
Glass and glassware.....	77,592	65,999	73,006	4,021	5,588	5,376
Other countries.....	254,217	256,887	272,767	22,043	25,041	7,800
Total.....	331,809	322,886	345,773	26,064	30,624	13,176
India rubber, manufactures of.....	278,299	368,137	443,669	20,316	32,856	26,769
Other countries.....	39,422	109,193	151,069	5,257	3,764	10,199
Total.....	317,721	477,330	594,738	25,573	36,620	36,968
Paints and pigments.....	121,696	143,941	113,345	4,005	7,246	11,109
Other countries.....	144,083	128,075	122,497	14,895	5,763	4,380
Total.....	265,779	272,016	235,842	18,900	13,009	15,489
Paper, and manufactures of.....	367,047	490,719	541,915	31,117	40,957	39,808
Other countries.....	390,997	361,105	358,294	24,486	24,716	15,698
Total.....	758,044	851,824	900,209	55,603	65,673	45,506
Wood, and manufactures of.....	424,472	558,005	700,418	14,689	63,432	12,365
Other countries.....	271,835	298,942	238,815	9,666	12,166	6,522
Total.....	696,407	856,947	929,233	24,355	75,598	18,887
All other.....	2,151,951	2,546,796	2,480,442	204,378	197,979	231,807
Other countries.....	3,021,078	3,231,784	3,294,484	236,456	198,853	173,776
Total.....	5,173,029	5,778,580	5,774,926	440,884	396,832	395,583
Total imports, excluding rice.....	20,604,155	25,387,084	28,571,821	1,626,865	1,882,575	2,055,238
Other countries.....	23,375,876	22,999,642	24,638,865	1,865,269	1,616,768	1,378,184
Total.....	43,980,031	48,386,726	53,210,686	3,482,144	3,499,328	3,413,422
Grand total, including rice.....	20,604,155	25,387,085	28,571,821	1,626,885	1,882,575	2,055,238
Other countries.....	33,945,825	30,940,498	27,439,749	2,145,542	2,094,045	1,717,397
Total.....	54,549,980	56,327,583	56,011,570	3,772,427	3,976,620	3,752,635

Imports and exports of merchandise, 12 months June, 1912, 1913, 1914, and months July, August, and September, 1914—Continued.

EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.

Articles.	Exported to—	Twelve months, June—				Month of (1914)—		
		1912	1913	1914	July.	August.	September.	
		Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	
Copro.....	United States.....	2,339,144	720,245	1,500,617	377,198	98,992	179,503	
	Other countries.....	14,175,605	10,927,653	6,796,812	672,537	283,173	653,197	
	Total.....	16,514,749	11,647,898	8,297,429	1,049,735	382,165	832,700	
Hemp (manilla), raw.....	United States.....	7,751,489	11,613,943	10,672,199	780,841	806,439	1,081,745	
	Other countries.....	8,532,021	11,430,801	11,702,907	1,022,327	593,994	586,973	
	Total.....	16,283,510	23,044,744	22,375,106	1,803,168	1,400,433	1,668,718	
Sugar, raw.....	United States.....	9,142,833	3,989,665	5,436,019	1,781,951	446,287	602,125	
	Other countries.....	1,257,742	5,501,875	4,021,963	81,623	220,701	176,490	
	Total.....	10,400,575	9,491,540	9,457,982	1,863,574	666,988	778,615	
Tobacco—Cigars.....	United States.....	1,520,754	2,098,123	1,213,574	96,473	50,083	105,618	
	Other countries.....	1,139,307	1,238,625	1,309,966	91,303	63,339	74,792	
	Total.....	2,660,061	3,356,748	2,523,540	187,776	113,422	180,410	
Leaf tobacco.....	United States.....	1,404	13,151	2,329	473	.....	.....
	Other countries.....	1,840,920	1,992,516	2,015,965	118,502	98,225	102,847	
	Total.....	1,842,414	2,005,667	2,018,294	118,975	98,225	102,847	
Oil, coconut.....	United States.....	.....	288,754	1,977,554	108,614	244,602	296,872
	Other countries.....	.....	43,759	19,094	.....	.....	.....
	Total.....	.....	312,513	1,996,648	108,614	244,602	296,872
All other exports.....	United States.....	762,063	1,145,004	1,244,813	125,233	59,929	94,148	
	Other countries.....	1,856,464	2,679,212	3,324,236	285,062	187,411	80,857	
	Total.....	2,618,527	3,824,216	4,569,049	410,295	247,340	175,005	

Grand total.....	21,517,777	19,848,885	22,047,105	3,270,783	1,706,332	2,360,011
United States.....	28,802,059	33,834,441	29,190,943	2,271,294	1,446,843	1,675,156
Other countries.....						
Total.....	50,319,836	53,683,326	51,238,048	5,542,077	3,153,175	4,035,167
Grand total, imports and exports.....	42,121,932	45,235,970	50,618,926	4,897,668	3,588,907	4,395,249
United States.....	62,747,884	64,774,939	56,630,692	4,416,836	3,540,888	3,392,553
Other countries.....						
Total.....	104,869,816	110,010,909	107,249,618	9,314,504	7,129,795	7,787,802

Compiled in the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department. September, 1914, latest returns.

Senator LIPPITT. I would like to ask what the effect of abolishing the export duties has been on the revenues?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think it caused us a loss of ₱1,500,000, or \$750,000.

Senator LIPPITT. A year?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Roughly speaking, what are now the expenditures of the Philippine Government a year?

Mr. FERGUSON. I would say, very roughly speaking, ₱25,000,000 to ₱30,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Which would be \$15,000,000?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What part of that is devoted to public improvements, aside from what you loan to the localities?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should have to get the appropriation act of last year to tell that. It has decreased this last year owing to reduced revenues.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please put in the record at this point the expenditures of the Philippine Government, say, for the last 10 years, and the portion that is expended for improvements out of that total?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

(The figures referred to are as follows:)

Expenditures.

Date.	Public works and improvements.	All other.	Total.
June 30—			
1905.....	₱3,124,298.64	₱18,800,670.08	₱21,924,968.72
1906.....	213,716.42	17,642,986.27	17,856,702.69
1907.....	272,294.20	18,516,539.58	18,788,833.78
1908.....	1,059,511.56	21,880,059.73	22,939,571.29
1909.....	3,998,132.75	20,052,979.38	24,051,112.13
1910.....	2,811,524.32	21,139,642.73	23,951,167.05
1911.....	5,799,154.31	22,209,042.91	28,008,197.22
1912.....	2,687,768.76	28,352,049.10	31,039,817.86
1913.....	3,296,852.34	26,193,549.66	29,490,402.00
1914.....	1,222,587.98	27,656,842.10	28,879,430.08
Total.....	24,485,841.28	222,444,361.54	246,930,202.82

The CHAIRMAN. And then, roughly speaking, what is the total income?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say that our expenditures now equal our income.

The CHAIRMAN. From what sources does the income come?

Mr. FERGUSON. The income from the insular government is derived from customs and internal revenue and a part of the cedula, or poll tax.

The CHAIRMAN. About what proportion is from customs receipts?

Mr. FERGUSON. About half. I can not give you the exact proportion at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The largest income is from internal taxation?

Mr. FERGUSON. From internal revenue.

The CHAIRMAN. What has that internal taxation been upon?

Mr. FERGUSON. Upon business. All business in the Philippine Islands is taxed according to its size.

The CHAIRMAN. An occupation tax?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; we have no occupation tax. It is a business tax.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain how business is taxed?

Mr. FERGUSON. The agents of the internal-revenue bureau visit each manufacturer and each store at certain periods. I believe once every three months. They take the books and find out the total business that was done and then require the owner of the store to buy internal-revenue stamps, which he places on his license to do business.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the rate of doing business?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is one-third of 1 per cent.

Senator LIPPITT. On the gross business of the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. On the gross business.

The CHAIRMAN. That applies to every class of business?

Mr. FERGUSON. That applies to every class of business.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no discrimination between the classes as to the rate?

Mr. FERGUSON. None at all. The occupation tax—say a doctor is required to pay; a lawyer will pay, but a laborer does not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, the learned professions pay for the privilege of practicing?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a tax on tobacco that is levied as we levy it in this country?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; an internal-revenue tax; that is a special tax.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in addition to the tax on business?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am uncertain.

Senator LIPPITT. The tobacco when it comes to America has to pay a revenue tax the equivalent of our tax, does it not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. But in the Philippine Islands there is no tax on tobacco that is at all equivalent to our internal-revenue tax, is there? Our internal-revenue tax is quite large.

Mr. FERGUSON. It would nowhere equal the amount of the receipts in the United States, nor would it, I believe, equal the percentage.

Senator LIPPITT. Is not the tax on the tobacco business the same as the tax on every other business of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. It is a specific tax.

The CHAIRMAN. Take a manufacturer of cigars, for instance, does he pay a tax on every thousand of cigars he makes?

Mr. FERGUSON. He does, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the manufacturer of plug tobacco would in the same manner pay a tax?

Mr. FERGUSON. We have no manufacturers of plug tobacco there.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any other kind of tobacco?

Mr. FERGUSON. On cigarettes.

The CHAIRMAN. And those factories pay a tax in proportion to their output the same as they do in this country?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In your testimony please elaborate this, showing how the tax is levied.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

CIGARS.

1. When the manufacturer's wholesale price, less the amount of the tax, is \$10 per thousand or less, on each thousand, \$1.
2. When the manufacturer's wholesale price, less the amount of the tax, is more than \$10 but not more than \$25 per thousand, on each thousand, \$2.
3. When the manufacturer's wholesale price, less the amount of the tax, exceeds \$25 per thousand, on each thousand, \$3.

CIGARETTES.

1. Weighing not more than 2 kilograms per thousand, on each thousand, 50 cents.
2. Weighing more than 2 kilograms per thousand, on each thousand, \$1.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any tax on liquors?

Mr. FERGUSON. There is on liquors manufactured in the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall about what that tax is?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not.

The CHAIRMAN. Put that in your statement also, then.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

DISTILLED SPIRITS.

If produced from sap of the nipa, coconut, or buri palm, or from the juice, sirup, or sugar of the cane, per proof liter, 12½ cents.

If produced from any other material, per proof liter, 25 cents.

WINES.

Sparkling wines: Per liter, 50 cents.

Still wines: Containing 14 per cent of alcohol or less, per liter, 4 cents; containing more than 14 per cent of alcohol, 7½ cents.

Fermented liquors, except tuba, bassi, tapuy, and similar domestic fermented liquors, per liter, 2 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any local tax for the sale of liquor by different municipalities?

Mr. FERGUSON. The licenses; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us an idea how that approximates?

Mr. FERGUSON. It varies in each municipality. It may be 20 pesos a year in one locality and it may be 1,200 pesos in another. It is entirely a matter for the municipal council and the provincial board to decide.

The CHAIRMAN. They have local option as to whether liquor shall be sold at all and what the license shall be?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not know that they could prohibit the sale of liquor except by raising the license, but we have always had different kinds of liquor licenses. A man who runs a tienda and sells Filipino gin and liquors by the glass—that is, a small store—will pay a much smaller tax than one who handles beers and wines.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any complaint over there as to the inequality of taxation?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have never heard any complaints of that.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of a tax does the small planter pay who has 15 or 20 acres?

Mr. FERGUSON. He pays his land tax. His land is assessed, and he pays the land tax to the Province and the municipality.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not go to the general government?

Mr. FERGUSON. The general government gets no part of the land tax.

The CHAIRMAN. The farmer pays no land tax to the general government at all, except what he pays incidentally in buying the things that are taxed?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you about this. Since you have been there have you been compelled to be careful in your diet?

Mr. FERGUSON. As careful as I could. I have been more than usually compelled to do so because of my several breakdowns.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Americans avoid eating vegetables without their being cooked, for instance?

Mr. FERGUSON. Most of us do. Some take chances and do not suffer, but we do not eat vegetables that grow in or on or near the ground without being cooked, as a general thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Is any attempt being made to study the causes of infections of vegetable products?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of no attempt being made to study the causes of infection of vegetables; that is probably known. Constant studying is going on to find cures for the ills resulting from the eating of the infected vegetables and fruits.

The CHAIRMAN. All Filipinos, the natives, eat these vegetables with impunity?

Mr. FERGUSON. Apparently so, although there seems to be a very large percentage of them affected with hookworm and intestinal parasites, so far as investigations show.

The CHAIRMAN. When Americans eat vegetables, what effect does it produce?

Mr. FERGUSON. If there is any cholera at all he may get cholera, or he may get amœbic dysentery.

The CHAIRMAN. What about fruits?

Mr. FERGUSON. The health bureau warns all people not to eat fruit unless the skin is peeled off; it is cleaned in sterile water and peeled.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the skin that gets the infection from the air?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; or from insects or being handled by human beings.

Senator SHAFROTH. Mr. Ferguson, will you state whether or not there are many Americans who actually farm by manual labor themselves in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of none, sir. We are now beginning an experiment with an American agricultural colony, which is financed by funds of the Philippine government. When this colony matter first came up I had more or less to do with the preliminary plans, and I received letters from one or two men outside of Manila, who stated they were themselves trying to farm, but they were not very hopeful of success.

Senator SHAFROTH. Climatic conditions are not satisfactory to an American doing manual labor over there, are they?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not in the fields.

Senator SHAFROTH. I saw a dispatch in the Washington Post this morning of three or four lines, to the effect that some people over there feared there might be an insurrection if this bill passed. Was there any feeling of that kind existing?

Mr. FERGUSON. I could not gather whether they meant if the bill passed or did not pass, but in my opinion it is the rankest nonsense. That is in line with some of the things which have been done since the bill was introduced.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has there been any manifestation of public disapproval as to this bill in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. None at all, sir. The Americans—especially the business men—as a general thing are opposed to a declaration of intention to give independence. The Filipinos are in favor of it, and we have received many resolutions from provincial boards and municipal councils favoring and urging it.

Senator SHAFROTH. So, if there is likely to be an insurrection, it may be upon the part of the Americans over there rather than on the part of the Filipinos?

Mr. FERGUSON. Quite likely, sir. Of course, that is a joke.

The CHAIRMAN. I have sent for the New York Herald, which I think has a full report of this. The original news came to the Herald yesterday. I will submit that to Mr. Ferguson as soon as the Herald comes.

I want to ask about these sinking funds again, Mr. Ferguson. All of the loans that have been made by the central government to the provincial governments have been made out of the sinking funds, have they not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please specify those sinking funds, with the amount in each one?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can prepare a statement showing that.

The CHAIRMAN. You can give us an idea of how many funds there are?

Mr. FERGUSON. There are four insular funds which we loan. The insurance fund—

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. FERGUSON. A fund created under act 1728 of the Philippine Commission for the purpose of insuring our Government buildings and vessels and other Government property.

The CHAIRMAN. Who pays the money into that?

Mr. FERGUSON. Originally the insular government appropriated ₱50,000 pesos to begin the fund, and the municipalities and Provinces can insure their buildings in the same fund by the payment of a small premium.

Senator BRISTOW. Is this fund run as an insurance company fund to insure the government buildings and municipal buildings for municipalities?

Mr. FERGUSON. The insular government has the fund. The function of collecting the money comes under the insular treasurer, but before the building is insured the auditor makes recommendations as to the amount of insurance which should be allowed, and the policy

must be approved by the Governor General, who by law fixes the rates of premiums for the several general classes of buildings.

Senator BRISTOW. Does the Philippine government insure its own buildings itself, then?

Mr. FERGUSON. It does, sir.

Senator BRISTOW. That is for the purpose of having funds on hand to rebuild a building in the event it is burned?

Mr. FERGUSON. The law provides the property must be replaced.

Senator BRISTOW. The central government will insure the municipal buildings for municipalities, and they pay a premium for it?

Mr. FERGUSON. They pay a premium.

Senator LIPPITT. I suppose the insular government pays into that fund an annual sum that is equivalent to the premium they might pay to an insurance company if they were insured outside?

Mr. FERGUSON. The insular government does not pay premium for insurance on its own buildings; but if the fund at any time falls below ₱500,000, the amount necessary to bring the fund up to ₱500,000 is automatically appropriated from the insular treasury, provided such amount does not exceed ₱50,000. In the event that more than ₱50,000 should be required to bring the fund up to the minimum of ₱500,000, a second appropriation would automatically be made the following year, and such appropriations would be continued until the fund amounted to the minimum stated.

Senator LIPPITT. So they do not pay a regular premium, but merely appropriate the money from time to time?

Mr. FERGUSON. My recollection is that we have never had to appropriate any additional amount since the minimum of ₱500,000 was reached; at least in recent years, unless in connection with the recent fire at the Philippine exposition in Manila.

Senator LIPPITT. Where does the money come from to keep that fund intact?

Mr. FERGUSON. From the premiums we receive from the municipality and provincial government and from interest on the investment of the funds.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean that the provincial governments are paying the cost of the fire destruction of the Federal Government?

Mr. FERGUSON. Practically the only payment made by the insular government—that is, the central government—the only compensation received by the fund is the guaranty of the central government to keep it at ₱500,000. It has perhaps seemed to me to be treatment unfair to the provincial and municipal governments. The sections of act No. 1728 I refer to in this answer reads as follows:

SEC. 2. The Governor General may, upon application by a provincial board or municipal council or the municipal board of the city of Manila, grant insurance under this act to any Province or municipality in these islands, including the city of Manila, at rates to be fixed by the insular auditor, with the approval of the Governor General, and the insular treasurer shall collect the premiums on such insurance.

* * * * *

SEC. 5. In addition to the appropriation of ₱250,000 made in section 1 hereof, there is also hereby made a permanent, continuing appropriation of ₱50,000 per annum until such time as "the insurance fund" shall amount to ₱500,000, and thereafter a permanent, continuing appropriation of such sum or sums as

may be necessary to maintain the said fund at ₱500,000: *Provided, however,* That the said appropriation shall not in any one year exceed ₱50,000.

Senator LIPPITT. I should think it was unfair to the municipal government, because they are substantially paying the loss on the insular government's buildings.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that fund is kept at the minimum of ₱500,000?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; provided that the amount necessary in any one year does not exceed ₱50,000. However, if the loss is more than ₱50,000 in any one year an additional appropriation would be made the next year.

The CHAIRMAN. That would include not only the cash on hand, but the securities on hand?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the next sinking fund?

Mr. FERGUSON. The next is the public works bonds sinking fund, created by act No. 1729.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is a sinking fund for the purpose of retiring the ₱10,000,000 of public works bonds issued by the insular government for general public works under authority of the act of Congress approved February 6, 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. The limit is ₱10,000,000?

Mr. FERGUSON. Ten million pesos. The bonds have already been sold, and the fund, I believe, has now been used.

The CHAIRMAN. What interest do those bonds bear?

Mr. FERGUSON. Those bonds pay 4 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the other sinking fund?

Mr. FERGUSON. The friar lands bonds sinking fund, created by act No. 1749, and the gold standard fund, which is not a sinking fund.

Senator WEEKS. How much does that amount to?

Mr. FERGUSON. That amounts to about ₱18,500,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Those funds are invested in what way?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are invested, each fund, in its own bonds or bonds of the other funds, in loans to the Manila Railroad Co., in loans to municipalities and Provinces, and the bonds of the Manila Hotel, and in some other government securities. Some of these funds are invested in each of these securities.

The CHAIRMAN. What limitation is there on the power of the commission to invest these funds?

Mr. FERGUSON. In what way, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the law provide how these funds should be invested, or is it left to the discretion of some officers?

Mr. FERGUSON. The law provides these funds may be invested in certain ways, and it is then left to the discretion in each case of the Governor General.

The CHAIRMAN. The Governor General has the power?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When you revise your notes will you please put in the total of each fund, and also the character of the investment of each fund at the present time, and the amount?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

(Statement of the "loan funds" of the insular government as of July 31, 1914, follows:)

Statement of loan funds of the insular government, including loans granted but not placed to credit of provincial treasurers, July 31, 1914.

TOTAL FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR LOANS TO PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES AND FOR OTHER INVESTMENTS, AUG. 1, 1914, EXCLUSIVE OF THE AMOUNT OF GOLD-STANDARD FUND RESERVED FOR LOANS TO THE MANILA RAILROAD CO.

Act No. 1728 (insurance fund)-----	\$244,544.99
Act No. 1729 (public-works bonds, sinking fund)-----	977,569.41
Act No. 1749 (friar-lands bonds, sinking fund)-----	2,469,261.30
Act. No. 2083 (gold-standard fund)-----	2,313,736.52
	<u>6,005,112.22</u>

Investments:

Act No. 1728-----	134,700.00
Act No. 1729-----	837,335.00
Act No. 1749-----	¹ 2,114,002.56
Act No. 2083-----	² 2,119,543.00

5,205,580.56

Balances:

Act No. 1728-----	109,845.09
Act No. 1729-----	140,234.41
Act No. 1749-----	¹ 355,258.74
Act No. 2083-----	² 194,193.51

Balance available for loans----- 799,531.66

Projects approved by the Governor General, but funds not placed to credit of projects:

Bacolod, Occidental Negros (M)-----	\$12,500.00
Cagayan Province (B)-----	62,500.00
Cuyapo, Neuva Ecija (M)-----	7,500.00
Janiuay, Iloila (M)-----	6,000.00
Leyte Province (PB)-----	62,500.00
Lipa, Batangas (C)-----	2,500.00
Pagbilao, Tayabas (M)-----	7,500.00
Passi, Iloilo (M)-----	10,000.00
Oriental Negros Province (B)-----	20,000.00
San Jose, Batangas (M)-----	5,000.00
Santo Tomas, Batangas (M)-----	5,000.00
Saravia, Occidental Negros (M)-----	9,000.00
Silay, Occidental Negros (M)-----	12,500.00
Sorsogon, Sorsogon (M)-----	12,500.00

235,500.00

Amount available Aug. 1, 1914, for loans in addition to those enumerated above----- 564,031.66

Repayments and accretions due Aug. 1, 1914, to July 31, 1915----- 509,871.42

Amount available for loans during the period Aug. 1, 1914, to July 31, 1915----- 1,073,903.08

Amount of proposed loans on projects investigated but for which reports have not as yet been rendered----- 381,000.00

¹ Includes following loans granted, but not placed to credit of treasurer:

Moro Province (balance loan of \$80,000)----- \$64,000

² Includes following loans granted, but not placed to credit of treasurers:

(1) Moro Province----- 80,000

(2) City of Zamboanga----- 94,500

NOTE.—(C) Cemetery, (M) Market, (P) Presidencia, (S) Schoolhouse, (PB) Provincial Building, (B) Bridge.

Gold-standard fund.

LOANS TO MANILA RAILROAD CO. UNDER PROVISIONS OF ACTS 2083 AND 2088.

Amount set aside by law for loan.....	\$2, 313, 736. 52
Loans made to July 31, 1914.....	1, 900, 000. 00

Balance reserved for loan	413, 736. 52
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Disposition of loan funds, exclusive of amount of gold-standard fund tentatively reserved for loans to Manila Railroad Co., July 31, 1914.

Total funds:

Act No. 1728 (insurance fund).....	\$244, 544. 99
Act No. 1729 (public-works bonds sinking fund) ..	977, 569. 41
Act No. 1749 (friar-lands bonds sinking fund) ..	2, 469, 261. 30
Act No. 2083 (gold-standard fund).....	2, 313, 736. 52
	<u>\$6, 005, 112. 22</u>

Investments:

Provincial and municipal loans—

Act No. 1728	\$134, 700. 00
Act No. 1729	265, 835. 00
Act No. 1749	¹ 977, 352. 56
Act No. 2083	² 2, 119, 543. 00
	<u>3, 497, 430. 56</u>

Bonds:

Philippine Railway bonds—

Act No. 1729.....	228, 500. 00
Act No. 1749.....	646, 650. 00
	<u>875, 150. 00</u>
Friar-lands bonds, act No. 1729.....	205, 000. 00

Public-works bonds—

Act No. 1729.....	138, 000. 00
Act No. 1749.....	40, 000. 00
	<u>178, 000. 00</u>
Manila Hotel bonds, act No. 1749.....	450, 000. 00

Total investments.....	<u>5, 205, 580. 56</u>
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Balance available for investments, Aug. 1, 1914.....	<u>799, 531. 66</u>
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One-fourth of gold-standard fund tentatively reserved for loans to Manila Railroad Co.....

Loans made to Manila Railroad Co. to July 31, 1914.....	2, 313, 736. 52
	<u>1, 900, 000. 00</u>

Balance available for loans to Manila Railroad Co.....	413, 736. 52
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INVESTMENT OF TRUST FUNDS.

July 31, 1914.

Act No. 1728:

Provincial and municipal loans.....	\$134, 700. 00
Cash.....	109, 845. 00
	<u>244, 545. 00</u>

¹ Includes following loans granted, but not yet placed to credit of the provincial treasurer:

Moro Province (balance of loan of \$80,000), port works.....	\$64, 000
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² Includes following loans granted, but not yet placed to credit of the provincial treasurer:

Moro Province, port works.....	\$80, 000
City of Zamboanga, waterworks.....	96, 500

Act No. 1729:

Philippine Railway bonds.....	\$228,500.00
Public-works bonds.....	138,000.00
Friar-lands bonds.....	205,000.00
Provincial and municipal loans.....	² 2,119,543.00
Cash.....	140,234.41
	<u>977,569.41</u>

Act No. 1749:

Philippine Railway bonds.....	646,650.00
Public-works bonds.....	40,000.00
Manila Hotel bonds.....	450,000.00
Provincial and municipal loans.....	¹ 977,352.58
Cash.....	¹ 355,258.74
	<u>2,469,261.30</u>

Act No. 2083:

Provincial and municipal loans.....	² 2,119,543.00
Cash.....	² 194,193.52
	<u>2,313,736.52</u>

Loan funds.

[Repayment due Aug. 1, 1914, to July 31, 1915.]

Act No.....	1728.	1729.	1749.	2083.	Total.
1914.					
August.....	\$7,000.00	\$18,750.00	\$39,412.50	\$10,735.50	\$75,898.00
September.....	1,550.00	3,850.00	6,550.00	14,126.50	26,076.50
October.....	18,100.00	9,580.00	6,000.00	3,500.00	37,180.00
November.....	4,300.00	1,700.00	15,300.00	5,000.00	26,300.00
December.....		10,400.00	28,250.00	6,100.00	44,750.00
1915.					
January.....		250.00	1,925.00	5,500.00	7,675.00
February.....		23,408.92		14,200.00	37,606.92
March.....	500.00	6,750.00	19,750.00	41,050.00	68,050.00
April.....	17,775.00	5,000.00	3,750.00	20,970.00	47,495.00
May.....	2,400.00	10,675.00	3,140.00	12,775.00	28,990.00
June.....	7,650.00	3,000.00	29,900.00	13,000.00	53,550.00
July.....	13,750.00	29,100.00	4,050.00	9,400.00	56,300.00
Total.....	73,025.00	122,461.92	158,027.50	156,357.00	509,871.42

The CHAIRMAN. And to what extent are these funds loaned to the municipalities? Can you give that in the rough?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say the loans to the municipalities now perhaps amount to two million or two million and a half pesos; with the loans to Provinces the entire amount was on July 31, 1914, ₱6,994,861.12, or \$3,497,430.56.

The CHAIRMAN. To a good many different municipalities?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those municipalities from time to time paying off these loans?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are usually to be repaid in 10 equal annual installments, and the municipal governments make these payments

¹ Includes following loan granted but not yet placed to credit of the provincial treasurer:

Moro Province (balance of loan of \$80,000), port works..... \$64,000

² Includes following loans granted but not yet placed to credit of the provincial treasurer:

Moro Province, port works..... \$80,000

City of Zamboanga, waterworks..... 96,500

in each case. When possible the loans are made payable in a fewer number of installments.

The CHAIRMAN. You never loan to the municipalities except for public works?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; except for permanent public works.

The CHAIRMAN. You possess the power to take the payments out of the revenues before they reach the municipality, if they are short?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; we have adopted a form of resolution which we prepare in the executive bureau, which is, in effect, a promissory note, and gives, among other things, the provincial treasurer—the treasurer of the Province in which the municipality is situated—the power to withhold from the municipality's revenues the amount of the installment and interest.

The CHAIRMAN. Do these funds provide the only market in which those municipal bonds can be sold?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is not in the nature of an investment in bonds. They do not issue bonds. The borrowing capacity of the municipality may be anything from ₱6,000 (\$3,000) to ₱40,000 or ₱50,000 in some cases, or ₱25,000, and it would be practically impossible for those municipalities to take advantage of the present act of Congress to issue bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. I will put it another way. Do these funds afford the only opportunity to the municipality to borrow money?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; the only practical way.

The CHAIRMAN. What rate of interest do they pay?

Mr. FERGUSON. We lend the first three funds—the insurance fund, the public-works bonds fund, and the friar-lands bonds sinking fund—at 4 per cent per annum under the act of the legislature. We lend the gold-standard fund at 3 per cent per annum.

The CHAIRMAN. So that those municipalities are borrowing money as cheap as municipalities in the United States for limited purposes?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir. We, of course, endeavor to take care of the school construction and next of revenue-producing projects, and in most cases where we lend to a municipality for a revenue-producing project, the municipality makes much more than the rate of interest we charge.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by revenue-producing projects?

Mr. FERGUSON. Our greatest revenue producers are the sanitary concrete public markets. There have been cases where we have loaned a municipality ₱25,000 to build a market, repayable in 10 equal annual installments of ₱2,500 each at 4 per cent per annum. They have made, without material increase in the market charges, as high as ₱12,000 and ₱14,000 in one year's time. Of course, that is an exceptional case.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in towns of some size?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is the town of San Pablo, having a population of about 30,000.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that for the rental of space?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; for the rental of space.

The CHAIRMAN. And the waterworks is another revenue-producing project?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are supposed to, but so far our waterworks are not paying for themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. What other projects are there, then, besides markets?

Mr. FERGUSON. Schools are emphasized. We build schools wherever possible. Then municipal buildings for the municipalities and provincial buildings for the Provinces. We could loan for sewers, but I believe there is no case where we have made loans for sewers. For electric lighting plants or any necessary permanent public work we could make loans. In other words, we do not loan the funds for repair work or maintenance of buildings or roads. It must be for construction or reconstruction.

Senator LIPPITT. Highways?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; for highways. We loan to Provinces for road construction. Governor General Harrison has limited loans to Provinces for that purpose to such amounts as can be repaid in 18 months. In other words, we would not now make a 10-year loan for road construction, although we do make such loans for the construction of bridges.

The CHAIRMAN. Does this bill continue this power in the Governor General to invest these funds?

Mr. FERGUSON. It does not withdraw it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell the committee whether the municipal taxes are complicated?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not at all complicated. In every case, of course, the Governor General has the power under the present laws to postpone the payment of the land tax in any Province when in his opinion it is necessary to do so. We sometimes have requests from municipalities, and from Provinces also, to postpone the repayment of the land tax. That is never done except in case of some very great disaster.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the greatest article of export from the Philippines?

Mr. FERGUSON. Hemp, or copra.

The CHAIRMAN. To what country is copra exported?

Mr. FERGUSON. Copra goes principally to Marseille and Hamburg.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that interfered with by the present war?

Mr. FERGUSON. There is almost no market now.

The CHAIRMAN. The exportation, then, has not been resumed?

Mr. FERGUSON. When I left Manila it had not been, except in very limited quantities.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that you left?

Mr. FERGUSON. That was October 29.

The CHAIRMAN. Why had they not been able to resume?

Mr. FERGUSON. For one thing there is no market now. We have lost our market. For the small sales we might make we have no or few bottoms to carry the goods.

The CHAIRMAN. Then copra in the Philippine Islands is in about the same conditions as cotton in this country. That is, you have great crops produced and no means of exporting it?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes. And the copra on hand will spoil in six or eight months.

The CHAIRMAN. Is France still in the market for copra?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; to a limited extent, and also Hamburg. There is a limited market in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the annual average exportation of copra?

Mr. FERGUSON. In round figures, the average annual value of copra exports was \$11,000,000 during the period 1910-1914. In quantity, about 115,000 tons were annually exported during that period.

The CHAIRMAN. How about hemp?

Mr. FERGUSON. Hemp that is kept will deteriorate somewhat; not so greatly as copra, however. But our market for hemp has fallen off also.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the market for hemp?

Mr. FERGUSON. We ship a great deal to Europe. But I think the better class comes to the United States. The value of the hemp shipped to the United States is greater than that shipped to Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the third article of export?

Mr. FERGUSON. Sugar. The sugar, which is of low quality, before the passage of the tariff bills of 1909, mostly went to China.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of it goes to China now?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe the American trade is greater.

The CHAIRMAN. That has not been much interfered with by the war?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think that recent sugar shipments have met with very good prices in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. They raise the sugar cane just as we do in the United States here and make the sugar in the centrals, as they are called?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think that is the way it is done. I have never been there to see it.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any tax on sugar?

Mr. FERGUSON. Only the business tax.

The CHAIRMAN. The same as any other business?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the exports from the Philippine Islands to Japan?

Mr. FERGUSON. A considerable quantity of the better hemp goes to Japan. I know of nothing else in large quantities. They use it for hats and manufactures of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. What is imported into the Philippines from Japan?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not now say what the principal imports would be, but I can find that out.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they great? Is the trade with Japan considered great?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not great.

Senator LIPPITT. Does not coal come from Japan to the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. Practically all coal comes from Japan. A much smaller amount comes from Australia.

The CHAIRMAN. Your coal comes chiefly from Japan?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the price of coal?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe it is laid down in Manila somewhere near 9 pesos a ton.

Senator LIPPITT. That is \$2.50 a ton?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is duty, customs, and all, \$4.50 a ton, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that anthracite or bituminous coal?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not know what class it is. It is very good steaming coal.

Senator SHAFROTH. It is a bituminous coal.

Senator LIPPITT. A soft coal, a smoke coal?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. You said awhile ago, in answer to a question of Senator Shafroth, that the Filipino people are much more honest than the Chinese. Did I get that answer correctly?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean in matters of trade?

Mr. FERGUSON. In business dealings.

Senator LIPPITT. Is not the business standpoint of the Chinese pretty high?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is generally accepted that a Chinaman will pay his debts each year while he is in China. If he does not, he is in very serious difficulties. But the Chinaman is not considered, I believe, in the East as an entirely reliable business man. His reputation for honesty is not as great as it is in the United States, where we do not know him.

The CHAIRMAN. This article in the New York Herald I find is no more full than that in the Washington papers. It reads as follows:

Americans fear Filipino revolt over Jones bill. Business men in the islands see menace in promises contained in measure. (Special cable to New York Herald.) Manila, Thursday. American and foreign business men here express the fear that the promises contained in the Jones bill providing for a measure of independence for the Philippines might lead to an uprising of the natives.

What have you to say about that?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have to say that I think it is the rankest nonsense, and I would be perfectly willing, to show you my confidence that it would not happen, to take my family over there and leave them there without any fear of an uprising of any kind as the result of the passage or nonpassage of the bill.

Senator LIPPITT. As long as there are some 12,000 United States soldiers there they would probably think twice before they had an uprising for any cause?

Mr. FERGUSON. I had not thought of the soldiers. You might find perhaps a demonstration here and there if the bill does not pass. You might find changed political conditions. That is, the present party in power might be seriously affected, but otherwise I think you will find no trouble whatever.

Senator SHAFROTH. You do not think they would desist from an uprising because of fear? It is because they really are in favor of the bill?

Mr. FERGUSON. They are in favor of the bill if the bill passes. If it does not pass, they are going to be very, very bitterly disappointed. But I do not look for any violence of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ferguson, the Governor General sent a cable to me, which reads as follows:

I heartily approve Philippine bill and earnestly hope for its passage, including preamble, which, in my opinion, is vitally essential.

Can you tell the committee why the preamble is deemed vitally essential?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not speak for the Governor General in that regard, but from my standpoint it would mean that it is necessary to show the Filipino people the good faith of the United States. Not for fear of any trouble. But the Filipino people have become doubtful of our good intentions.

The CHAIRMAN. They have become doubtful?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think there has been a growing feeling that action has been delayed so long, with no expression by any person in power authorized to give expression of intention to grant independence, that they do not know which way to look. They do not know whether they are to get it or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say there is some discontent over there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not discontent, but a feeling that they are not getting their fair consideration from the United States; that other pressing matters have delayed that which, by reason of the utterances of every Governor General and President since 1898 and from general expressions, they might have expected to receive.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not this administration considerably extended their degree of self-government by giving the Filipinos control of the commission, as they had already been given control of the lower house?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not that go far to indicate to them that the intentions of the United States were to give self-government to them by degrees?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir. They are much more hopeful now than they were a year ago before the arrival of Mr. Harrison, but at the same time the withdrawal, as Mr. Martin said, of this statement of intention to give independence will be a very bitter blow to them and cause them gravely to doubt it.

Senator BRISTOW. What do you mean by independence,

Mr. FERGUSON. The establishment of self-government, without our intervention therein.

Senator BRISTOW. An independent government of their own?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator BRISTOW. How long would it last?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am unable to state that. I think without outside interference or aggression it would be permanent and continue.

Senator BRISTOW. You think they are exceptions to Spanish-Americans in that respect?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do.

Senator BRISTOW. You think the fears as to Mexico and Cuba and the other places where there are alleged republics, where they are in continuous revolution, will not apply to them?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think not. I think they will have a great many bitter moments, a great deal of suffering to go through and humiliations, perhaps, but the government itself in the islands, so far as any internal disorder is concerned, will be successful.

Senator BRISTOW. Suppose some other ambitious power should conclude to impose some restrictions on them, what attitude would our country then be under obligations to assume?

Mr. FERGUSON. It would depend, I should think, on what action was taken by the United States Government when we left the islands, whether or not we left with any feeling of responsibility for their future, or—

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think we can leave without feeling responsibility for the future?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say if we leave we would have to leave that way.

Senator BRISTOW. Just to cast adrift and let them float out to sea?

Mr. FERGUSON. If we leave, I think we would have to.

Senator BRISTOW. Is that the ultimate purpose of this bill, as you understand it?

Mr. FERGUSON. As I understand the bill—I was not here, of course, when it was framed, and took no part in any discussion, nor did I hear the discussion. But I understand it is the intention ultimately to grant them independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not true that some of the Filipino leaders want to have that independence coupled with a protectorate by the United States against foreign aggression?

Mr. FERGUSON. I heard some talk of that. I do not know of any leader that has ever told me that. They would prefer, without doubt, to have the United States establish a protectorate over them, to protect them from any other nation, but if they can not get that I think they will be willing to receive independence at any price.

The CHAIRMAN. They would like to have the United States keep Corregidor as a station, would they not?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not say as to that. I have never heard that discussed. They would have no objection, I think, to the United States maintaining a station in the Philippine Islands for naval purposes as a naval base.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you speak Spanish?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. You have read, of course, the preamble to this bill?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. What do you think the Filipino considers that preamble to mean, exactly?

Mr. FERGUSON. We find a very small number who think that this preamble means independence in six months, another small number in a year, others in three years, and many more in six years. You find a great many who consider they will have to successfully establish and conduct the first legislature under the new system proposed by the bill, and that after that they will probably get it.

Senator LIPPITT. You say that some think it will mean independence within six months or a year?

Mr. FERGUSON. Some few.

Senator LIPPITT. Others think it would mean independence as soon as the first legislature had been successfully conducted?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. And others think what?

Mr. FERGUSON. Others think perhaps it means 10 years or 20 years. I think generally the feeling is that they might hope for favorable action after the conclusion of the first Filipino legislature under this new bill.

Senator LIPPITT. How long a time would that take?

Mr. FERGUSON. Six years.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean at the conclusion of the term for which the first legislature was elected?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; soon after six years from October 16 of this next year, if the bill goes through in its present form.

Senator LIPPITT. What do you think it means?

Mr. FERGUSON. There has been so much delay in getting any expression from Congress that I am unable to say.

Senator LIPPITT. You do not care to express your own opinion of what you think that preamble would mean?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; I could not express any opinion as to the preamble.

Senator LIPPITT. Then if this preamble was passed, and at the end of six months independence has not been granted, there is going to be a great deal of disappointment in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; I say some look for it in six months, but it would be very few. The leaders, the real leaders of the Filipino people would know they could not get it in six months or a year.

Senator LIPPITT. That is the leaders; but among the common people, who are not the well informed, is the feeling general that it would mean their prompt independence?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; not general. I have tried to give you, sir, the different ideas.

Senator LIPPITT. I am only trying to get at just the state of mind. That is all. Do you think that the Filipino people are competent to-day to conduct their affairs successfully without any assistance from this country?

Mr. FERGUSON. Their affairs successfully from their standpoint; not as successfully to-day as we have conducted their affairs for them.

Senator LIPPITT. What exactly does that mean—"from their standpoint and not as we have conducted them"? You believe the government would be less efficient than it is to-day?

Mr. FERGUSON. Less efficient than it is now.

Senator LIPPITT. Materially less efficient?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not so materially less efficient as to destroy the government, but—

Senator LIPPITT. In what respect would it be less efficient? Do you think the finances would not be as honestly conducted?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think if the Filipinos secure self-government they will take such measures as will make it very unwise for anybody handling the business of their government to be dishonest.

Senator LIPPITT. What is that answer?

Mr. FERGUSON. I say I think if the Filipinos secure self-government that they will take such action as will make it a much more severe matter even than now for anybody who misappropriates or misuses the public money. I think that is the first thing they will do.

Senator LIPPITT. What does that mean exactly? The administration of the finances has been honest, has it not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Absolutely, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Then you mean to say that you think it will be necessary for them to have more stringent laws?

Mr. FERGUSON. No; I do not think it will be necessary at all. The penalties for such crimes are severe now; but they will make it as

nearly impossible as it can be for a man to do wrong with the government's finances.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean they will do that because they are afraid the people who have the handling of it will go wrong?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not mean that, sir. I mean that the Filipinos will take additional steps to prevent the misuse of the government money, not through fear, but as a precautionary measure.

Senator LIPPITT. In what respect, then, do you think the government of the Filipinos will be less efficient?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is hard to say. I am talking generally. I know the great degree of efficiency which we have attained over there, and of the tremendous interest which every civil-service man, American and Filipino, has in his work. And it is hard to think of dissociating the present American personnel without some degrees less efficiency for the reason that the Filipino has never had full opportunity to learn the work of the government. For instance, they have few competent engineers of long experience, nor have they a sufficient number of trained scientific men.

Senator LIPPITT. If the government was established there, who would be the government? Would the Filipino people be governing themselves or would they be governed by about 200,000 or 250,000 people who now exercise the franchise?

Mr. FERGUSON. It would be a government by the leaders to a greater extent than we have in the United States to-day—to a much greater extent.

Senator LIPPITT. By the leaders you mean—

Mr. FERGUSON. The educated class.

Senator LIPPITT. That would consist of the people who now have the franchise?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. In other words, would it be an oligarchy or would it be a republic?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think it would be a republic. I am expressing my personal opinion.

Senator LIPPITT. In that case the franchise would have to be some twenty times as much as it is now. In other words, there would have to be about nineteen times as many people vote as have exercised the franchise in the Philippine Islands, would there not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Each year, of course, there are more and more boys growing up into manhood who will take their place as intelligent voters.

Senator LIPPITT. Under the present franchise it is limited to people speaking English and Spanish?

Mr. FERGUSON. Who write or speak English or Spanish, or native dialects.

Senator LIPPITT. I am talking of the present franchise.

Mr. FERGUSON. The one we have there now?

Senator LIPPITT. Under the present franchise only those who can speak or read or write Spanish are admitted to the franchise? Is not that right?

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is this way. Anyone who can speak or read Spanish or English. That is one of the qualifications. But a man who has held public office regardless of his ability to speak

or write Spanish or English has the right to hold office. And so have others the franchise at the present time.

Senator LIPPITT. That is the qualification under which the principal number of voters obtain their right to vote?

The CHAIRMAN. I have been told that the largest number of voters are those who have held small offices.

Senator LIPPITT. The total vote cast at the last election in the Philippines was about 240,000, was it not?

Mr. FERGUSON. It was very small as compared with the population.

Senator LIPPITT. But that was as large a vote as has ever been cast?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not tell you that definitely, but, of course, conditions there are much different than in the United States, as far as voting is concerned. The Filipino who votes may have to come 10 miles or farther to do so.

Senator LIPPITT. As a matter of fact, no large proportion of the Filipinos exercise the franchise?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. So that if the government of the islands was turned over to the Filipino people to-day, the people who would exercise power would be those who now have the franchise, I suppose?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think the Filipino Legislature will extend the provision of this bill to those who can read or write a dialect also.

Senator RANSELL. You do not mean "read or write." I notice all you gentlemen say that. It is "read and write."

Mr. FERGUSON. "Read and write."

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, at the present time there is a property qualification, there is also an educational qualification, and then there is the official, the man who has held office. It is intended in this bill to have still a broader qualification, and admit anybody who can read and write a dialect as well as read and write Spanish and read and write English.

Senator LIPPITT. I noticed at the hearing day before yesterday that the representative of the Insular Department, Gen. McIntyre, suggested that that provision should be stricken out of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. He thought it should not be made effective at the election which immediately followed the passage of this bill, because it would be a strange change in the elective franchise that they would not become accustomed to at once.

Senator LIPPITT. I understood the suggestion was it should be left out of the bill entirely. That coupled with that suggestion was the further suggestion that the Philippine Legislature would have the power to extend the suffrage if they saw fit to, but so far as this bill was concerned, the Insular Department now thought it was wise to leave that out.

Senator RANSELL. For instance, does this property qualification admit many persons to exercise the franchise now:

Those who own real property to the value of ₱500, or who annually pay ₱50 or more of the established taxes.

Does that admit many to the franchise?

Mr. FERGUSON. I will look that up and put it in the record, if you desire.

(The statement of registration for the 1912 election follows:)

Persons finally registered and their qualifications, 1912 elections.

Office qualification.....	61, 815
Property qualification.....	60, 553
Educational qualification.....	81,916
Office and property qualifications.....	3, 391
Office and educational qualifications.....	2, 697
Property and educational qualifications.....	3, 467
Office, property, and educational qualifications.....	1, 748

This table is taken from the report of the executive secretary for the fiscal year 1912, and the data are the best available in Washington, D. C. In his report the executive secretary states that statistics were not available from 2 Provinces, from 75 municipalities, and but partially available from 74 additional municipalities.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think if the Filipinos should be given independence that they would maintain a successful republican government?

Mr. FERGUSON. Successful from their standpoint for the first years.

Senator BRISTOW. What is their standpoint?

Mr. FERGUSON. They prefer to go through certain trials and privations, I believe, to have their own government.

Senator BRISTOW. You say "successful from their standpoint." I do not understand just what you mean by "from their standpoint." What is their conception of a free government?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not be as definite as I would like to be. I mean they will not be as efficient as the government we have given them, at first.

Senator BRISTOW. Are not republics administered successfully or properly rather rare?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say they are very rare.

Senator BRISTOW. What makes you feel that the Filipinos have unusual capacity as a people for self-government, which is not found in other peoples of similar experience?

Mr. FERGUSON. Perhaps if I should define the word "successful" by saying a government capable of being continued—that would not fall of its own weight.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you mean that they would be able to defend themselves from foreign aggression?

Mr. FERGUSON. From what country, for instance?

Senator BRISTOW. Any country that might have a quarrel with them.

Mr. FERGUSON. I doubt if they could.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think they would be free from internal revolutions?

Mr. FERGUSON. From revolutions. There might be cases here and there of a band of ladrones or robbers going out in the hills, but so far as revolution is concerned I do not believe they have that to fear there as they have had in South American countries.

Senator BRISTOW. You think the Philippine government, in the arts of government, would be superior to the people of Cuba or Mexico?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think they would be far superior to the people of Mexico. I know little of the causes of the success or nonsuccess of the Cuban Government.

Senator BRISTOW. You think they would be far superior to Mexico?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes.

Senator BRISTOW. What leads you to that conclusion?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not foresee the Filipino people rising against their own popular government. I talk now of my knowledge of the Filipino people—of the better class of the Filipino people.

Senator BRISTOW. You say the government would be a government by the leaders. Does not the experience of mankind show that one leader overthrows another leader in these alleged republics that have been established, and that he establishes a personal following among the rank and file of the ignorant people and organizes them? What is there in the experience of the Filipino that leads you to think that would not be practical or possible in that country?

Mr. FERGUSON. In the first place, that has not been my experience. And another thing, the attitude of the Filipino on losing an election should be considered. Originally when elections were first held in the Philippines, a great many cases were contested in the courts. The Filipino was generally held to be a bad loser, but such cases are growing much fewer. The Filipino who has been defeated and is being defeated is learning to accept his defeat at the polls and wait until the next election.

Senator BRISTOW. He has got to do that now?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; but he used to go to court in many, many cases.

Senator BRISTOW. I did not understand just the reference you made to our country. Do you think the Filipino people as a people are as capable of self-government as the American people are?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Senator BRISTOW. That is not what you mean?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is not what I mean. I mean that in my opinion government in the United States is a government more or less by the leaders.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think the Government of the United States is also a government by leaders?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do.

Senator BRISTOW. You think that public opinion is not the real government here?

Mr. FERGUSON. It is perhaps in a measure. I should say that in the last 10 or 12 years it has become more and more a follower of public opinion, but before that time I think it has been a government greatly by the leaders.

Senator WEEKS. I hope you will take up occasion amidst your duties to study the history of your own country with a little more care, Mr. Ferguson.

Mr. FERGUSON. In what way?

Senator WEEKS. In the way you have been expressing yourself now.

Senator BRISTOW. Of course I may be mistaken, but I was under the impression public opinion was really the governing force in this country of ours, and I wondered if there was a public opinion in the Philippine Islands similar to that which exists here that would compel the leaders to accept the decision which the people rendered in the elections, etc.

Mr. FERGUSON. There is to some extent, but not to as great an extent as here.

Senator BRISTOW. How many newspapers are published in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not give you the number. The newspapers are published in English and Spanish and in the native dialects.

Senator LIPPITT. I will say to the Senator that was put in the record at the previous hearing. It was quite elaborate.

Senator BRISTOW. I am obliged to you. I was not here at that time. The reason I asked the question was that I wanted to form, in my own mind at least, what opportunity there existed for the development of a public opinion on questions that affected the masses of the people.

Mr. FERGUSON. There has been developed there a public opinion in favor, for instance, of the bill. Perhaps at first it was thought of only by the more advanced, but through the newspapers and by communication the feeling for the bill has grown throughout the islands.

Senator BRISTOW. Has the percentage of illiteracy and literacy of the islands been put in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. I think so. I think Gen. McIntyre put that in.

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes.

Senator RANSELL. He was asked very fully about that.

Senator BRISTOW. You think there would not be any danger of these leaders quarreling with each other and having serious controversies?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think there would be very little danger of their resorting to arms against each other. They, without doubt, would have bitter quarrels.

Senator BRISTOW. What people do they most nearly resemble? That is, what nation can you mention that is a successful nation where the people have similar characteristics to the Filipinos?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not believe, sir, that I know of any. I have never come in contact with any such.

Senator BRISTOW. They are not similar to the Chinese?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Senator BRISTOW. Nor the Japanese?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir. In some respects, possibly. They are all Orientals. I can not explain the difference in character more definitely than I have already done.

Senator BRISTOW. Are they similar in any respects to Hindus or the Malays?

Mr. FERGUSON. To the Malays; yes. They are Malays. The Indians; no—the East Indian.

Senator BRISTOW. Have you ever heard any evidence of an inclination or desire for a republican government among the Malay races?

Mr. FERGUSON. Never, except the Filipinos.

Senator BRISTOW. What leads you to believe that this people whom you say are quite similar to the Malays have this capacity which the Malay has never developed or showed any inclination for?

Mr. FERGUSON. My observations have been during the time I have been in the Philippines. The one thing that makes me most hopeful of all is the way the Filipino people have come forth in politics—have

grown conservative when they have had responsibilities thrust upon them. It has been very remarkable.

Senator BRISTOW. Have you ever made any study of their characteristics, as compared with the kindred races that they belong to, so as to describe the difference in the political conditions and the mental operations of the Filipino?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir; I have not. When I say there is a great difference it is because of my knowledge of the Filipino compared with my knowledge gained from reading, observation, and slight contact with the Orientals.

Senator BRISTOW. Is there in these islands any continuity of purpose, a similarity in conditions from one community or one island or one region to another that enables them to mingle together on a common ground and understand each other? Is there a similar purpose permeating the population?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir; but I should say they have had few large issues that I remember excepting independence in the Philippine Islands which would demonstrate that.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the desire for independence is about the only thing they are longing for?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is about the only thing I can recall now to show a continuity of purpose.

Senator BRISTOW. And that is on the part of the leaders?

Mr. FERGUSON. On the part of the leaders and those with whom I come in contact and discuss matters generally.

Senator LIPPITT. I was talking a few moments ago about the number of people that had the franchise, which I understand is about 250,000. That would be about 3 per cent of the total population of the islands. Would you think that a people among whom only 3 per cent of the population have the right to vote was a republic?

Mr. FERGUSON. Only 3 per cent have the right to vote or have voted? I think there is a greater number than that and a greater percentage that can vote—greater than 3 per cent.

Senator BRISTOW. How much greater?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can not say; but I think 3 per cent is the number that voted at the last election, but that all who are entitled to vote did not vote.

Senator LIPPITT. That undoubtedly is the case; but we will assume that the number of actual votes was in the same relative proportion to the votes there as it is in this country. There would perhaps be 4 per cent of the people who would have the right to vote. But let us be very liberal and say there was only one-half of those who had the right to vote that did vote, and that there are 6 per cent of the population that have the right to vote. Would you think that a community governed by 6 per cent of its people was a republic?

Mr. FERGUSON. I would have to answer that by saying that in this present case it would grow.

Senator LIPPITT. I just want you to answer the question. Would you call that a republic? You would not, would you?

Mr. FERGUSON. If the power to take part in elections were increased I should say it was.

Senator LIPPITT. If the franchise was extended, then, that condition would not exist, but I ask you whether you think a community in which only 6 per cent have the right to vote is a republic? Of

course, if it changes it would not be that way. I will not press that question if you do not want to answer it. We would not consider it a republic certainly of the same kind as the American Republic.

Mr. FERGUSON. No. I would not. But I should still consider it a republic.

The CHAIRMAN. I would rather like to ask the Senator a question there. At what per cent would you fix a republic?

Senator LIPPITT. I would think a very much larger majority certainly ought to have the right to vote.

Senator WALSH. Can the Senator tell us what per cent of the male population of Rhode Island voted at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States?

Senator LIPPITT. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States?

Senator WALSH. Yes. Was it to exceed 20 per cent?

Senator SHAFROTH. They had a property qualification at that time, did they not?

Senator LIPPITT. I presume they did almost all over the United States at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. It is only in recent years, as I remember it, since Rhode Island enlarged her qualifications?

Senator LIPPITT. Rhode Island has a property qualification for certain kinds of voting to-day, and for other classes of votes they have an unlimited right. But if the Senator means to imply that the situation in the United States and the situation in the Philippines as regards the franchise is the same I should think he was mistaken, because as I understand it there is certainly a much larger proportion of the people of the United States that have the right to vote and take part in public affairs than do in the Philippine Islands.

Senator SHAFROTH. When you did have this small voting population in Rhode Island did you think you had a republic in that State, or not?

Senator LIPPITT. Well, I was not there at that time.

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, do you think they did have, from the historical feature of it?

Senator LIPPITT. They certainly had a republic.

Senator SHAFROTH. They had their own government, did they?

Senator LIPPITT. They had their own government, and one that the people had spent something like two centuries in acquiring the skill to conduct, which is rather a different situation from what we have in the Philippines. What I was coming at was this: With the small number of people that have the franchise there that leaves a very large proportion of the people who have no voice in their government.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think that those people in the Philippines are going to be better satisfied to be governed by a small proportion of themselves than they are to be governed as they are now?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say so, sir, judging from the feeling I have seen grow.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think the Philippine peasant will prefer to be governed by a few of his own people than by part of his own people and an American protectorate?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say he would.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think he would be better off?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think they will all suffer very severe disappointments and hardships that they would not suffer were we to stay there, but I am looking forward to the time when they will have a successful government.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you not think it would be better if that time was postponed for a quarter of a century, and in the meantime the right to vote, the suffrage franchise, was extended very considerably, so that a larger proportion of them could acquire the training for conducting their own affairs?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am talking now solely for myself. I say that if we could get some definite statement from Congress that at some definite time the Congress would promise the Filipinos independence, I would be perfectly willing to see it go by for 15 or 20 years, if it could not be granted sooner.

Senator LIPPITT. You think from your standpoint it would be better for the Filipino people?

Mr. FERGUSON. That they will be more capable of self-government without the trials they will suffer otherwise if the period of granting absolute independence is postponed 15 or 20 years; that is without doubt true.

The CHAIRMAN. The statement has been made to me that while only 240,000 people have voted in legislative elections the number who could have voted is much larger, and one reason why more did not vote was that they felt it was only a futile thing to elect the members of the lower house when that lower house was not in harmony with the upper house. And it was thought if they had the election of both upper and lower houses, and the real control of legislative government, a much larger number would vote. What have you to say on that point?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know nothing of that of my own knowledge, and have never thought of it from that standpoint. I could conceive of it being so, but I never had thought of it from that standpoint.

Senator SHAFROTH. In our country a big election always brings out the larger vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything you can give the committee as to the probable number of voters there would be under the present qualifications and what the number would be upon the enlarged qualifications provided for in this bill?

Mr. FERGUSON. I can get an estimate. I think there would be nothing in Washington that would give it, but I could probably get an estimate from Manila by cable.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would secure that for what it may be worth.

(In response to a cablegram sent to the Governor General of the Philippines on December 19, the following reply has been received and is here inserted, in accordance with the instructions of the chairman of the committee:)

Referring to telegram from your office of the 19th instant—voters—no accurate data now available. It is estimated, however, that under present law total number entitled to vote is about 350,000. If qualifications enlarged under Jones bill, conservative estimate places number approximately 930,000.

Senator WEEKS. I want to ask you a few questions about this preamble. Do you think the Government of the United States has ever

indicated to the Philippine people an intention to finally withdraw from the Philippine Islands? In other words, give them independence?

Mr. FERGUSON. The Government of the United States, I think, has, through the several Governors General, who have been appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, said that it was the ultimate intention, when a stable government was established, to withdraw.

Senator WEEKS. Have they done that in addresses, or in what form?

Mr. FERGUSON. I believe, in addresses and reports. I think it was referred to in reports. I think former President Taft, as Secretary of War, in his special report to the President, dated January 23, 1908, made such a statement of intention.

Senator WALSH. Can you compile those and put them in the record?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

A partial compilation follows:

President MCKINLEY: "The Philippines are ours not to exploit, but to develop, to civilize, to educate, to train in the science of self-government."

President ROOSEVELT: "I trust that within a generation the time will arrive when the Philippines can decide for themselves whether it is well for them to become independent or to continue under the protection of a strong and disinterested power, able to guarantee to the islands order at home and protection from foreign invasion. But no one can prophesy the exact date when it will be wise to consider independence as a fixed and definite policy. It would be worse than folly to try to set down such a date in advance, for it must depend upon the way in which the Philippine people themselves develop the power of self-mastery." (Message at the beginning of the second session of the Sixtieth Congress.)

Ex-Gov. HENRY C. IDE: "On the whole, it would seem that no other course is yet feasible for dealing with the Philippine Islands than that of tutelage, training, high and sympathetic guidance. That is the course upon which we have entered, and we ought to continue in it until the time shall arrive, which no one can now definitely fix, when the people of the islands shall have become so trained and educated and accustomed to self-restraint and to the exercise of government, and so financially equipped, as to be able to maintain a respectable government, when the question of independence may become a real, practically impending one." (Article in the North American Review, December, 1907.)

Secretary of War TAFT: "* * * It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands. * * * Any attempt to fix the time in which complete self-government may be conferred upon the Filipinos in their own interest is, I think, most unwise." (Special report to the President on the Philippines, Jan. 23, 1908.)

Ex-Gov. JAMES F. SMITH: "* * * The evolution of a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos into a government of Filipinos assisted by Americans, and the education and preparation of the people for popular self-government, was the broad policy of President McKinley, of President Roosevelt, of Gov. Taft, of Gov. Gen. Wright, of Gov. Gen. Ide, and of all their successors. It is the policy to-day * * *." (Article in Sunset Magazine, December, 1911.)

Ex-Gov. W. CAMERON FORBES: "The political development should follow the economic one, further increase in participation being taken tentatively and gradually so that there should be no sudden jerks or jolts, and the movement should go along with an even, true sweep and sway, until ultimately, many generations hence, I fear, the matter of the future political relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States will be determined by the representatives of both people satisfactorily to both. * * * I, personally, am not a believer in the United States permanently holding an alien people in subjection against their will." (Speech at Hotel Plaza, New York, Dec. 19, 1913.)

Ex. Gov. W. CAMERON FORBES: " * * * I find that they (the Republican and Democratic parties) seem to be agreed upon the following general fundamental principles:

"First. That our occupation and control of the islands is conducted for the benefit of the Philippine people as a whole rather than in the interest of any class of Filipinos, and not primarily for the benefit of our own or any other people but theirs.

"Second. That it is not the intention of the United States nor consistent with our policies to retain an alien people permanently under our domination against their own desires.

"Third. That it has by force of circumstances become the duty of the United States to exercise control over the islands until such time as it is proven that a stable government can be established.

"Beyond this there seems to be a slight diversion, for the Republicans have said that this control should terminate if at that time the Filipinos should desire it—and the Democrats have not qualified it to that extent." (Speech at Lake Mohonk Conference, Oct. 14, 1914.)

Gov. Gen. FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON: "We regard ourselves as trustees, acting, not for the advantage of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the islands and as a preparation for their independence; and we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the islands will permit." (Statement by the President, quoted in the inaugural address of Gov. Gen. Harrison.)

Senator WEEKS. You understand there are a considerable number of people in the United States who doubt the advisability of our withdrawing from the Philippines at the present time. Suppose that number of people were in the majority and this Congress had taken the action which that preamble directs and had announced as the policy of this Government in a legislative act to give the Filipinos their independence and the succeeding Congress (we can not bind its action) thought otherwise, do you think we would be in the condition of treating the Filipino people unfairly? Would we not be charged with so doing if some succeeding Congress did not carry out the purposes of this act?

Mr. FERGUSON. Notwithstanding anything the Filipino people may think, I am a believer in the rule of the majority; but the two great parties have stated their agreement with such intention.

Senator WEEKS. That is all very well; but we are saying in that preamble that it is the purpose of this Government to give these people their independence, and you tell us that some people think that is coming in six months, that they will be disappointed because it will not come in six months. Some others think it is coming in a year, and that they will certainly be disappointed, because no one intends now to give them their independence in a year. You say five or six years, perhaps, would be the idea of a great majority. It is not likely, in my judgment, that they will get their independence in five or six years, even if those who are most actively advocating independence have their way. That being the case, are we not going to be accused by the Filipino people of using bad faith in passing any such proviso as is contained in that preamble?

Mr. FERGUSON. We will not be accused of bad faith, sir.

Senator WEEKS. I do not just see how we are going to avoid it.

Mr. FERGUSON. Because the feeling of the Filipino people is this: I say our Governors General, after being appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, have made statements that it was the intention of the United States to grant independence to the Filipino people when a stable government was established.

Senator LIPPITT. Did they use that expression, "When a stable government was established"?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; and in other cases, "When established and maintained." I do not remember the exact wording.

Senator RANSELL. What Governor General made that statement?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should say every one of them from the time of Gov. Taft. It is my recollection that practically every Governor General has made the statement to the public or has indicated that such was the intention.

Senator CRAWFORD. But they never undertook to fix any specific time?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Senator WEEKS. Of course, the Senate is not responsible. Merely having confirmed these governors does not make the Senate responsible for everything they say. That is not an act of Congress in confirming. In this case we are advancing a definite proposition, which presumably we intend to carry out. But there are different parties in this country, and there may be a party in power for a long term of years that does not believe in doing what that preamble says. Now, provided that we adopt the policy now, what kind of a position are we going to be in as regards our relations with the Filipino people?

Senator SHAFROTH. But we commit the Government in every treaty we make.

Senator WEEKS. Oh, we do, but a treaty can be abrogated at any time.

Senator SHAFROTH. But it seems to me if you are going to establish a policy at all you have got to have some declaration in favor of the policy.

Senator WEEKS. Here is an infinitely more serious declaration than a treaty.

Senator LIPPITT. Would you not be establishing a policy by making a declaration which you have not the power to enforce?

Senator SHAFROTH. Oh, I think whatever declaration we make we ought to adhere to.

Senator LIPPITT. Suppose that a subsequent Congress thought differently?

Senator SHAFROTH. Well, that may be. We would have the power to change it, but I do not think we would have the right to do it any more than for us to change a treaty with another country.

Senator WALSH. I think Congress, on numerous occasions, has expressed their approval of the Monroe doctrine, thereby outlining a policy that would be pursued by the Government in the future.

Senator WEEKS. Do you not think, Senator Walsh, that even that is moderate in its final effects, as compared to saying to those people in the preamble of a great bill, "We are going to give you your independence"?

Senator WALSH. Well, of course, there may be some difference of opinion as to the wisdom of making this declaration.

Senator WEEKS. That is what I am trying to put into the record.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not know that I have heard that preamble read, just as it is.

Senator WEEKS. It is in the bill.

Now, let me ask you another question, Mr. Ferguson: You think that the government we are furnishing the Philippine Islands is a better government than they are likely to have for some time to come, do you?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do, sir.

Senator WEEKS. Better from their standpoint, and from the standpoint of all Americans and others who are living there or who have invested their money there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Better from the standpoint of the investors, sir; as they look at it, perhaps they would feel safer with the United States Government there.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think that the Philippine government, if there was an independent Philippine government, would be able to attract foreign capital to make investments there?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think they would.

Senator WEEKS. Would you invest your own money there?

Mr. FERGUSON. If I could live there myself or have a capable representative there, I would.

Senator WEEKS. Do you mean that you would invest there with as much confidence as you would in the United States?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should demand a greater return on my money.

Senator LIPPITT. Would you get it?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think so.

Senator LIPPITT. You would get a better return?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think so.

Senator LIPPITT. Then I should think it would be a very good thing to have independence of the Philippines from a commercial and financial standpoint, would it not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Do you mean to ask whether I would get a greater return than I would get now in the Philippines?

Senator LIPPITT. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. No; I did not mean that; I meant a greater return than I would get in the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, you would want to live there if you had any money invested there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Either that or have a capable business representative out there who could supervise the investment for me.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think the United States ought to maintain any form of protectorate in the Philippines?

Mr. FERGUSON. I do not.

Senator WEEKS. You think the United States ought to get out "bag and baggage," do you?

Mr. FERGUSON. If we do not have control or representation we should get out.

Senator WEEKS. When do you think we should get out?

Mr. FERGUSON. Do you mean from the standpoint of the United States or of the Philippines?

Senator WEEKS. Of the United States.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to see, first, the results of the first Filipino legislature before we leave; give them a chance to get the legislature in operation and see that it works properly.

Senator WEEKS. Well, do you think there is any agitation among those 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 people for independence or any desire for anything except stable conditions and good government?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think among the educated people there is that desire.

Senator WEEKS. I mean omitting the educated people; I mean considering the great masses.

Mr. FERGUSON. There is a great number of ignorant people who are not well informed as to the bill.

Senator WALSH. You mean they do not think about the matter one way or the other?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is my impression.

Senator WEEKS. I am not speaking of the Moros or the tribes of the same general character, but I am speaking of 99 per cent of the people who are not educated—the people who are the laborers, who would be what would be termed in some countries the peasantry of the country—and they make up the great majority of the population. Now, is there any desire on their part, express or otherwise, for independence?

Mr. FERGUSON. There is not 99 per cent, sir. When they know about it—when they understand what the government is now and what it will be under the Filipino administration, I think there is. That is, those who can reason.

Senator WEEKS. Well, do you think they would be in favor of a poorer government under the Filipinos than the government they are now under?

Mr. FERGUSON. They probably do not realize that they would have a poorer government; I think they would be in favor of that; I do not think there are many Filipinos who would agree with me as to the kind of government they would have, that it would be poorer.

Senator WEEKS. The greater part of the Filipinos, seven and a quarter millions, more or less, are reasonably satisfied with the present conditions, are they not?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes; I think they have no complaint to make.

Senator WEEKS. And you think they would live under poorer conditions if the government were changed?

Mr. FERGUSON. They would, in my opinion, have a less efficient government.

Senator WEEKS. They would in your opinion?

Mr. FERGUSON. But I would like to make this reservation, that I do not think the change would affect the man who did not take part—the ignorant man of the islands.

Senator WEEKS. Well, I think the man who is most dependent on good government is what we term the laboring man.

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator WEEKS. He depends on stable conditions; he has no reserve; and he must have regular employment in order to live; and he is more dependent on stable conditions than what we term the educated classes.

Now, is it conceivable to you that that man would deliberately advocate something that would give him less stable conditions, or support it, if he knew what was coming to him?

Mr. FERGUSON. The ignorant perhaps would not; he would not understand the reason. I think if it should be possible for him to sit down and reason the matter out, he would in the end——

Senator WALSH (interposing). If he sat down and reasoned the matter out, he might reach an erroneous conclusion?

Mr. FERGUSON. He might.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think the Moros have any desire to have the United States leave the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. My knowledge of the Moros is very slight.

Senator LIPPITT. I suppose there might be some disposition for those people to revolt against the Filipino government; do you think the central government would be strong enough to suppress an insurrection there?

Mr. FERGUSON. Do you mean the Filipino government?

Senator WALSH. Yes, the Filipino government; would it be strong enough to suppress an insurrection?

Mr. FERGUSON. Any that is likely to occur, I think they could suppress, without doubt.

Senator LIPPITT. You think they could control any dissatisfaction that might occur?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think so.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have not these people a strong affection for the Filipino people themselves, as a people, or as a country?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think they have, sir; that spirit is growing tremendously.

Senator SHAFROTH. And there is that desire for self-government that prompts their eagerness to become independent?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. One of the previous witnesses, Mr. Martin, I think it was, told the committee that, in his estimation, the religious spirit was declining among the Filipinos. Does that agree with your observation?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have not examined into that question, and I do not know.

Senator WALSH. The way he expressed it was that the teachings of the Catholic religion did not seem to have the influence over the Filipinos that they had heretofore exercised, and that no other religious denomination seemed to be able to make any headway. You say you are not able to speak of that?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am unable to speak of that absolutely; it has been some years since I have been out in the Provinces. Mr. Martin is better qualified to speak as to that; I have no way of making the comparison. Such observation as I have made would not at all convince me that the Catholic religion is not as great a religious influence in the Philippines as it was 10 years ago.

Senator WALSH. If such a condition exists, you do not know of it?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

Senator WALSH. Do you know whether the Roman Catholic Church has as many priests and bishops as it had under the Spanish régime?

Mr. FERGUSON. I am certain they have not. The different orders have sent many priests to other countries, and those who are there now are practically all engaged in the colleges, teaching.

Senator WALSH. It is really due to the fact, then, that the members of the various orders have left and the instructors are not there?

Mr. FERGUSON. No. I think that they have more Spanish priests actually teaching in the church schools and colleges than they had under the Spanish régime.

Senator WALSH. Then there are not as many priests and ministers as there were under the Spanish rule?

Mr. FERGUSON. Not as many as there were under the Spanish rule; you may say that they do not have such varied duties; the government and the church were closely connected under the Spanish rule.

Senator WALSH. Well, they had their own resources as well as lands and some stipends from the government?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Senator WALSH. Of course those are all taken away, and they are obliged to rely on voluntary contributions now?

Mr. FERGUSON. I think so. Of course, the religious orders have some money invested. I know that some orders do invest money in business enterprises in the city of Manila.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there a great many native priests now in the islands?

Mr. FERGUSON. Very many.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that number increasing?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many bishops are there in the Catholic Church?

Mr. FERGUSON. In the Philippine Islands?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FERGUSON. I should have to get data to answer that. There are the archbishop and four other bishops, one of whom is a Filipino.

Gen. McINTYRE. Two.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be able to give the exact figures?

Mr. FERGUSON. Yes, sir.

Gen. McINTYRE. I think I can give the figures, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Gen. McINTYRE. There are the archbishop of Manila, the bishop of Vigan (Nueva Segovia), the bishop of Lipa, the bishop of Nueva Caceres, the bishop of Samar, the bishop of Cebu, the bishop of Jaro, the bishop of Zamboango, and the bishop of Tuguegarao. The number of bishops has been increased by four since our occupation.

Senator WALSH. During the American régime?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes. And of these bishops the bishop of Samar and the bishop of Cebu are Filipinos.

Senator RANSELL. You named eight bishops in addition to the archbishop?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes.

Senator WALSH. Are any of the bishops Americans?

Gen. McINTYRE. Yes, sir; the archbishop is an American, and the bishop of Vigan. In fact, all of these are Americans except the

bishop of Lipa, who is an Italian, and the bishops of Samar and Cebu, who are Filipinos, and the bishop of Zamboango, who is an Irishman.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you put into the record the number of priests, and of what nationality they are?

Gen. McINTYRE. I do not think there is any record of that.

Senator WALSH. Can you tell us generally anything with regard to the statement made by Mr. Martin concerning the waning of religious sentiment in the Philippine Islands?

Gen. McINTYRE. I think, Senator Walsh, that that depends very much on the point of view. For instance, in certain of the provinces the religious feeling is reported to be quite strong; there are other provinces where that is not the case.

Senator WALSH. Are you able to tell us what the church authorities report as to that? What is their view as to that matter?

Gen. McINTYRE. I could only speak of those whom I have seen; perhaps there are four all told; and I think they feel that they have gone through a period of trial due to the loss of the Spanish priests, and due also to the fact that it required considerable time to educate a sufficient number of Filipino priests to take their places.

Senator WALSH. Is the sentiment there expressed generally to the effect that progress has been made, and one of hopefulness?

Gen. McINTYRE. One of hopefulness; yes, sir.

Mr. FERGUSON. May I make a statement, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. FERGUSON. I want to say in connection with my answer as to representative government, government by leaders in the United States, that the representatives of the United States in the Philippine Islands, both employees and officials, have done magnificent work; that notwithstanding my personal belief that government in the United States has, until some years ago, been greatly a government by leaders, I think the results show that such leadership has usually been wise; to the best interest, generally speaking, of the country. My hope for the people of the Philippine Islands is that they may develop under equally or comparatively as wise leadership, which will be influenced in the decision of great questions by popular opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. As I remember your remark, it was to the effect that you thought government in this country was controlled to a large extent by leaders?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is what I meant.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not mean to say that the elective franchise was limited?

Mr. FERGUSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am rather disposed to agree with you as to that.

Mr. FERGUSON. I thought I was misunderstood by some of the members of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. We have entered into a period in which a few men have become very popular among the people, and have exercised a very wide influence.

Senator WALSH. Well, that is a commendable situation, is it not?

(Thereupon, at 12.30 o'clock p. m., the committee took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reconvened pursuant to the taking of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crosby will you please take the stand, and give your full name and address to the reporter?

STATEMENT OF OSCAR T. CROSBY, OF WARRENTON, VA., UNITED STATES ARMY, RESIGNED.

Mr. CROSBY. Oscar T. Crosby, Warrenton, Va.

The CHAIRMAN. You have just returned from the Philippines?

Mr. CROSBY. A few months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give the committee an idea of what impressions you had before you went and what changes you got while there?

Mr. CROSBY. I had made a considerable study of the matter before I went, from such sources of information as are available to the gentlemen of this committee who do not themselves go there, and I had drawn up a memorandum about a year and a half ago clarifying my own views on the subject, as a citizen; and I found through going there, and also to a number of other similar countries—if I may say revisiting oriental countries, which I had previously visited—I had no reason to change in any considerable degree the views I had already reached. I merely feel confirmed in those views, from seeing what I did.

I was able to meet a considerable number of the Filipino people through the courtesy of the several governors of the Provinces whom I met there, and through the courtesy of Gov. Gen. Harrison. And I also talked with a great many of the American residents there, a considerable number of whom are my own long-time personal friends. I was in the Army in my early days, as an engineer officer, and the men of about my time in the Army are now rather in evidence there. Consequently I think I had, perhaps, rather an unusual opportunity of getting information on the ground during a short stay.

That is the answer, Senator, to your question, as far as it has gone.

Senator RANSDELL. How long were you there?

Mr. CROSBY. About three weeks. I entered the Philippines from Borneo, coming from the interior of Borneo and arriving at British North Borneo, and sailed from Sandakan and first reached the Philippines at Jolo.

Senator RANSDELL. Have you spent much of your time in the oriental countries?

Mr. CROSBY. I have traveled a good deal in the past. I have crossed Abyssinia and Turkestan, portions of central Asia and Tibet, and I have been in Turkey and places of that sort a good deal. And just before reaching the Philippines I passed through Java and the Malay States.

Senator RANSDELL. Have you been in China and Japan?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you note any essential difference between the people of the Philippine Islands and other Asiatic countries?

Mr. CROSBY. Well, all the Asiatic countries, of course, do not present a uniform type by any means, Senator. I think we use the word much too loosely in America. I have been among them at times and have studied them more or less, and the difference is about as great as presented by various European peoples.

The CHAIRMAN. Take the Malay, for instance: What is there to distinguish the Filipino from the Malay?

Mr. CROSBY. They are probably pretty close together racially. Their distinct differences have resulted from their environment through a good many centuries past, and also from their present state of development as affected by European contact. There have been 300 years of European occupation by the Spaniards preceding our occupation, and that has very seriously modified conditions as to their make-up. The Japanese, I should say, would come very close in original make-up, and still the Filipinos and the Japanese are now quite different, due to differences of environment during the last two or three thousand years. To make a long story short, I think it is necessary to recognize the environment in which a nation finds itself during centuries of its development, and there are considerable differences in those two countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Roughly speaking, would you say the Filipino is inferior to the Japanese?

Mr. CROSBY. He is inferior in present development. It is a question as to whether he is capable of as high a development as the Japanese. One can not say yea, yea or nay; nay to that, I think, at present. For example, the Japanese peasant does not appear as you meet him—the limitations of language always intervening—materially different from the Filipino peasant. The development of the people at the top in Japan, of course, has been very much greater and, on the other hand, they have had their independence always and they have not been subjected to so warm a climate, and things of that sort. I think the more tropical conditions in the Philippines will have their effect, whatever the original characteristics racially were when they went in there, in a way that will make the Filipinos differ more from the general European type than is the case of the Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the leading men of the Philippines full-blood Filipinos or have they an admixture of other races?

Mr. CROSBY. Some of those whom I met were described to me as being full-blood Filipinos; but there again, Senator, I think the word "Filipino" would have to be interpreted as covering those men of mixed blood. I fancy we can not any more say a man of mixed blood is not a Filipino than we could say a man of American birth who has two or three different ancestries is not an American.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that there are a good many of the leading men in the Philippine Islands now who have white blood in their veins?

Mr. CROSBY. I think so.

Senator LIPPITT. White blood or Chinese blood?

Mr. CROSBY. Both.

The CHAIRMAN. From your knowledge, what would you say of the large proportion of active leaders out there as to their having white blood in their veins?

Mr. CROSBY. I think probably a large proportion.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think their leadership comes in part from the fact that they have that white blood in their veins?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; and the fact that doubtless there was carried with it a larger opportunity for education and for self-development in so far as they are descended from Chinese or Japanese parentage. They would have been given an outlook which perhaps those of purer blood would not so readily have obtained during the Spanish domination.

The CHAIRMAN. How do the standards of education of the Philippines compare with China?

Mr. CROSBY. With the general body of the people perhaps it is about equal; but the types of learning for the educated classes are quite different. It is rather misleading to compare them. The type of learning in the Philippines is that which we of European civilization call "learning," more than in China. I do not want to disparage the Chinese learning, which is much discussed, but it has not been directed from the standpoint the Spaniards would direct it, along the lines of European thought and learning.

The CHAIRMAN. It is rather more academic in China, more of a learning in literature?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; but "academic" perhaps does not convey all of the conditions. There has been a rather rigid holding to the Chinese philosophers and not so much attention as even the Spaniards would give to the things we call practical and modern. Of course, while Spain is considered a backward nation and is, relatively, it has never been possible that such a civilization should not carry with it considerable of what we call modern thought.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the fact that a prominent, public Filipino leader has white blood in his veins affect his standing among the Filipino people?

Mr. CROSBY. Unfavorably, do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. CROSBY. I think not. I think that the people very probably have considered these leaders as belonging to—but I am not so certain of that that I would want to give a specific answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you notice while you were there a very widespread yearning for independence?

Mr. CROSBY. It is difficult to notice it so far as the peasants are concerned, because not many of them speak either Spanish, English, or French, which are the languages that I speak. Consequently one's opportunities for intimate converse with them are very small. Those leaders whom I met—I say leaders, and, incidentally, I want to explain by that I mean men with whom I could talk, who were presented to me, including a Moro chief at Jolo—all of those men excepting the Moro, who might be put in a special class, I asked searching questions, explaining I was a private citizen of this country visiting among them and explaining, as I should, that all questions I asked they should either not answer at all or answer very frankly. And in each such case the answer substantially came "Yes; we desire independence." When that question was followed by "What do you think you would do with it the day after?" there was some variety of response. A good many of them said, "Well, we rather hope for a protectorate."

The CHAIRMAN. That is, they hope that the United States would guarantee them their independence by maintaining a protectorate?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes. One of my questions was something like this: "I am only one out of a hundred million, but in so far as I do speak for that one I do not feel you will have a protectorate if we have no control over the situation here. Then what?" Several answered, "The way would be dark and difficult, but they would like to endeavor to follow it." One man, I remember, gave the answer I think would find an echo in the hearts of all Americans in this room. He said, "Mr. Crosby, if we were overwhelmed by a great attack from the outside, we could do but one thing. We would have to fight on doggedly and make it unprofitable for any strong power to control us. That is all that would be left to us." To make it perfectly clear I repeated the question, and I said, "Now, do I understand you to mean your people would be ready, in your judgment, to offer a greater resistance, being better able to do it than when you resisted us, and that you would be willing to make greater sacrifices in order to preserve your independence?" He said, "Yes; that is just what I mean."

One man said he thought they would make a loan and establish a navy, which seemed to be rather wide of the mark. But in general there was an appreciation of the difficulty in undertaking it, but it seemed very evident that they would desire to undertake it. Some of them depend on the neutrality treaties which we would endeavor to negotiate for them. I explained to several such men that discussion of this matter had for a time been running in the dark, and my present belief is it would be impossible to say anything worth while in the dark. It seems quite obvious that countries having eastern possessions of their own if asked to aid Philippine independence should ask the question, "What will be our position toward our own controlled populations?" It would follow, as night the day, that their subjects would say, "Well, what does this mean? You are actually bolstering up the independence of a people, let us say, like ourselves, although there are differences from point to point. Now, why do you not do so for us?" And while I myself can see good reasons which run against the feasibility of doing for the Hindus what I think we can and should do for the Filipino, those reasons would not be evident to the Hindus. So in Java: While the people there are far less developed than the Filipinos, some would be able to ask the same question.

Senator RANSELL. Is the Javan less developed or better developed?

Mr. CROSBY. Less. I mean the average uplift of the people.

Senator RANSELL. Oh, yes. I did not understand just what you said.

Mr. CROSBY. He is on the average less developed than the Filipino. There is substantially, Senator, no educated class among Javan natives. If one is speaking of such a class at all, it must be found among the Chinese traders in the ports.

Senator RANSELL. In Java?

Mr. CROSBY. In Java; yes. And the policy of the Dutch Government for many years was distinctly against education of the people. Just now, with many misgivings, it is undertaking to establish schools. Their feeling was in the past it was best not to do so.

Senator RANSELL. I do not like to interrupt your line of thought, but I did not hear just now what you said.

The CHAIRMAN. You think all of those countries then which have those provincial dependencies would hesitate in joining the United States in giving independence to the Filipinos because of the awkward position they would be placed in?

Mr. CROSBY. I think so. I think any of us can see the awkward position in which they would be placed, with their responsibility for administering one of those States. I can see complications that would result.

Senator SHAFROTH. And as to the people having Provinces of that kind, did you say it has been the policy not to encourage education?

Mr. CROSBY. It was the Dutch policy in Java for a very long time, but it has changed from that and I am not sure but what our doings in the Philippines had something to do with it, but that is only conjecture. But there is a change of policy and a very serious endeavor to educate the people, but beset with many difficulties. They have few competent teachers out there. Out of the total population of 31,000,000, there is a total white population in Java of 61,000.

Senator LIPPITT. What did you say the population of Java was?

Mr. CROSBY. 31,000,000. And among the 61,000 white population reported, 11,000 are soldiers; and some other thousands, perhaps, would not accord to a strict description as Europeans; anyone who is half European and half native may register himself as European under the Dutch custom. Consequently you can see from those figures an extremely small number of people actually live there who are of full European blood. In India the population of white blood is 125,000 against 315,000,000 natives; and therefore it is obvious, before the enlightened process which England has lately undertaken, what a lack of contact there was between the white instructor and the Indian. However, they have a good many educated people in the upper classes in India who doubtless would be very competent. In England the trouble they have now is to get back to something like the training we always gave the Filipino. Their difficulty is that they have, unhappily, been giving an education corresponding to the training, I should say, along university lines almost, to a number of Indian men for whom there is absolutely no occupation conformative with the education they have received. And they are having a great deal of trouble over there now, I think, and I believe they are really looking to our splendid work in the Philippines as a sort of model, because, as was explained yesterday practically, our own present public-school system is much better able to meet the requirements, and particularly the trade schools—to teach the people something practical.

The CHAIRMAN. This bill provides that no man can be a member of the senate in the Philippines unless he is 30 years of age. Would not that exclude from membership in the senate all of the young men who have graduated from the public schools since American possession?

Mr. CROSBY. We have been there 14 years and our schools got in operation in three or four years. That is 10 years ago. Yes; it would consequently exclude them at present.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of that, would it not be wise to lower the qualification to, say, 25 years?

Mr. CROSBY. Personally I could see no objection to it. But, on the other hand, I feel that many such details as that are of so relatively small importance we might experiment with them without feeling we would make a serious error one way or the other.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is important to bring into the government we are forming there the element in the Philippines that has been formed by our civilization?

Mr. CROSBY. I do. I think, however, we must not fail to recognize the other class. Gen. Aguinaldo said to me a very luminous word, I think. He said this: "Mr. Crosby, we can not have a government here in 150 years that would be an American Government, but why should we? A government here must represent three elements, three influences: That due to 300 years of Spanish domination; that due to some years, whatever that may be, of American domination; and, third, the sons of the soil themselves."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Crosby, you have some recommendations to make by way of amendments to this bill?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you take them up one at a time and then we can ask questions later?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes. I want to propose changes to the preamble.

Senator SHAFROTH. I would like to have him continue the line of talk he is giving. It is very interesting to me—unless you are through.

Mr. CROSBY. I am at the service of the committee.

Senator SHAFROTH. It is very interesting to me.

The CHAIRMAN. I just thought, in the way of expedition, after he got through what he came to say we would take up the other matter.

Mr. CROSBY. I may say I feel very strongly opposed to the preamble. My attention has but little been given to the body of the bill.

Senator CRAWFORD. Pardon me for interrupting, but I want to get located. Are you the commissioner over there?

Mr. CROSBY. No, sir; simply Mr. Oscar T. Crosby, of Warrenton, Va., a private citizen. But I have been out there and given attention to similar studies a great deal, and while it perhaps seems a little presumptuous for an humble layman to come here and "teach his grandmother how to suck eggs," so to speak, how to draft amendments to an important bill, I do not think it is out of harmony with our institutions to do so and I have ventured to do it. The committee will dispose of them, as the power is theirs. But I do want to express as strongly as possible the objection which I would feel, even if I had not been to the Philippines, to the drafting of this preamble. I want to point out in my judgment that the cart is distinctly before the horse, as to the matter of expression, even granting the spirit of the thing that one gathers from it. But while not a lawyer, I believe I can make a practically good case against the preamble provided in the bill. For instance, it says:

Whereas it is, and it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein.

Now, "as soon as" is really, in this case, day before yesterday. Where is there a more stable government than that which exists in the Philippines, in the dual government which exists there, American and Philippine? It is the American element which must, in the nature of the case, almost wholly give that which we call "stability." We must find some other phrase. That which the Philippine element gives is relative efficiency, not stability. We have a force there, and have had ever since the efforts of the Filipinos for their independence was overcome, to maintain a stable government; a stable Filipino administration can exist only after our withdrawal, not before.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you suggest a substitute to that language?

Mr. CROSBY. I have this suggestion:

AMENDMENT NO. 1.

Whereas it is the present purpose of the people of the United States, as represented by their existing legislative power, to offer to withdraw their sovereignty from the Philippine Islands and recognize their independence as soon as the Filipino people shall have shown reasonable efficiency in discharging such functions of government as by this act are intrusted to them, and shall have justified a reasonable belief in their capacity, if not overwhelmed by greatly superior external forces, to maintain a reasonable efficient and stable government.

I am omitting, as you will notice, the phrase "as it has always been the purpose," because it is rather doubtful to undertake to say what has been the purpose of the people of this country.

Now, further, to relieve, in some degree, the very vicious uncertainty as to when we shall go, while falling short of a definite date which I very much prefer, I suggest that this shall be inserted in the body of the bill:

AMENDMENT NUMBERED TWO.

That five years after the organization of the senate provided for in this act the Governor General of the Philippine Islands shall report to the President (or to the Congress) of the United States his opinions, with reasons therefor, concerning the fitness of the Filipino people for independence according to the measure indicated in the second preamble of this act, and the said Governor General shall likewise, if he reports affirmatively as to such fitness, recommend a specific period of years within which the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States may be effected, having regard to the preparatory organization of a complete Filipino government and the performance of such obligations as may have been incurred by the United States during the exercise of its sovereignty over the Islands.

And I do that for this reason: If we had determined in this body at this moment to give the Filipinos their independence, it would be practically necessary to fix a date, and you must eventually fix a date for the great change.

Now, my feeling is this, that the Filipinos, under the language you have here, would have a right to, and some of them accordingly would, as Mr. Ferguson indicated to-day, say, "Well, here is a stable government that we have; give us our independence, since in the bill the word 'speedy' appears in the preamble we should not wait any longer."

There is no idea that independence will be granted in six months, one year, two years, or three years, and I believe if any Senator on this board were general manager of a company operating as large affairs as we have operated there, and were then asked to wind up

its affairs he would want four or five years in which to do it, on account of the number of things that have to be adjusted. I shall not go into detail, because I am sure a number of them will be suggested to the Senators on this board. There are a number of obligations which have been brought about by the exercise of our authority there which can not instantly be adjusted. So, also, the Filipinos should be given an opportunity to approach this period with a complete organization.

Now, as to their preparedness for that, it seems to me that their chief difficulty will be presented by the international situation. Consequently whether we have a fixed date, such as I shall soon indicate, or this elastic method, I think that in either case they should have some outlook upon the outer world afforded them by their own officers.

That idea is covered by amendment No. 3. If the four or five years were given for a report of the Governor General, and if he should then report that another five years would be necessary for winding up this large and complicated business, there would be, then, let us say, a period of 10 years and the Filipinos are on notice, if this be the language used, that it will not be day after to-morrow. But if this language, "When a stable government can be established," is used, without such explanation as is given by the second proposed amendment, then we have two widely different interpretations. The interpretation Mr. Taft has given to that language removed any hope for an early date by saying "two or three generations hence." Then, there is the other, which is already in the minds of some, that when used by Democrats, in connection with the word "speedy," this language means practically the day after to-morrow.

Now, I say if you adopt these two amendments you have a suggestion at once that plainly indicates five years must pass for the Governor General to report, and that then his report can say another two, three, four, or five years would be required to close up that whole business. Very well. Now, in the meantime, when it is closed up their great problem is going to be the international problem. I think we have made mountains out of mole hills as to their internal affairs. Of course if they retain our individualism and our popular government, they will not administer public affairs as well as they are now administered. Most of the Americans there can do much better work than here at home. There is a young man there from Senator Lippitt's State doing a splendid public work and doing far better work than he could do at home. He is director of public works, and he has been able to express his good will and capacity; he has had experience there as an agent of a benevolent tyranny. Consequently there is really as efficient a state of affairs there as you might look for in the city government of the city of Washington, and very much better than you would find in most of our self-governed cities. And the Filipinos, when they come into office, will have a double handicap.

They will be servants of a popular government, and they will not have had the scientific training and generally they will not be as well prepared as the Americans. I am trying to cover the ground that Mr. Ferguson indicated a little while ago, when he was asked in what direction there would be a lowering of efficiency. I think there would be a lowering of efficiency in such departments as that of public works. They are not yet as capable as we are in this United States in those things, and perhaps will not be for a long

time, and will not be able to produce engineers and executives of the type we have representing us there.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you consider it important to have a preamble attached to the bill in some form?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; I do, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us why?

Mr. CROSBY. My reasons would be the same as those which have been given by Mr. Ferguson and Gov. Martin, that there is a distinct expectation of it, but, in my judgment, I would much rather see the preamble cut out than to see this preamble pass; to me it is highly vicious and objectionable, because of its uncertainty. But a preamble covering this matter in the way I have indicated would be better than none, and yet another, which with your permission I will read later, I believe would be still better.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what the Filipinos say on that proposition, as to the idea of the preamble naming a date for the governor to report?

Mr. CROSBY. No; I have been abroad. This bill was not out in the Philippines when I was there, and there were only vague reports by cable as to the Jones bill being modified in this way. This bill was not out until I was in Siberia, on my way home, and this has not been discussed with anybody. It is a suggestion of my own, which is intended to meet the difficulty presented by this vague formula here by providing a substantially definite policy. I have indicated a definite date in another amendment which I think I prefer to this; but if the Senate agrees it is not ready for a definite date, then I would propose to cure, as far as possible, the viciousness of that preamble by giving something at least as definite as can be, while not yet binding this Government down to a definite date. That was my idea. I drafted that only last night.

The CHAIRMAN. You think it would keep them on their good behavior, do you, if they saw that five years from now the Governor General would report to the United States upon the question of whether he thought they were ready for independence and, if so, when they would be ready for independence?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you an alternative proposal there?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. May I ask a question: Do I understand that that proposition you have already made is substituted for the entire beginning of this act or merely for the one paragraph you refer to?

Mr. CROSBY. No, Senator; it is the second "whereas."

Senator LIPPITT. You are satisfied with the title of the act and the first whereas?

Mr. CROSBY. I think so, Senator.

Senator LIPPITT. Would you be satisfied to say there that the War with Spain was not a war of conquest? What kind of a war was it if it was not a war of conquest?

Mr. CROSBY. Perhaps it ought to be modified to say it was not a war intended for conquest.

Senator LIPPITT. It was not a defensive war.

Mr. CROSBY. No.

Senator LIPPITT. Then it was a war of conquest.

Senator CRAWFORD. A war of conquest is usually a war to extend power and to acquire territory, and this was not a war for that purpose.

Senator LIPPITT. No; but it was a war of conquest. However, that is a matter we can discuss among ourselves later.

Senator SHAFROTH. The United States has never acquired property without paying for it, and that is one of the reasons why \$20,000,000 was given Spain for the cession of the Philippine Islands, and I think it is well to express it as not a war of conquest.

Senator LIPPITT. I am quite ready to say it was not a war of territorial aggrandizement, but I won't say it was not a war of conquest. I think it was.

Mr. CROSBY. As a matter of fact, I think that is one of the vague general expressions that can either stay in or go out.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you think a vague form of expression ought to be put in this kind of a bill?

Mr. CROSBY. That particular one I am not concerned enough about, Senator, really, to give my attention to it. May I now propose this suggestion. It would be desirable, in my judgment, whether we use a fixed date which I shall in a moment propose, or whether this modification, to give them an opportunity to look into the international problem which overshadows everything else, I think, and here is my suggestion:

AMENDMENT NO. 3.

That, as soon as practicable after the organization of the senate provided for in this act, the Governor General shall nominate to the said senate five Filipino citizens, who, when their names shall have been ratified and confirmed by the senate, shall be known as Filipino diplomatic attachés, and whose names shall then be reported by the Governor General to the President of the United States, who shall cause said attachés to be assigned by the Secretary of State for duty one at each of the following embassies or legations of the United States, viz, those accredited to the Governments of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Japan, and China. Such attachés shall serve under the orders of the respective heads of the embassies or legations to which they may be attached. The Philippine Legislature shall, by usual legislative process, determine the pay and emoluments of such attachés and shall make appropriations to cover such pay and emoluments.

My thought is, if there were some of those gentlemen acquainted with the outer world in that way, they would be better prepared to determine just how much they do want independence when a date, either as flowing from the act as presented to you with the modifications I have suggested, or a definite date, shall have actually come around. Because I think possibly even at the end of a definite date, if independence were offered them, they may say, "Now, can't we make some kind of an arrangement with you (the United States)? We are afraid to go out in this cold water; can we not patch up in some way a new arrangement?" It means that the offer of independence should be made to them following either one or the other of these preparations for it.

Senator SHAFROTH. Would they themselves be diplomatic aides?

Mr. CROSBY. They would do whatever the minister or ambassador would order them to do. Their official function would be to learn of the outer world by being at a diplomatic post and to aid them to establish a diplomatic service of their own.

Senator SHAFROTH. Would it contemplate negotiating with foreign nations?

Mr. CROSBY. No; not independently.

Senator SHAFROTH. Would they be stationed only in the United States?

Mr. CROSBY. Oh, no; at these places I have named. There is no special need for them elsewhere.

The CHAIRMAN. To be attached to the American embassies and legations in certain countries?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; and to receive orders from the ambassador and do whatever they are told to do. They would be substantially second or third secretaries, but that is a detail I did not think it worth while to fix. They would be able to report to their people something of the outer world. It would enable them to represent to their people what it means to have in foreign relations the responsibilities of independence. These responsibilities are very grave and may or may not, when fully understood, cause a change of opinion as to independence.

The CHAIRMAN. You think, then, the matter of internal government is insignificant as compared with the difficulties of international contact or outside contact?

Mr. CROSBY. Senator, the word "insignificant" is perhaps a little strong. I think they would be very much better satisfied to try independence, even when understanding its perils; and it is my urgent opinion we should not deprive them of the opportunity of being satisfied or dissatisfied, as the case may be. Now, feeling as I do, that all human efforts are best directed when they have a time fixed, that everybody's interest would be more carefully thought out, so I say let us set a date with certain conditions precedent. I believe that the President stated that one of his reasons for not desiring a date fixed was that we might be in war at the time this date should mature, and long before I went on this last journey I thought the same difficulty might arise. But it is one of those things that would declare itself. I mentioned this condition precedent to a number of Filipino leaders, and asked if there was any objection to it from their point of view, and they said no, there was no objection to it so far as they could see. Now I will read this:

AMENDMENT NO. 4.

"Whereas it is the present purpose of the people of the United States as represented by their existing legislative power to offer to withdraw their sovereignty from the Philippine Islands on the 1st day of January, 1935: *Provided*, That the United States should not at that date be actually at war or seriously threatened with war: *And provided*, That during the intervening period the general peace and tranquility of the islands should not have been disturbed by serious disorder or insurrection against the legally constituted authorities: *And provided*, That between the years 1932 and 1935 a constitution for the islands should have been adopted by a majority vote of the then legally qualified voters of the islands and a complete government conforming to such constitution should have been preliminarily organized, ready, and able to take over the functions of a sovereign state."

Now, the probabilities are that if we were at war we should rather prefer to let this amputation automatically take place; but so com-

plicated are the conditions that arise in war we might not desire to do it. We might not even desire to have any diversion of the minds of certain important men which would be involved in attending to the matter. We might prefer to say "we just won't be bothered with it, that is all there is about it," or we might see some advantage in maintaining the status quo. But I think by adding this kind of a proposed preamble, as I have modified it, there would be this great advantage in time of war, namely, that we should have an ally in the Philippine people instead of a possible adversary. That they should be possible adversaries is perfectly obvious. I do not say at war with us; but if we, by mere error or misunderstanding, could have caused them to believe, as seems to have been the case, that we came there to assure them their independence, or at least not to impede it, how much the more readily could that belief be so fixed among them by careful design of our enemies? Consequently we should have a back fire, possibly, or, I should say, probably.

The CHAIRMAN. Your proposition contemplates submitting to them the question of having their independence after 1935?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes, sir; to them and to us, if we cared to consider the matter again.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be submitted to them by a vote of their legislature?

Mr. CROSBY. Oh, no. We shall offer it to them by whatever detailed legislation might be fixed at that time, but it is in pursuance of the first preamble, which says that we want to express our policy, "This is the present purpose of the American people as now represented by the legislative power."

The CHAIRMAN. You bind us to submit it to the vote of the people of the Philippine Islands by 1935 unless emergencies intervene?

Mr. CROSBY. Let me say, first, that I do not believe we can bind subsequent Congresses. And I put that question to man after man out there, and they said "Yes; we understand that; but we don't believe if your Government is once clearly committed to this or that, that it is likely to be set aside."

The CHAIRMAN. Would you reserve to the United States a right to exercise a protectorate over the islands?

Mr. CROSBY. No. This does not contemplate that. Nor would I consider such a condition a desirable privilege. It simply means the date would not mature provided that during the intervening period the general peace and tranquillity of the islands should have been disturbed by serious disorder or insurrection against the newly constituted authorities, or that we should be involved in war with other powers.

Now, I wish to say that somewhere I saw by chance a telegram to the effect that the President had stated that his difficulty was we might be at war, and, as I say, this contemplates that all along as a possibility. I believe these "conditions precedent" go just as far as we should go, and as far as the Philippine people expect us to go. If we make this sort of statement of policy, with only such "conditions precedent" as I have stated here, and which are self-declaratory, then their independence will not depend upon a mere matter of interpretation of a phrase as vague as that now appearing in the preamble. I believe if we should pass the bill as proposed with that

preamble that everybody would be absolutely in the air; because, as indicated by Mr. Ferguson's testimony, there are already wide differences of opinion about it among the Filipinos. There are differences now, on this board, doubtless, about what this language means. Well, if that is so, how much more likely that there would be later on.

Now, then, what is the position of our employees out there as affected by such language? As one of the men said out there, "We do not know whether this is a career or not"—one of the splendid young men out there who is a credit to us in every way. He said, "I am willing to work for less. I can get offers from people at home of more money than I am getting here; but here is a great career, an honorable position." But, he added, "You know that under a phrase of this sort it may be day after to-morrow that we are cut off." Consequently, all the capable Americans who can get away are getting away. Of course, there are some who can not give up their salaries, as there are a great many here, and they will hang on as long as their pay check comes in. They may be capable, but they may have lost home connections.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that fixed date be satisfactory to the Filipinos?

Mr. CROSBY. I can only say of all those with whom I talked, which would be about a score of the representative men, several of them said, substantially, yes. I might also add that I was able to get some among them, who were absolutely opposed to any conditions to independence, to say, "Yes, we see there is good reason for that."

Senator SHAFROTH. Would it not be well to substitute there "it shall not be earlier than 10 years or longer than 20 years"?

Mr. CROSBY. Senator, I once thought that the right form. That is the first form of my draft of this idea. I live in the country and had not expected to be on to-day and I left my papers in the country; but that is the exact form I had—not earlier than 10 nor later than 20 years. But I am inclined to think it is better left so, now that I have been thinking of it since last night.

Senator SHAFROTH. Twenty years seems to me a very, very long time.

Mr. CROSBY. I will tell you why I have suggested that date, and I have talked over these reasons I am now going to explain to the Filipinos and Americans, some of whom have been so extreme as to say they considered the Philippine Islands as much a part of the United States as the State of Massachusetts, for instance. My answer was, "Well, I do not consider it as much a part of the United States as the State of Virginia."

Now, the reason for taking 20 years is substantially this: You will then have all the men of 45 years of age who will have been through, or had an opportunity to go through, our school system. Let me see if I am correct. We will have been in 35 years, and taking it that the child will enter at 10, roughly, consequently in 35 years all the men of 45 then will have been in or had an opportunity to go in our schools, and it will not then be too great a delay to exclude the men who helped to fight their war of independence. Now, I have an enormous respect for the man there who fought against Spain and our country. I shall not dwell upon the matter, but I envy any man

the experience that those men had in the terrible fight for what they considered right, and I think it has produced developments of character in those men that no American statesman can deny.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you talk with Aguinaldo when over there?

Mr. CROSBY. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. What are his feelings toward the United States?

Mr. CROSBY. So far as I could judge, the feeling which Washington would have had toward England if we had been defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. He seems bitter?

Mr. CROSBY. No; I do not think Washington would have been bitter.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he recognize the great benefits that have come to the Philippine Islands?

Mr. CROSBY. I think he does. I asked him that question, and my understanding of his answer was he thought that benefits had come. And I asked him if he thought, nevertheless, they would prefer to go ahead now, and he said, "We are willing to take the risk." His answers are beautifully poised; he is a very well poised man. His manners are also better than the most of us have. Whatever other deficiencies the Spaniards were guilty of there, they did teach them certain manners which are not among us at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. How old is he at the present time?

Mr. CROSBY. With your permission, I would suggest that perhaps you should ask one of the gentlemen here who knows better than I do. I think 42 or 43. Taking Aguinaldo as an example, he would then be 65 or 70, which is pretty old, and there is some chance of losing an opportunity, that I think would be extremely valuable, of having the services of these men.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he doing anything now?

Mr. CROSBY. He is a planter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a leader?

Mr. CROSBY. No; but I believe he must be in the hearts of the people still. His whole course has been one of very great dignity. In that respect he has been like Lee—I mean he has led his life in the same sort of dignified way in which Lee did.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any reason why he has not gone into the legislative assembly?

Mr. CROSBY. Unless he feels he would not want a subordinate position. But as to that I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. But you think, in the event of their independence, he would be an active force?

Mr. CROSBY. I think so. I think he might be their first president. He would have some opponents, perhaps more than Washington had, because there has been this long period of retirement. Of course, if they had obtained their independence just at the time of the row with us, he would have been the only one man for president. The period of 20 years will give all of the interests that have been established there through us or were established there before our time by a foreign people opportunity to determine a safe course. They will be able to make some kind of an adjustment, but you can not do that in two or three years.

The CHAIRMAN. What foreign interests do you include?

Mr. CROSBY. Well, the English interests. There are two American railway interests and an American sugar company or, perhaps,

more than one sugar company of a rather large size, and the American element in Manila who are building tramways and roads and American men of affairs—I mean commercial men. I talked with a number of them who said they thought they could get along and would, and I talked with the American attorney of one of the English companies there, and he said his clients said they would not try to get out, but they would find a way of getting along.

Senator SHAFROTH. The English railway went into the islands before our occupation?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes. We have not any special obligation to them.

The government which would be started should include the body of intelligent people—not only those who have received and who have been benefited by our methods of education, but also those who have the sober wisdom of the sons of the soil—of those who came up as Aguinaldo, and showed great character and capacity. He has not had an American education, but what is almost better than any other education is his native character; and we want to take care that that type of men are not too old at the date fixed for their independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Has he white blood in his veins?

Mr. CROSBY. I think not.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a full-blood Filipino?

Mr. CROSBY. Mr. Quezon knows better than I. I should judge he was a full blood, from his appearance. He does not speak Spanish quite as spoken by the Filipinos who have been among the Spaniards, I should judge. I spoke in Spanish to him, but I am not a first-class judge.

Now, the people who have interests at stake should have a chance to contemplate them and arrange matters, and they would if you had a fairly long date fixed. For instance, suppose I did not know I was going to be a man at 21 and my father could have said, "Well, some day, when I think you are fit for it, why I will let you go." I would not know and he would not know how to adjust our mutual relations. Now, if they have a fixed date, they will know how to adjust themselves to the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it will be safe to assume that if they have that date, they will be better able to demean themselves?

Mr. CROSBY. I think so; except, of course, in case of their being attacked by a superior external force. And as to their guaranteeing they will hold their independence against a superior force, nobody could tell that, and they could not answer the question if you asked it. No small power can be sure of independence.

Senator CRAWFORD. Supposing when this 20 years rolled around we were at war with another nation, and it was very obvious that some strong power in whose hands they would be helpless was just about to pounce on them because we had agreed that we would relinquish them at that time, and our abandonment of them would throw them right into the jaws of some aggressive power that had planned to take them over, what would we do?

Senator SHAFROTH. Would it not be well to leave it to them?

Mr. CROSBY. That is just what this proposition is, that at the end of this period we offer them their independence. And we will be free, if requested to do so, to make some new arrangement.

When we purchased the Philippines from Spain, everybody claimed it was a gateway to the Orient and would really put us where we could "dominate the Pacific," as President Roosevelt said. I do not want to dominate the Pacific. I think it is perfect rot to talk about "dominating the Pacific," because if the word "dominate" has any meaning at all it means imposing our will at all times upon Japan and China, to which they naturally object.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not believe, notwithstanding there may be a suspicion of that kind, that there is any substantial sentiment in the United States or among the people of the United States, or that there ever has been, in favor of retaining permanent possession of the Philippine Islands, so that we would satisfy our pride in having those islands away over there across the Pacific Ocean. I do not believe that is the sentiment or ever has been of the people of the United States. I think the people of the United States will gladly let those islands go at any time, but it has been a spirit of altruism as far as this country is concerned.

Senator SHAFROTH. That was not the sentiment of the United States at the time this war was on.

Mr. CROSBY. The Japanese say, "What in the world are you here for?" especially as our President said "We must dominate the Pacific."

Senator CRAWFORD. It never seemed to me that anybody, if you just use cold-blooded judgment and common sense, could entertain the idea that we wanted to retain islands 10,000 miles away from our own shores.

Senator SHAFROTH. I was in Congress at the time this war broke out and at the time of the starting of the Cuban war, and the sentiment was very clear; and I tell you there was a complete revolution occurred and the people changed their minds and were talking about acquiring anything—yes, taking everything—on the theory that it would be a benefit.

Senator CRAWFORD. I was not in public life then, but that was not the sentiment in that part of the United States in which I had my being and moved.

Senator LIPPITT. You remember there was a very strong sentiment against the taking of these islands under the conditions which we did take them?

Senator SHAFROTH. Yes; there was a protest made, and all that.

Mr. CROSBY. One of the men who had most influence with President McKinley, who did not at first want to take anything except a naval base, one of our foremost persons in the matter—he advanced the argument to President McKinley, "Why, don't you see, Mr. President, if we hold these islands we will control the trade to China?" Personally, I believe Shanghai and Hongkong will be the entrepôts to the trade of the East, not the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Should we leave the Philippines, do you think we could keep Corregidor?

Mr. CROSBY. Well, whether we could keep Corregidor, Senator, I can not say offhand, because I have not studied the problem from a military and naval point of view as to whether that is the best thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Corregidor is supposed to be an impregnable fortress.

Mr. CROSBY. I would not want to venture into a discussion on that. The CHAIRMAN. Who would be the proper officer of the Army to inquire of upon that subject?

Mr. CROSBY. I think a formal call upon the War Department would be the proper way. I do not know the individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. But you think we should keep some place over there as a base?

Mr. CROSBY. I think maybe so. I think it would be advantageous, but I am not certain that Corregidor would be the place.

Now, I feel quite sure in this matter—that a date could be chosen which would set them at ease.

The period that you put in should not be too short. There, again, is one of the dangers of this, that under some great rush of feeling, the period elapsing between determination and final action might be so short that there would be no time to meet just such a question as you have mentioned, which would take some time to determine.

The CHAIRMAN. In your suggested modification you have allowed a term of three years for the period of separation?

Mr. CROSBY. No; within a period of three years before the final date they should organize their formal government; and while coming up to that, but knowing it to be fixed, we would then undertake to make all the settlements which the case required.

The CHAIRMAN. Who would decide at that time whether or not the separation should occur—the Congress of the United States?

Mr. CROSBY. No, sir; if this enactment were not changed, it would be automatic, and final separation. The Philippine people would ask us to stay, that would take an absolutely new negotiation with them, and we would then have to say "Yea, yea" or "Nay, nay."

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be submitted to a vote of the Filipino people whether they would take advantage of that?

Mr. CROSBY. It would not be necessary under this suggested provision, unless they wanted to ask us to stay. If we had any representation from any body of people, even the legislature, to the effect that "We have had this question raised in an election; we have been elected on a platform to the effect that we should ask the United States for a continuance of some sort," then we could legitimately treat with them; but we would not be required to stay, as I have drafted the provision, even if they asked us to do so. This is merely that our present intention is to offer this independence to them. My thought is that that would change the whole atmosphere and give us new ideas, not only for them, but for everybody else involved, under like conditions. Any future union would be based on mutual consent. That is the great point gained—either complete separation or some sort of union based on mutual consent.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you proceed with any further suggestions you have, Mr. Crosby?

Mr. CROSBY. These are the only definite suggestions and changes in the bill that I would propose, one being that if the plan of the fixed date could not be carried, which I so ardently desire—I know, however, that that will probably be thrown down—then at least some strength, some spinal column, some dimensions, as they call it in mathematics, be added to it by requiring that the Governor General of the Philippines should report on this question, and that it is not to fall into innocuous desuetude. Then they would have notice in

advance of our intentions; as Senator Weeks brought up this morning, they will say, "When is a government stable? It is stable now.

The CHAIRMAN. Which, in your judgment, would the Filipinos prefer to have, your first or your second proposition; that is, would they prefer to have the definite date, 1935, for their independence or to have the governor make a report in five years as to his opinion of what further time should be required?

Mr. CROSBY. I should have to guess at that; this proposition which I have just outlined in the proposed first modification was not discussed with them because we did not know whether this bill would come out in this form or not.

Senator CRAWFORD. Well, you said that there is a stable government there now?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes.

Senator CRAWFORD. But, of course, that government was not established by the Filipinos?

Mr. CROSBY. Certainly not; and no other stable government can be established by them now, while we are there.

Senator CRAWFORD. So that the fact that there is a stable government there created by Americans can not be used as a basis for proviso which would be safe?

Mr. CROSBY. Well, pass your bill, and is the condition changed? Are we not still there?

Senator CRAWFORD. Yes; but we are not proposing to get out under this bill.

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; but we are proposing to get out "when a stable government can be established," and it is already established.

Senator CRAWFORD. Yes; we are proposing to do so then.

Mr. CROSBY. So you have got the cart before the horse.

Senator CRAWFORD. They can by that time—

Mr. CROSBY (interposing). Their stability will be our stability as long as we are there, or else we are a weaker crowd than I thought. The stability is ours as long as our flag is there. If we had nothing but the flag and Governor General there the stability would be ours and not theirs.

Senator CRAWFORD. I could conceive of a policy under which the supervision of the United States would be withdrawn measurably, by extending more and more the governing power of those people in their legislative and executive departments, until perhaps we have only one American over there, and he is a sort of adviser, and they have learned to walk steadily and speedily; and finally they do not need to borrow a cane from him, and he takes ship and comes home.

Mr. CROSBY. Have they in the meantime any independent foreign relations?

Senator CRAWFORD. No.

Mr. CROSBY. No; we are their foreign relations.

Senator CRAWFORD. Well, you could add that feature to it and make it a part of your plan. But I mean to say it looks a little difficult to say in advance that that can be done in 10 years, or 15 years, or any specified time.

Mr. CROSBY. I do not want to go as far as Mr. Bryan went when he said that, so far as the Democratic platform is concerned, they are fit for self-government. I have not that much loyalty to platforms; and, as I say, I do not have to go to the Philippines, it seems to me,

but only to read the reports of the men who are against the position that I take. I would take the facts from them, but I would interpret those facts differently; and I have reached the conclusion—well, I will only say that I have seen the working of our democratic government here, close at hand, and I have no illusions left concerning that; it has been my lot to see such degradation in the conduct of our public affairs here in this country as ought to put any Asiatic race to the blush; and I know what I am talking about when I say that.

Now, as to the statement that there may be corruption there under independent government. Yes; there will be some corruption; but let them go ahead and have some corruption—can we stop our own corruption in a minute?

Their efficiency will also be less for a long time—their efficiency as engineers and accountants. But I have seen good government in Abyssinia; they were getting along well. Of course, it is not an American government, but it is a good government. I have crossed the whole of Abyssinia, and been as well protected among the subjects of King Menelek as I would be in crossing New York City.

Senator KENYON. The people of Abyssinia are as happy, are they not?

Mr. CROSBY. I think they are, yes. I have my doubts about the wisdom of dictating general laws to those people. Now, I would strike out three-fourths of this bill, and let the Filipino Legislature put in all of those provisions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to adopt their own constitution and bill of rights?

Mr. CROSBY. I mean that we should give them the opportunity to show what they would do under those conditions—I would strike that all out. I would set up the senate, and let them go on and see what laws they would pass. Then you have got something on which to base a judgment. What are you doing now? You are putting over those people something that is just as nearly our system and method as our Constitution and our statutes can make it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, for example, would you omit from the act this expression: "That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law"?

Mr. CROSBY. I certainly would leave it out. But I shall have to explain, or I will be misunderstood: Certainly leave it out; wait until they pass a law which would thus deprive a person of life or property without due process of law, and then have that act condemned by the President—and then you have got a line on the Filipinos; you can't get a line on them in this way.

The CHAIRMAN. If they pass a law after this is enacted, the courts could strike it out?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; but do not enact this; they would not pass a law with this provision before them. If you want to judge the Filipinos, leave them some latitude in these respects; the veto is always our power in the end. Let us find out what they would do.

Senator SHAFROTH. They would be likely to put in that same provision, would they not?

Mr. CROSBY. Of course they would. I do not suppose all the people look at our Constitution and take it word for word; I wish they would not—for themselves, I mean.

When Gen. Grant was in Japan, when they were improving their conditions, the Japanese asked for his advice, and he advised them against making too radical changes, such as adopting universal suffrage.

Senator LANE. Do you think the Filipinos are as well qualified to govern themselves as we are to govern them; is that about right?

Mr. CROSBY. We give them a more efficient mechanical government, if I may overstrain the word "mechanical" just a little.

Senator LANE. Well, I mean for the ultimate welfare of the country and the upbuilding of their race?

Mr. CROSBY. For the upbuilding of their race, we do too much for them; they had better go it alone more.

Senator LANE. Does it strike you that this preamble here overestimates the contents of the bill—does it give a large amount of promise with a small amount of fruition?

Mr. CROSBY. Senator Lane, I see so many objections to the preamble that I scarcely know how to formulate them.

Senator LANE. It would be like the excessive foam on a glass of beer, would it? [Laughter.]

Senator SHAFROTH. Considering that the chief end of the Government is the welfare of the citizens, do you not think there will be a more satisfactory government, and a good government, established by the Filipinos themselves?

Mr. CROSBY. I think so. I feel about it as the Afghan chief felt when he was talking to Lord Elphinstone during one of the quarrels which England had with Afghanistan. Lord Elphinstone said, "Do you not think there are benefits—compensations—on the other side of the border in the way of peace and tranquillity? Here you have disturbances so frequently, homes are being invaded, and people are being killed, and there is always disorder." The Afghan chief replied, "While peace and tranquillity are my ardent desire, I will bear with all the disturbances and evils of my country, but there is one thing that I will not bear, and that is a master."

Now, if that does not express what the race that we belong to has stood for in the past, I do not know what language would. And why in the world we should be surprised to discover anyone else with those sentiments I can not understand; it is our pride to have lived up to those sentiments ourselves, and we would have killed anybody who, with let or hindrance, stood in the way.

And now those poor people are in this condition; their arms are taken away from them. The Moros are in the same position. There was reason for it, and so we have taken their arms away. When they made a disturbance we said, "They are not fit for self-government." We thought that we were fit for self-government in 1776, and we fought for it and won it; and we claim that that demonstrated our fitness for self-government.

Senator KENYON. And we have some disturbances out in Colorado now.

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; we have disturbances out in Colorado now.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think the same rule ought to apply to all—the rule for the people of our own country?

Mr. CROSBY. What rule?

Senator BRISTOW. The rule of self-government and participation of the people.

Mr. CROSBY. It depends on what you apply them to. All those rules will defeat themselves utterly if you attempt to apply them to an absurdly small unit. Minorities must, to some extent, be subjected to majorities.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think the Filipino has a position that is inferior to that of the negro in the Southern States?

Mr. CROSBY. No; he has a much better position. The negro's position is frightfully complicated, because he is only a part of the total inhabitants of the country; and the case is by no means similar. I speak with the utmost concern, as one living in the South and born there; and I say that I do not feel that we have reached the ultimate determination of what is proper treatment for the negro. But the case is infinitely difficult. We have made mistakes. We have corrections to make.

Yes; we have right here among ourselves a case so much more difficult for the ultimate ideal government that we should not hesitate to allow the Filipinos to try self-government, as long as we call ourselves a Republic.

Senator BRISTOW. You were speaking of the Afghan, in illustrating the condition of the Filipino, saying that he would not submit to a master, while he was willing to take the accessories which naturally came to the civilized people in their efforts at civilized government; and I inferred that you believe in that, while the government would not be a good government, it would fit the case and the conditions more or less, and it would be his government, and he would rather have it that way than to have a master over him.

Now, I can not exactly reconcile the idea of giving this political power and authority to the Filipinos with refusing it at the same time to people who have advanced much more in the arts of civilization, in my opinion, than the Filipino has right in their own country; we refuse him any participation in the political influences of the government; he is subject to a master; why should we impose a master on him and not follow the same policy in regard to other people?

Mr. CROSBY. I see your point. The Filipinos will not suffer from the same violence as there was among the negroes—and I know the committee will not want to hear about it; but it is one of the studies of my life, and I think I could show you why there would not be the same kind of violence in the Philippines as there was in the South during the reconstruction period. But as I see it, the difficulty with the negro is this: Their political power, in the regions of the South in which they are either a majority or a large minority, would involve and affect the fortunes of the white people as well. Here is this condition existing in which you must turn over to those relatively unprepared people, who are far less advanced in civilization, I should say, than the Filipinos, a power which becomes a power of sovereignty, the power of life and death, over the civilization which we represent at this table. That is the difficulty. We may deplore it and weep over it and try to find ways of getting out of it, but then we also make blunders.

But the situation of the Filipinos is infinitely simple as compared to that. They have not another race among them, right in the same soil, owning the majority of the property, whose fortunes would be turned over to them whenever they got the power. The only disparities that you can set up there are the disparities between the rich

and the poor, which exist everywhere, or between the educated and the uneducated, which exist everywhere, but those disparities are melted by the natural mingling of the people who are of one race.

Senator BRISTOW. Are there any racial differences in the Philippines?

Mr. CROSBY. There are not any radical racial differences in the Philippines, except as to the Moros. Even that is not universal. Some Moros are of Malay origin. The Mohammedan invaders converted some who preceded them. Now all who are Mohammedan in religion are called Moros.

Senator KENYON. If the South were inhabited entirely by colored people the situation would be more simple.

Mr. CROSBY. Quite simple.

Senator BRISTOW. Is there not some difference in the Filipinos—in fact, are there not negroes in the Philippines?

Mr. CROSBY. There are negritos in the Philippines. The word "negro" has come now to be applied to those from Africa. Now, there have been found traces of a negrito race nearly all over the world, and, on the other hand, there are black people who are descended from the same Aryan stock that we represent at this table.

So there is this small element of negritos found in some mountains of the Philippine Islands. They are, indeed, wide apart from the Filipinos who are in question. But their numbers are less in proportion to the Filipinos who are in question, by far, than the Indians were 40 years ago in proportion to our population.

Senator BRISTOW. Is there not a radical difference between the Tagalogs and the Moros?

Mr. CROSBY. No; ethnologists would not say so. They have a different speech, and I think the differences between them were encouraged on the familiar theory of dividing subject peoples. It was not the policy of the Spaniards to permit unanimity among those people; and then the conditions there led to diversity, but they have not been able to destroy the racial uniformity which strongly underlies the different elements of the population, as, for instance, it also binds together the Italians and the men at this table.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think there will be a conflict of authority between the Tagalogs and the Moros?

Mr. CROSBY. No, Senator; my views have been modified in that particular; I said that I had not much changed in my views; but that was one particular in which I was pleasantly disappointed; I was glad to go to the Moro country and to meet Gov. Carpenter, who is now establishing Moros and Filipinos in the same villages, and even the same streets; and I am confident that he will succeed in that sort of establishment.

Senator CRAWFORD. Who is it that is doing that?

Mr. CROSBY. Gov. Carpenter—and if the members of this committee do not know him, let me say that, by all Americans and Filipinos who are familiar with the situation, he will be named among the first two or three men who have represented us so wisely for all these years. He has been in the Philippines ever since the American occupation. He was executive secretary, and is now the governor of its Province—two Provinces, really, with one governor under him. The latter is Gov. Whitney, another man who reflects honor on our name. He is head governor of Zamboango. He is full of confidence that this

problem which looms so large now can be solved in such fashion that it will not be as serious as was that problem of the Indians in Arizona.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, you mean the problem of the non-Christian tribes?

Mr. CROSBY. The non-Christian tribes—but especially the Moros; yes, sir.

Senator BRISTOW. Suppose we give those people independence; is it your idea that we should establish a protectorate over there?

Mr. CROSBY. Absolutely not.

Senator BRISTOW. Just let them go?

Mr. CROSBY. Unless we can work out, at their request, some new deal at a time when we are freeing them. But I mean to say that in no case, at no time, do I feel that we should have a protectorate over them and then be absolutely without power in their affairs. There has always been a string to every one of those protectorates.

Senator BRISTOW. Suppose some other nation should want them as a fruitful field for exploitation; what should we do?

Mr. CROSBY. If we were out we should interfere or not, as we chose—just as we might take up the cudgels for somebody else. But I do not think we are now obliged to cross that bridge.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think we should take those islands from the Spaniards as we did—they were maintaining a government there under Spanish dominion—and just cut them loose and let them be the prey of any ambitious nation who wanted to take them?

Mr. CROSBY. They earnestly desire it.

Senator BRISTOW. So did the Indians earnestly desire it. Why should we not have gotten out of Arizona?

Mr. CROSBY. We did not keep the Indian in Arizona for the reason that we wanted to protect him; we wanted to protect ourselves. We are not in danger from the Filipinos at all.

Senator BRISTOW. Why should we have taken Arizona from the Indians and driven them out, and said, "You stay here on these reservations"?

Mr. CROSBY (interposing). Well I do not know that there is anything we should be proud of there; we killed the Indians off one by one, we whiskied them off and cheated them off, but that was done individually.

Senator SHAFROTH. And we traded them off.

Mr. CROSBY. It was not done by the policy of the Government; it was done by individuals here and there. Why? Because we are a strong, lustful people, who have never met anything that could stand in our way.

Senator BRISTOW. Is that not a characteristic of all dominating people?

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; we are more dominating.

Senator BRISTOW. Yes; and some other power would take them if we left them.

Mr. CROSBY. That does not necessarily follow. Siam has a somewhat different position; it is saved in its independence by the fact that England is one side and France on the other, and they wanted a buffer State. However, I have no illusions on that subject. Siam is often quoted as an exemplar of continued independence of a small State.

But, as a matter of fact, the Philippines can never have such an advantage of situation, from this point of view; and with the granting of independence they must take the obligations as we did in 1783; or, when this privilege has been offered to them by us, a new deal may be created, which I do not think can be foretold exactly, particularly with this great European war going on. I indicated before you came in, Senator Bristow, my reasons for believing that we can not negotiate neutrality treaty provisions covering the Philippines with the great nations.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think neutrality treaties would be worth anything against the interests of a selfish nation?

Mr. CROSBY. Not much.

Senator CRAWFORD. Do you think those people can become as ambitious and virile as the Japanese?

Mr. CROSBY. Scarcely so; I think the climatic conditions would prevent that.

Senator BRISTOW. How would you compare them with the Koreans?

Mr. CROSBY. I think the Korean peasants are of about the same value as the Japanese peasants; the Filipino peasant is not as virile a man as those others I have mentioned. But the Korean upper class are absolutely weak; you only have to meet and talk to those charming, weak people to see that they could not run the show.

Senator BRISTOW. Is not that true of most of those tribes of that region of the earth?

Mr. CROSBY. Oh, no; there were some special reasons why the Korean upper class went to pieces—and every country lives, not only by the strength of the people of the soil, but also by that of the upper classes.

Senator BRISTOW. What semicivilized nation can you think of that has not got a rotten upper class?

Mr. CROSBY. Abyssinia. I name that offhand because I am quite familiar with it.

Senator BRISTOW. Abyssinia is a negro country?

Senator LANE. No; it is a civilized place.

Mr. CROSBY. Yes; Abyssinia is a semicivilized country; and I have seen people there who have clear-cut noses and chiseled features, more perfect than you would find in this Capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further you would like to suggest, Mr. Crosby?

Mr. CROSBY. I have nothing more to suggest. May I leave these drafts with the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and they may be inserted in the record.

Mr. CROSBY. I feel very keenly interested in them, if nobody else does.

(The memoranda of suggestions referred to by Mr. Crosby are as follows:)

No. 4.¹—Whereas it is the present purpose of the people of the United States, as represented by their existing legislative power, to offer to withdraw their sovereignty from the Philippine Islands on the 1st day of January, 1935; provided, that the United States should not at that date be actually at war or seriously threatened with war; and provided, that during the intervening

¹ No. 4, alternative to No. 1, and preferred over it.

period the general peace and tranquillity of the islands should not have been disturbed by serious disorder or insurrection against the duly constituted authorities; and provided, that between the years 1932 and 1935 a constitution for the islands should have been adopted by a majority vote of the legally qualified voters of the islands and a complete government, conforming to such constitution, should have been preparatorily organized, ready and able to take over the functions of a sovereign state.

No. 2.—That five years after the organization of the senate provided for in this act the Governor General of the Philippine Islands shall report to the President (or to the Congress) of the United States his opinions, with reasons therefor, concerning the fitness of the Filipino people for independence according to the measure indicated in the second preamble of this act; and the third Governor General shall likewise, if he report affirmatively as to such fitness, recommend a specific period of years within which the withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States may be effected, having regard to the preparatory organization of a complete Filipino government and the performance of such obligations as may have been incurred by the United States during the exercise of its sovereignty over the islands.

No. 1.—Modification of the second preamble.—Whereas it is the present purpose of the people of the United States, as represented by their existing legislative power, to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and recognize their independence as soon as the Filipino people shall have shown reasonable efficiency in discharging such functions of government as by this act are intrusted to them, and shall thus have justified a reasonable belief in their capacity, if not overwhelmed by greatly superior external forces, to maintain a reasonably efficient and stable government, etc.

No. 3.—That as soon as practicable after the organization of the senate provided for in this act the Governor General shall nominate to the said senate five Filipino citizens who, when their names shall have been ratified and confirmed by the senate, shall be known as Filipino diplomatic attachés, and whose names shall then be reported by the Governor General to the President of the United States, who shall cause the said attachés to be assigned by the Secretary of State for duty one at each of the following embassies or legations of the United States, viz, those accredited to the Government of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Japan, and China. Such attachés shall serve under the orders of the respective heads of the embassy or legation to which they may be attached.

The Filipino Legislature shall, by usual legislative process, determine the pay and emoluments of such attachés and shall make appropriations to cover such pay and emoluments.

STATEMENT OF MR. JACOB G. LANG, PRESIDENT OF THE MIN-DANAO COLONIAL ASSOCIATION, MANILA, P. I.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lang, how long were you in the Philippines?

Mr. LANG. I was in the Philippines as a volunteer soldier 1 year lacking 20 days. Then I was in the Philippines from September, 1906, until August, 1914.

The CHAIRMAN. What ideas have you formed now regarding what the United States should do with the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. I should think that the United States should permit the people of the Philippine Islands greater participation in their government and ultimately should turn the islands over to them entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "ultimately"?

Mr. LANG. Well, at the end of such time as may be seen fit; that is, within a reasonable period of years. I agree in part with Mr. Crosby as to the question of time, although not as to the constitution. And now I wish to state, if I may be permitted, that my contact has been chiefly not with leading men in the Philippines, but with the men that till the soil.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak Spanish?

Mr. LANG. I speak Spanish.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak any of the Philippine dialects?

Mr. LANG. I speak some of them a little, but I understand more than I speak.

Senator CRAWFORD. Did you hold any official position up to August, 1914?

Mr. LANG. Yes. I went over to the Philippines in the bureau of internal revenue. I transferred from there to the bureau of posts, and from the bureau of posts I transferred to the bureau of education. And here I wish to state that it was my ambition ultimately to publish my experiences in the Philippines, and that I did not advance to any high position in the service because I preferred to be out in the Provinces and get acquainted with the people.

The CHAIRMAN. From your talks to the people, will you tell the committee what you found regarding their sentiments toward the United States?

Mr. LANG. On the question of independence?

The CHAIRMAN. And on independence also.

Mr. LANG. I believe that they would vote almost unanimously for independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they dissatisfied, then, with the present Government?

Mr. LANG. I would not say just that. I believe it is from the universal principle that Mr. Crosby stated; that principle which was embodied in the answer of the Afghan chief. I will put it in common words, That no one likes to be governed by strangers.

The CHAIRMAN. They have their own municipal government, have they not?

Mr. LANG. Yes; but here I wish to explain again—and I hope I will not offend in doing so—but I must say this, that in the beginning the Government had to limit and circumscribe those municipal governments for its own self-preservation, because, when civil government was established, it was believed by many, and I believe also, that it was established prematurely; and that the burden of military government was thrown upon civilians too soon, and for a number of years those local governments were local governments in name only.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that they have not had much local government in their own hands?

Mr. LANG. I think they have not had enough to satisfy them; I do not think they have had as much as they would get if they had a central government entirely of their own choosing.

The CHAIRMAN. What would they do then differently from what they do now?

Mr. LANG. It is just like this: Suppose you are expected to run a race, and you have to run it in a space that is just about 6 inches lower than your height, do you think you would enjoy it or like it? Please understand that our government must first be connected with its own self-preservation and with its efficiency.

I think that the people, as Mr. Ferguson said in the beginning, would not be quite so efficient, because their ways are not our ways; but one learns by doing things; and they in the nature of the case have so many things done for them; they do not get so much action as they would like—I am speaking about the municipal officials; the

men down in the towns; I have visited with them and I have lived with them in their villages; and I am acquainted with the priests and **presidentes**, and the planters, the small holders—that is my idea.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they feel that their local governments do not have as much power as they ought to have?

Mr. LANG. Yes. I believe that the inactivity which has largely been complained of in several lines, is because the intent of the Government has been not to give them any more power as long as this Government is there, because they might interfere with it in some places.

The CHAIRMAN. Have not the municipalities advanced more rapidly under the American occupation than they ever did before?

Mr. LANG. Well, that depends on what you call "advancing." I was not there, of course, before the American occupation. Of course, we must believe that in such things as health conditions, education, and all of that, they have advanced; I must admit that.

The CHAIRMAN. Have not schools been built since American occupation?

Mr. LANG. Yes; schools have been built.

The CHAIRMAN. And market places?

Mr. LANG. Yes; market places.

The CHAIRMAN. And city halls and town halls?

Mr. LANG. They have; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And good roads?

Mr. LANG. Yes; they have built roads.

The CHAIRMAN. And electric-light plants?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And waterworks?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That gives the people, then, a great deal more in the way of utilities than they had before, does it not?

Mr. LANG. Probably. But will you permit me to explain—and in saying this I hope I will not offend anyone—that sometimes those buildings have cost more than the people thought they ought to cost; for instance, we in this country have an idea that everything should be built substantially.

Now, I was in Nebraska when I was a boy, when we built sod houses, and went to school in them; and if some one had come out there at that time, conquered us, and immediately commenced to build for us schoolhouses of cement, which cost twenty or thirty times as much as those we had, we would not have thought it was right, Mr. Chairman.

And now, with due regard to all the Bureau of Public Works has done, I believe some of those buildings that have been put up, costing hundreds of thousands of dollars, constructed of cement and other substantial materials, could have been erected, and the people would have been more satisfied if they had been so erected, out of the native material, which is abundant in the mountains.

Likewise, I must state that Americans over there are efficient; but the sympathy between them and the people of the country, in view of the fact that we went there as enemies, does not exist as it should. And sometimes when the people want a certain thing done which the Americans do not like, they mistakenly think those people want it done only out of opposition to the Government.

Sometimes, for instance, roads are built along the coast which cost very large sums of money; and then again there is a curve taken out here and a grade changed there on that road, when really, if the people themselves were consulted, they would not spend so much money on these coast roads, but they would build less expensive roads in the interior of the country, where they are needed and where there are no roads at all now.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there complaint among the Filipinos about the construction of the Benguet Road?

Mr. LANG. The Benguet Road was a matter of general discussion some years ago; and that is not only by Filipinos but by some Americans as well. The Benguet Road was a great piece of extravagance; it was built during Mr. Taft's time. Undoubtedly those who built it had their way of defending its construction; but it cost large sums of money, and the Filipino people thought it did not benefit them very much. They thought that if that money had been spent down below in the bottoms where, for years and years, the sugar planters drove their carts through the mud, it would have done much more good to the agricultural and the producing sections of the country.

Senator SHAFROTH. How much did that road cost?

Mr. LANG. I have heard that variously stated. I have heard it stated that it cost \$9,000,000; and some other people have stated it cost \$5,000,000; but at any rate it cost some millions.

Senator SHAFROTH. How long is that road?

Mr. LANG. The Benguet Road proper is 24 miles long.

The CHAIRMAN. It goes up into the mountains, does it not?

Mr. LANG. It goes up into the mountains; yes; it rises to an altitude of about 5,000 feet, beginning at the sea level.

The CHAIRMAN. It goes to the summit, where the summer capital is, does it not?

Mr. LANG. Yes; it goes to the summer capital; and that capital is used for vacation trips of the officials, and teachers' meetings, and things of that kind in the summer. The office force goes up there to recuperate.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it paid for by taxation of the Filipino people?

Mr. LANG. Three million dollars of it was given by the Congress of the United States, out of a fund that was appropriated to aid the people who were suffering; but it was afterwards thought best to use it in that way.

Now, I will give part of what I have heard about that: After the war there were a great many men out of work, consisting largely of ex-soldiers; and the Government thought it was better to spend that money in that way by giving it to the men as wages rather than giving it outright in the form of charity. I think that was the reason given.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that one reason you would name why the Philippine people would like to have their own government—that they are not entirely satisfied with the way that money has been expended for public works?

Mr. LANG. You do not understand, Mr. Chairman. I think the real reason why the Filipinos want independence to-day, to-morrow, and every day is on the fundamental principle that Mr. Crosby an-

nounced in that story he told—to put it mildly, nobody likes to be governed by strangers. And then I may speak of the limitations of the local governments, which I have had an opportunity to observe closely.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any graft in the local governments?

Mr. LANG. What do you mean? On the part of Americans?

The CHAIRMAN. Either that or dishonesty—

Mr. LANG. On the part of Americans?

The CHAIRMAN. On the part of anybody.

Mr. LANG. In the local governments?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANG. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think there has been any graft in any portion of the government over there?

Mr. LANG. Over there?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANG. Well, I do not know what you call “graft.”

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any dishonesty in the administration of Philippine affairs?

Mr. LANG. I think very little, in a general way. Now, I may tell you frankly that what I believe is that there has been great development since Mr. Forbes came there; and, of course, with that development there has come the pressure of the men who sell material. I believe that in a great deal of the building that has been done, especially in schoolhouses, in which I became directly interested, there has been a great tendency to build something permanent, out of cement, for example, where in a great many cases the same buildings might have been made out of the native materials that are found in the country. But that is just simply my personal opinion; I can not say that there has been any graft. Please understand that I believe there was a pressure to build that kind of buildings, because certain people were selling that kind of material in Manila; that is what I believe.

Senator CRAWFORD. What would be the relation, say, of durability between one of those buildings put up out of what you call native material and a building put up with cement, probably?

Mr. LANG. I will give you an illustration: The first legislature of the Philippines appropriated \$1,000,000 for educational purposes, for the building of schoolhouses in the barrios, and then they made regulations in the bureau of public works as to how those schoolhouses should be constructed. The plans that they made in the beginning were prohibitive. Now, if those plans had been made by the Filipinos, or if they had been more adjusted to the needs of the country and to its poverty, a great many more schoolhouses could have been built for that money; I believe, in many places, if I had had \$3,000 or less, I could have put up schoolhouses that would have served their purposes for 15 or 20 years, if it had been permitted to put up those buildings with the native material—not entirely, but partly from native material. And I think that the program of the bureau of public works, which always called for cement for these buildings, caused some dissatisfaction. And I believe that, on the whole, some of those rigid restrictions that we have, ours being such

a high standard and theirs being so much lower, result in their being not very enthusiastic; they get passive, and somehow they do not always cooperate readily.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the cement buildings considered more healthy?

Mr. LANG. They are considered more healthy and more permanent—but I believe that the things done in a country should always be adapted to the means of the people who pay for them.

Senator CRAWFORD. What you call the native material, would that not be a building made out of bamboo?

Mr. LANG. No; they have very good hardwoods in the Philippines—a great many. I believe, for instance, that the schoolhouse in the small barrio (which is a ward) should be as good as the best house in that town, and when it is as good as that I think it is sufficient. But the program of the bureau of public works contemplated that those buildings should be of cement in too many cases.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the difference in cost?

Mr. LANG. The difference in cost would be quite great. Probably the naked building might be put up—or, at least, I could have housed my schools for about ₱2,000 that would have served the purpose for at least 15 or 20 years, whereas the building which they proposed to put up would cost ₱12,000 or ₱13,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, the cement building cost six times as much as the other?

Mr. LANG. Yes; I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And for that reason they are not able to accommodate all the children?

Mr. LANG. Yes; not for that reason alone, but they would be able to accommodate more if that were done. And what always hurt me is that that program interfered with moderate improvements, because they did not have the money to do a big thing, and the result was that we had to conduct schools in churches, sugar sheds, lean-tos, and so on, and even private houses sometimes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that if the Filipinos had complete control of their government they would make any considerable change in the style or form of government?

Mr. LANG. In the form of government?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANG. Do you mean in the fundamental laws?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. LANG. I think that the idea of popular government has permeated among their leading men and will permeate among the people, because the desire for education is innate in man. I hold that the difference between races is not so great; I believe that even the oriental people are more like us than they are unlike us.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is it that in the Philippines only about 3 per cent of the people have voted?

Mr. LANG. I believe one reason is that they have a limit on the qualification for voters; another reason is that they think this way: What is the use of voting, and what is the difference? We are not governing, anyway—because you understand that the American Government in the Philippines is as stable as it is efficient; I want to have that understood. But it is for them a government of strangers; I want to have that understood. Understand, please, that

I do not for a minute admit that there is not sentiment for independence among any one of the Filipinos. I have heard men talk out in the Provinces; I have heard the men who carry bolos and dig the ground with them. And of course the poorer people are not generally educated, but they have the feeling in them innately; they want independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, at the present time the Filipino laws are passed by Filipinos, are they not?

Mr. LANG. Well, they are passed by Filipinos, but you understand that the Americans affect them in many ways. You understand that a Filipino legislator is just as susceptible as any other man, just as susceptible as a Senator is, to a good suggestion when he hears it, and the Americans who are there try to shape the laws in such a way as to conform to their own ideas.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I was trying to reach this point: You say that the Filipinos are jealous and want their own government. Now, at the present time the Filipinos control the lawmaking body; the Filipinos have the majority of the courts; Filipinos run the local governments; why, under those circumstances, are they still dissatisfied?

Mr. LANG. Because they are not governing; they have no control of the finances—which is one point, and that is true in the local government especially. For instance, when our school estimate of expenses for the year is made out, it is submitted to the superintendent; and the superintendent submits it to the treasurer; and the treasurer submits it to the municipal council; and it is almost mandatory that they accept it, because they will get the worst of it if they do not acquiesce in what the central government at Manila has done; they will be reprimanded from some source; and it can not be otherwise. As long as we have a government in the Philippines we must govern—in the final analysis; and because of that condition they are apathetic and that is one reason why they do not vote; they say, "What is the use? We have not the final say-so, anyway." I do not say that is wise or unwise in them; but I am giving the facts as I have observed them.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then the fact that the commission is appointed by the United States also has a tendency to make them follow the advice of the Americans, has it?

Mr. LANG. Yes; and then let me say that the American sentiment in the Philippines is practically unanimous on this question; they stick together; and they come in a phalanx, and they come with force, and they fight.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any unpleasant feeling between the Americans and the Filipinos?

Mr. LANG. That depends upon persons; it has sometimes been said that the Filipinos are not grateful; but that is not true; one can establish a personality among them, a feeling of personal regard, and they will reciprocate just as much as anybody else. I have had my friends and neighbors among them, and they were just as much friends and neighbors as people would be anywhere else in the world. The conditions in that respect are not what they might be, but they are not what they are pictured; but you can take it that, whether bad or good, the fundamental facts are as I have stated: that while they have a municipal and local government, in a measure that govern-

ment must always be overlooked, and always controlled from Manila; the local municipal governments are under the executive departments of the Insular Government of the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. That would continue under this bill, would it not?

Mr. LANG. Yes. I hold this: There is another point of view from which to look at this question. This bill establishes a great balance of power between the resident American and the homogeneous element of the Philippines—and I want to say that I believe that the Christian people of the Philippines are an absolutely homogeneous people; and I do not believe that the religion of the Moros or the no-religion of the mountain tribes is any bar against their amalgamating together as one people. And the reason I think the Filipinos are better fitted for self-government than some of the other races that may have had more success in the world, and that they will have a better success and will make better laws is because they are Christians.

The CHAIRMAN. They understand what the Christian religion means, do they?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir; they do. They know the simple stories of the gospel and the Bible; and they are taught, in addition to that, the doctrine of the church where the church has control—and it has control almost everywhere.

Senator KENYON. What about the home life over there? We have not heard much about that.

Mr. LANG. Of the Christian Filipinos?

Senator KENYON. Yes; their home life?

Mr. LANG. It is very personal and intimate, indeed. I am very well acquainted with a number of Filipino families, and I can speak as to that. For instance, they take care of each other. They take care of their sons and daughters and their children's children; and even of their collateral relatives; as long as they have means they will take care of each other and make sacrifices for each other.

Senator KENYON. What about marriage; is that regarded rather sacredly or not?

Mr. LANG. Marriage is a rather delicate question; where people have come in contact with a cosmopolitan population in the ports, in the large cities, I will say nothing about it. But in those places where the Catholic Church is to-day controlling, and especially on the farms in the country, conditions are not bad. I was born in Europe, and lived there until I was quite a big boy; and I believe that in the barrios of the more distant Provinces, where outside influences have not come in, the morality of those people is as good as it is in the southern German villages, for example.

Senator KENYON. Do they have any divorce laws over there?

Mr. LANG. No; not now.

Senator KENYON. They have not got to that point of civilization? [Laughter.]

Mr. LANG. They attempted to pass such a law through the legislature, but it was defeated in the upper house. It was not passed, and I think it is best that it was not. The church—and when I say "the church" I mean the Catholic Church—is positively against divorce.

The CHAIRMAN. That was quite an issue for a time, was it not?

Mr. LANG. For a little while; yes. The church was opposed to it. The CHAIRMAN. You say it did pass the lower house?

Mr. LANG. The lower house passed it, but it was defeated in the upper house.

The CHAIRMAN. How could it pass the lower house, in view of the fact that that house is composed of Filipinos, and practically of Catholics?

Mr. LANG. I think this is the reason: That the insurrection against Spain was in part a protest against the close connection between church and state which then existed. Many legislators in the lower house remember or were in that revolution and others are affected more or less by what is known as "liberal thought."

And then the fact that we have divorce laws in the United States I think influenced them somewhat. It has happened also in other Catholic countries that the legislators have disapproved of laws that were approved by the church, and vice versa. I see nothing unusual in that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had some experience with those Mestizo family relations; that is, you have taken some part in colonizing them, I understand?

Mr. LANG. Yes; I have. Last year, when the Democratic administration came in, for reasons of retrenchment in finances a great many men were put out of work on the roads. In the first place, you see, they had promised the Filipinos, "Just as soon as you are fit to take the positions we will give them to you," and that was the first opportunity, and of course they crowded into that work—and of course you understand that there are politics in the Philippines just like anywhere else. A man who has been a foreman under an American thinks he can hold this position and that he will get it; and, besides, he is cheaper and gets less salary. So Americans lose their position on account of the reductions—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Who loses them?

Mr. LANG. These Americans married to Filipino women. They were largely employed in the bureau of public works; also some of them came with the Army when the Army was drawn away from the south. They came to Manila and many of them did not have any savings, or, if so, they had invested them in houses or lands out there; but as they got no salaries they could hardly make a living for their families on the scale to which they had been accustomed.

Those Americans came to Manila and began to make complaints and the newspapers took the matter up, and, of course, that was at first used as capital against the administration.

I became president of the Mindanao Colonial Association and, with others, immediately tried to get conditions into better shape. I tried not to blame anybody, but to help those who needed it.

The law says that a man who has a married wife there may not leave the Philippine Islands; besides, the men did not want to leave their families; they had no prospects and no positions. So the Governor General set aside ₱100,000 to locate these men under the homestead law in northern Mindanao. Sixty families have been located there. There are some who later lost their positions and were compelled to come to the United States. I belong to the United Spanish War Veterans, and I have received a letter from a member of that order while in San Francisco saying that in addition to those 60 men

there were about 150 others of that kind, for whom no provision has been made. Some are in the Philippines, some have come home, and some are coming home.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the law of the Philippines that a man who has married a native woman is not allowed to leave the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. I think that is true.

Mr. QUEZON. No; that is not correct.

Mr. LANG. Well, then, there is no such law; but at least that has been discouraged; when a man married a Filipino woman he was supposed to stay there. I had the impression that was the law; I will take that back.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any attempt made to compel the white man to support a native woman when he has married her?

Mr. LANG. Well, not many of them need to be compelled to do so; I do not think it has been necessary in many cases.

Senator SHAFROTH. I think the War Department took up several cases of that kind, and required the man to do something in the way of supporting his wife, soon after the insurrection.

Gen. McINTYRE. That would, of course, be in a special case; it would apply only where a man is in the Army or employed as a civilian, and his wife complains to the War Department that he is not supporting her; in those cases the department takes means to call the matter to his attention and brings pressure to bear upon him, which has the effect that he does what he can to provide for his family.

Senator SHAFROTH. There was one case that occurred when the man came back to this country; and I remember there was a great deal of discussion about it in the papers, and the War Department insisted upon his making provision for his wife.

Gen. McINTYRE. That was, of course, a man who was employed in the public service.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose this bill should be passed by Congress without the preamble, what do you think the effect would be in the Philippines, Mr. Lang?

Mr. LANG. That could be better answered by men who have looked over the situation more closely there; I think if some such expression could be put in the bill the Filipino people would like it very much better. I do not think, however, that there would be any danger of insurrection; I think all these things are drummed up—manufactured; the present Philippine government is stable—absolutely stable. And it has its system of getting information; its system of control; its system of constabulary and its scouts; and there is no danger at all of having anything like a disturbance. But I believe the people would like it better if some assurance of independence were made at this time. I agree in the main with what Mr. Crosby said. However, if I had charge of the bill and I could not pass it with the preamble I would pass it without the preamble rather than to have it fail.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is nothing further that you wish to submit, Mr. Lang—

Senator SHAFROTH (interposing). Let me ask Mr. Lang a question before he leaves the stand: Will you give us an estimate, from

your own mind, of the character of the Filipinos, so far as honesty is concerned?

Mr. LANG. I think they are perfectly honest. I have had dealings with them in many relations. I have loaned them little sums of money for their accommodation; of course, I never took any interest; I did that out of my spending money. I have loaned students who have needed it 10 or 20 pesos; or I would lend them 40 pesos to build a fish trap, and they have always brought it back, sometimes in their handkerchiefs, a little at a time; they have paid it. I went away from the Province of Bohol and left my house open in charge of my servants, and my friends packed up everything that I had for me. There were various things—jewelry and other things—and I received everything that was in there.

Senator SHAFROTH. When you were not there to pack the things yourself?

Mr. LANG. Yes; the house was left vacant for about three weeks.

Senator SHAFROTH. How does their honesty compare with that of the people of the nations in the vicinity of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. I have never traveled very much in Asia. I only know what I have read; but I think it compares pretty well.

Senator SHAFROTH. With any of them?

Mr. LANG. With any of them.

Senator SHAFROTH. And so far as the moral character of the people in their home life is concerned do they live in families and love their families and their children?

Mr. LANG. They do most emphatically. And I wish to add something more here, that it is absolutely misleading for anybody to try to create the impression that there is any ill feeling which exists between the pure-blood Filipinos and the Mestizos of any degree; there is no such ill feeling; they are a homogeneous people.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there any feeling of hostility between the educated Filipinos and those that perform the labor in the fields?

Mr. LANG. I think the relation between them is largely paternal—that is, between those who have great properties and those who work on them.

Senator SHAFROTH. What is your judgment as to their sense of justice, as between themselves?

Mr. LANG. I think their sense of justice, where it is not affected by—well, I will say politics—is very keen; I think it is very good.

Senator SHAFROTH. Are they a violent nation, and rather revolutionary in their declarations or in their demonstrations?

Mr. LANG. By no means. I know people in the Philippines—the lower-class people—who, if they had to be crucified to-morrow, and knew it had to be done, would hold out their hands for the nails to be driven. They are not a violent people.

Senator SHAFROTH. They believe in law and order, do they?

Mr. LANG. They believe in law and order in all things.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do any riots occur there in the islands?

Mr. LANG. Very seldom. Now, if it is not taking too much time of the committee, I want to state one thing. Nothing comes over here to this country very much in the way of current news about what happens there day by day; but a great deal is printed in the Manila newspapers which has for its object to show that the Filipinos

are not able to govern themselves. About three or four years ago there came in a report from a certain Province that there had been a riot, and that the people were mobbing a man and trying to hang him for poisoning wells. He was a vendor of cheap jewelry; he made enormous profits as a vendor of cheap jewelry, and sometimes he cheated the people.

Senator SHAFROTH. Was he a Filipino?

Mr. LANG. He was not a Filipino; he may have been an American; I think he was an American; he was a Caucasian, anyway.

Now, the newspapers carried about half a column, stating that a mob of 500 or 1,000 people had gathered to mob this man, or lynch him, and that the constabulary had to be called out to protect him. And I happened to have a personal friend who was present in that Province at the time, and he told me that all that had happened was this: This peddler came out of a certain house, and in the street there were two boys talking about him in a flippant way; and one boy said to the other, "That is the man that they drove out of such and such a town for poisoning the wells." A woman took it up, and made a great to do over it, and spread it about town—but there never was any mob whatever; but somebody who wanted to prove that the Filipinos are not able to govern themselves, sent in a big sensational story to Manila that the man was mobbed, when the man was not mobbed at all—unless my friend lied to me.

And my friend said, "We went down hill, and a few people followed, and Jerry was afraid the people would do something to him; but the people had no intention of doing anything to him at all."

The CHAIRMAN. Do those newspapers in Manila habitually print stories of that sort?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir; they habitually print those stories to make an impression on the Americans who have just come to the islands, that the Filipinos are unfit for self-government. That has been my experience; I have read them closely.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the opinion among the resident Americans?

Mr. LANG. As long as they are there they are very much inclined to hold the view that this Government ought to stay there. But I know a commercial traveler out there who says, "If I could go home to-morrow morning, I would advocate Philippine independence," and there are a great many others like him who would advocate Philippine independence if they were here in this country; but as long as they are there they want to hold together. And, what is more, the Americans in the islands are very intolerant; they will not tolerate it at all when anything is said in favor of the Filipinos. That is the extreme sentiment, of course; I do not say every American out there subscribes to that; but he has to do so or keep quiet.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the Filipino newspapers; how many are there?

Mr. LANG. There are three or four—El Ideal, La Vanguardia, and Libertad, the organ of the Catholic Church. And those newspapers, of course, speak on their side; they pick up stories about the Americans. There has been a great deal of agitation on both sides; I have always thought there was too much.

The CHAIRMAN. Have those Filipino newspapers any considerable circulation?

Mr. LANG. Yes; they have a general circulation among the better-educated people throughout the archipelago; it is not so large, however; the Filipinos are not great readers as yet; there are not many in proportion to the population. The circulation of those papers is very small as compared to that of our papers here.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose Congress should adjourn on the 4th of March next without passing this bill; how soon would it be known over the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. Very soon. News travels there by tradition, and it travels fast. It would be known all over the archipelago in a few days.

The CHAIRMAN. Would there be any agitation?

Mr. LANG. I do not think there would be any agitation, because we have a stable government; we have a government that can handle any situation that may arise over there.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a strong government, is it?

Mr. LANG. It is a strong government above all things.

The CHAIRMAN. And the constabulary is loyal to the government?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could that government be maintained without the presence there of the 12,000 American troops?

Mr. LANG. I think that perhaps it could not.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are those troops located?

Mr. LANG. The troops are now located in Corregidor and at McKinley and in Camp Stotsenberg, and I think there is also a body of American troops on the east coast of Luzon. They have all been withdrawn from the southern islands. They are very close to Manila.

The CHAIRMAN. They are very close to Manila?

Mr. LANG. Yes; Stotsenberg is 20 miles from Manila; Corregidor is just across the bay.

Senator SHAFROTH. In what parts of the islands did you live?

Mr. LANG. I lived in Manila first.

Senator SHAFROTH. How long did you live there?

Mr. LANG. I was in Manila about nine months.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then where did you go?

Mr. LANG. To the Province of Leyte, in the Visayas. Leyte is about two days and three nights from Manila.

Senator SHAFROTH. It is a different island?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. How long were you there?

Mr. LANG. About eight months.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then where did you go?

Mr. LANG. Then I came back and served in the post office. From there I went to Pampanga, and I was for two years supervising teacher there. Pampanga is about 25 miles north from Manila.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then where did you go?

Mr. LANG. Then I came back to the States and then I went back to the Philippines and went to Bohol; that is an island down in the south, about 9 degrees of south latitude.

Senator SHAFROTH. How long did you stay there?

Mr. LANG. I was there pretty nearly three years.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then where did you go?

Mr. LANG. Then I went back to Manila and worked a little while on the Democrat, a Philippine paper, and on the Manila Bulletin, an American newspaper. I then became connected with the Mindanao Colonial Association, and after the colony was established I went to work for a commercial house, traveling in the island of Luzon, selling shoes.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then where did you go?

Mr. LANG. On August 15 last I came back to this country and have lived in San Francisco since then.

Senator SHAFROTH. Then you have lived in various parts of the islands?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. And these experiences that you have given here apply to all of the people that you have come in contact with in the various portions of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator KENYON. What do you say about the question of the cruelty of the Filipinos? Are they a cruel people over there?

Mr. LANG. I do not think so, naturally. Now, I can refer to the statements that Mr. Dean C. Worcester made—

Senator KENYON. Yes; I was going to ask you about those statements.

Mr. LANG. I expected that. Now, of course, a person can not tell what happens in war time—and in that connection let us remember what is being said now about the Germans and what is being said about the French and Russians. I do not believe that the Filipinos have been any more cruel than the European nations are reported to be now; and, so far as their private life is concerned, I do not think they are, unless excited and agitated and under pressure—

Senator KENYON. Was there any very strong feeling of that kind against the priests? The stories seemed to have relation principally to the priests.

Mr. LANG. Do you mean now or at that time?

Senator KENYON. No; I mean has there been?

Mr. LANG. Now, I have been coming in close contact with the priests also. I lived in one place where the convent was the only place where I could stay, and I stayed there for some time. I think this feeling against priests was a feeling against individuals. There are always some individuals in every organization who do things that they should not. I do not know how it was in the southern islands, but I believe that that did not exist to any very great degree. I believe on the whole that worse things have been said of those people than are true. For instance, I found stacks of letters in the town where I lived which Father Lucas, the last Spanish priest before the American invasion, had written letters to the principal families in the town, giving them good advice and telling them to live rightly and all that sort of thing; and I believe that in the southern islands the relation between the priests and the population was good.

Senator KENYON. Was there a good deal of cruelty practiced toward our soldiers there?

Mr. LANG. Well, I guess there was some. Those are war records; there were cruelties by Filipino soldiers. I think that can not be denied.

Senator SHAFROTH. There were accusations made on both sides.

Mr. LANG. Yes; I do not know anything definite except what I got from newspaper reports and Mr. Worcester's books.

Senator KENYON. Do you think the Filipinos are ready for self-government?

Mr. LANG. They think so now.

Senator KENYON. Do you think so?

Mr. LANG. Do I think so?

Senator KENYON. Yes.

Mr. LANG. Well, if I had the alternative between leaving the thing indefinite—not putting ourselves on record—and Philippine independence now, I would say have Philippine independence now, because I believe in the principle, and I believe we are bound by the principle—

Senator KENYON (interposing). If you had the responsibility upon you to settle that question by your vote, from what you know of the islands and the people, would you vote for independence now?

Mr. LANG. Now? I say if I had the alternative between the idea of permanently retaining them, or a policy that tended in the direction of permanently retaining them, and giving them independence now, I would vote for independence now. But the bill under consideration is from another standpoint, of giving them more autonomy only.

Senator KENYON. Well, would you prefer that policy—to give them more autonomy and gradually approach the period when they would be given independence?

Mr. LANG. Do you mean now?

Senator KENYON. Yes.

Mr. LANG. Yes; I think I would, for the reasons that Mr. Crosby stated. It takes some time to settle things; and, besides, the American interests there are large, and they would have to adjust themselves.

Senator KENYON. When we went out of the Philippines, do you think that they would want us to maintain a protectorate in any way?

Mr. LANG. Well, I do not know, because I have not talked with the leaders and politicians; but I have got the sentiment of the people here and there in such a way that the people did not know that I was collecting such information; so I do not know about that.

Senator KENYON. Have they talked to you on their ability to defend themselves against foreign aggression?

Mr. LANG. Well, they have confidence that they can defend themselves.

Senator KENYON. That they could do it?

Mr. LANG. Yes; that they could, although I must say I have never discussed that very much with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the common people really know much about the outside world and about the strength of nations?

Mr. LANG. I think they know more than we give them credit for. We assume that they know nothing at all; we presume that there is nothing known in the world except what is told by newspapers; but out there people tell things, and the children go to school, and they go home and tell their parents what they have learned. Then a newspaper will come into a town, and one or two read it, and they pass it around a great many times; and the next day a man will go to the

barrio and say, "Germany is at war with England," for instance. Now, they may not know exactly the geography, but some of the people in our own backwoods sections do not know the geography; but the majority of the people there do know about it.

The CHAIRMAN. They pass the information from hand to hand, do they, among themselves?

Mr. LANG. Yes, sir.

Senator KENYON. Do you think there would be a national spirit developed there?

Mr. LANG. I think so. Here is another point: You know they say there is no middle class in the Philippines. I do not agree with that; there is a middle class there just as well as in the European countries. There are people there who have 1 acre of land, some who have \$1,000 worth, and there is a middle class.

I hold that under a government by strangers, no public opinion can form, because the climax of that public opinion will always be hostile to the strangers; and that has to be discouraged; and in the early days it was discouraged forcibly and very often. Now, that public opinion can not be formed, because its climax might become revolution. If the Filipinos had a government carried on by a majority of their own homogenous people, public opinion would form, and that public opinion would be the guardian of many things that we have been the guardians for; and the different elements that are conflicting could be well left to themselves.

Now, I hold that the church still influences more than 90 per cent of the conscience in the rural districts, and that it would be the conservative power. Then the question of books comes in. There are books in Spanish and English, books in Visayan and some in Tagalog, and they are reasonably cheap; and after the schools have educated the young men and they have formed a habit of reading, so that public opinion will develop, I think we do not need to be afraid of what will happen.

The CHAIRMAN. Are many of the Filipinos skilled laborers?

Mr. LANG. What do you mean by "skilled laborers"?

The CHAIRMAN. Masons, or carpenters, or blacksmiths, or anything of the kind?

Mr. LANG. Yes; how could they have put up those buildings and done all that work unless they were? The Americans do not do it; they are in the official positions; the Chinese do not do it; they are traders; the public works have been built by the Filipinos—the roads and buildings—supervised by Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. What have they in the way of factories?

Mr. LANG. There are a half a dozen cigar factories in Manila, two shoe factories, a glass factory, and a brewery; there are also factories doing wood work.

Senator KENYON. Are those factories conducted by Filipinos?

Mr. LANG. No; except some of the cigar factories. The capital is generally European and of course the control would generally be European. But the handiwork of the Filipinos is very good. For instance, they make hats and they make a fine cloth, and some of that is exported. That hat industry is a great industry, and has been so for a long time in two Provinces. I was in a country town where a woman brought in ₱100 worth of hats at one time.

The CHAIRMAN. Straw hats?

Mr. LANG. Straw hats. And I want to tell you something about the price of those hats that those people get; the prices are arbitrarily established by the European exporter. A young man in Sebu was in that business to get spending money. He goes over to the coast of Bohol and buys a hundred of these hats for ₱6, and he sells them in Germany for ₱22.

The people also export perfumery materials to Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain further what industries there are in which skilled Filipino labor is employed?

Mr. LANG. Well, it is to be understood, of course, that the companies which have constructed the great works in Manila, building up a part of the harbor, making up new land, constructing a sewer system and the waterworks system, as well as constructing buildings and bridges and roads, have been under American supervision; the laborers have been Filipinos, and some of the overseers have been Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. How well are those skilled Filipinos paid?

Mr. LANG. Well, I think common labor in Manila brings from 80 centavos a day, which is 40 cents of our money; the ones up a little higher get ₱2.

The CHAIRMAN. A day?

Mr. LANG. Yes; a day. That is \$1. Good carpenters get about ₱2 or ₱2½.

The CHAIRMAN. That is for a pretty good carpenter?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the Filipinos being educated for skilled work?

Mr. LANG. Well, the Bureau of Education changed its plan somewhat about five years ago. They thought that, along with the academic instruction, some technical instruction should be given; and they have trade schools; they have a school of arts and trades in Manila and a number of large trade schools in the provinces, and also shops in most of the towns. They have trade schools, with tools, where the boys get the elements of carpentering; and that is the way the Bureau of Education is trying to reach that side of the question.

The CHAIRMAN. There is manual training in their public schools, then?

Mr. LANG. Yes; in the provincial schools. For instance, the central schools' classes carry them through the first, second, third, and fourth grades; the barrios or outlying wards carry them only through the first and second grades. In the provincial schools they carry them up to the eleventh grade; and some of the towns have six grades, and in all the schools there is more or less industrial work done; and in every provincial school there is a nicely equipped shop with circular saws and band saws, and things of that kind, and the boys are getting an excellent education along that line.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the industrial classes among the Filipinos save any money?

Mr. LANG. What do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean are they a saving class of people, or do they spend everything as they get it?

Mr. LANG. I may cite you the case of the children in the schools. During the carnival the people will buy things from the children at

a higher price than they would pay at the market; sometimes a child will have 30 centavos from what he sells; and I know of one boy that saved 8 or 10 pesos that he got for the baskets that he made. These children save some of that money; many postal savings accounts are started by pupils in the schools. So that I am not prepared to say that the Filipinos are not saving. I know people of the middle classes that are saving—in fact, some of them might be called stingy. In fact, under the Spanish régime the people were not poor materially; it was not a bread-and-butter question with them under the Spanish régime. A great many of them had bought jewelry and put it away; a great many had hoarded their money. About five years ago I wanted some Mexican pesos to have some jewelry made from. I went to a resident of a town and asked him if I could get any of those pesos, and he said, "I can get you all you want up to 700." You can still get Spanish gold in some of those towns that were not destroyed.

The CHAIRMAN. That was just hoardings?

Mr. LANG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they no place to deposit their savings?

Mr. LANG. They have now. But the old people formed the habit of putting their jewelry or money in a box, and it is hard to get them away from that. The young people deposit in the savings banks.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the postal savings banks located in the chief cities of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. In every provincial town, yes; you can deposit the money—and in fact, at nearly every post office you can deposit limited amounts; you can deposit larger amounts in the provincial capitals.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that postal-savings system under the control of the United States, or under the control of the Philippine Government?

Mr. LANG. It is separate; it is under the bureau of posts, under the Philippine Government, and is very efficient.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it do a large business?

Mr. LANG. Quite large; I do not remember, but I think its deposits run to several millions.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the postage rate in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. LANG. For an ordinary letter, 1 cent gold; just half our rate.

The CHAIRMAN. And is there a newspaper rate which is different from that?

Mr. LANG. Yes; I think they have a newspaper rate.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have a parcel-post rate for packages?

Mr. LANG. Yes; there is a merchandise rate, just like there is here, except that it is made to suit their conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Filipinos use the post office to a considerable extent in writing letters?

Mr. LANG. Oh, yes; they are great letter writers; I get letters from about 15 people over there now.

The CHAIRMAN. From Filipinos?

Mr. LANG. Yes; from Filipino students and former students.

The CHAIRMAN. Among themselves, do the people write to each other from Province to Province?

Mr. LANG. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Filipinos move from one Province to another to any extent?

Mr. LANG. Not for the purpose of transferring their homes; they sometimes move for the purpose of getting employment. The Boholanos, some of them, will take a boat loaded with a merchandise and go around trading in among the other islands, for perhaps 10 months and then come back to their homes. They go away to make a living; the soil of their island is very poor, and the population is dense.

The CHAIRMAN. They do not move away permanently?

Mr. LANG. No; they leave their families behind and bring back to their families what money they make.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any Filipino traveling men for business houses?

Mr. LANG. Yes; for both American and European houses; I am personally acquainted with quite a number of them, and they are very able men.

The CHAIRMAN. So they have in a way the same sort of business world going on, on a small scale, over there that we have, on a large scale, in the United States?

Mr. LANG. Yes; but more like the European than ours, because, after all, a great deal that they have acquired in character and in the way of doing things comes from the Spaniards and other southern European people.

The CHAIRMAN. Take a small town of a couple of thousand people; it has some shops?

Mr. LANG. Yes; for instance, take Tubigon, Bohol; that is the best commercial town on the coast. It has five or six Chino stores that have a stock where an American could go and get his shoes, and all kinds of wearing apparel for women and children, and furnishing goods, such as collars, and all that sort of thing; you might almost call it a little department store.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is, do they have stores where Filipino goods are sold?

Mr. LANG. Do you mean goods made exclusively in the Philippines?

The CHAIRMAN. Not exclusively; I mean do they sell Filipino products in their stores?

Mr. LANG. They sell ordinary products of the soil—rice and camotes and things of that character, and they will sell such articles of handiwork as the Filipinos make. But the Chinos are the merchants in most cases.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the Chinese?

Mr. LANG. Yes. Now, if you will permit me I have an additional idea I would like to give you: The Chinos are now controlling the retail industry of the Philippine Islands. I consider the Chinos almost the "Retail trust" of the Philippine Islands; and if they were properly studied I do not think there is anything except our own trusts that come as near to being a trust as the Chinos in the Philippines.

Now, they will always be in favor of a government by strangers; and we like them because they are easy to get along with in the first place. When there was friction in the beginning between the Americans and the Filipinos, the Chinos knew how to take advan-

tage of it. And you see a foreign Government must always keep the people of a subject country down; if you do not keep the people down, they will get wealthy, and their original idea of being free will always be with them; and in order to prevent anything of that kind the foreign Government has to keep those people as poor as possible, and keep them out of the channels where they would acquire wealth. I believe the Philippine government has unconsciously followed that plan; the Chinese they could control; the Chinese were not a warlike people themselves; they had nothing to fear from the Chinese; and besides, they had the Filipinos against them too.

The Chinese are the Jews of the Orient.

Now, when the government is composed of strangers—whether it is the Americans or anybody else—either consciously or unconsciously, the policy will be to keep the Filipinos out of those channels where they can get the wealth.

Under such conditions it is not unreasonable that Filipinos in general at this time seem to have very little aptitude for trade. I do not say that the stranger Government has not brought the Filipino a great many benefits—chiefly Christianity—and one reason why I am for Philippine independence is, as Mr. Crosby said, because they are Christians. The Filipinos are the only Asiatic people who are Christians; they have a highly developed religion.

The CHAIRMAN. Do not the Filipinos keep any of those local stores—you spoke of the Chinese keeping them?

Mr. LANG. No; not many, except in the larger cities. You see, the Chinese have the money.

The CHAIRMAN. There has not been any Chinese immigration there for a number of years?

Mr. LANG. Well, there is a Chinese increase there.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chinese have kept up their population without immigration?

Mr. LANG. Yes. And then, of course, there is one point. The Chinese mestizos, as a rule, follow their fathers in the commercial line and, as a class, are very able men.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you for your suggestions, Mr. Lang. You have given us some interesting information from a new point of view.

(Thereupon, at 5.45 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until Saturday, December 19, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 18459

AN ACT TO DECLARE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND TO PROVIDE A MORE AUTONOMOUS
GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLANDS

DECEMBER 19, 1914

PART 3



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1914

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JOHN W. WEEKS, Massachusetts.

WILLARD D. EAKIN, *Clerk.*

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1914.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee assembled at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Reed, Walsh, Lane, Saulsbury, Ransdell, Crawford, Lippitt, Kenyon, and Weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I have received a communication from a man who says he has been in the Philippine Islands for 16 years, which I think should go into the record. The letter is from Mr. William H. Anderson, who writes from Manila under date of November 7, 1914, and who seems to be an importer and exporter. He also incloses a memorandum of proposed changes which he suggests be made in the bill, and I will also read that in order that it may go into the record:

[Wm. H. Anderson & Co., importers and exporters.]

MANILA, P. I., *November 7, 1914.*

DEAR SENATOR: Please excuse a request I am making when I ask that you read the inclosed paper on changes for the Jones bill. After a residence of over 16 years in the Philippines these are a few ideas I have gotten together which would materially improve the bill. The number of members of the proposed assembly and senate could be cut down still further—30 members for the assembly and 10 for the senate would make a better legislature than any large combination.

Thanking you in advance for the consideration you will give the subject, I am,

Yours, truly,

WM. H. ANDERSON.

PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE JONES BILL.

In order to abbreviate the argument, it is assumed that the position of the Philippine Islands is fully known. Other assumptions follow, such as: The Orient is not the Occident; the Tropics are different from the temperate regions; ideas, customs, racial characteristics, language, religion, tribal relations, and a hundred others must have their bearing in framing laws.

Notwithstanding that Mr. Taft and his sphere of influence extended over the Philippines for 13 years, during that long period no real constructive legislation in regard to the islands passed the Congress of the United States. The present Jones bill, if modified and corrected, will give something definite to work upon.

1. The preamble, or first page of the bill, should be eliminated entirely and the following substitution made: "A bill to provide a more autonomous government for the Philippine Islands."

The original preamble is not part of the proper legislation of the Jones bill. It is foreign, unnecessary, vague, and indefinite. In addition, it deceives, is ambiguous, and misleading. The effect given by this preamble is what every one has been trying to avoid since the first days of American occupation. Something definite has been wanted, so that the material development of the country would go ahead.

What is the standard to be adopted for determining this stable government mentioned in the preamble? There are now three standards with which we are acquainted. At the top of the list is the American Government in the Philippines, which has been recognized as an excellent standard for efficiency; next comes the United States Government at home, and then, last, some sort of a government which could be put in effect for a short time by Filipinos. Above and below these standards there are many other degrees of stability. How is Congress or the President of the United States ever to determine what is the proper stability, or when it has been reached? Elective officers have made their pleas to the voters and elections have been decided solely on the one question of "Independence." Social and economic grounds have not been advanced to show why one candidate should be elected and another rejected. With this preamble the politicians will always keep this one proposition before the public. Nothing will be definite, and economic progress will be forgotten. Worse than all, the preamble does not tend to establish confidence, either on the part of the Filipinos or Americans.

2. Appointments of an American Governor General should not be ratified by the Filipino Senate. Too much trading and holding up of appointments will be the inevitable result.

3. The Filipino Senate should be appointive for at least two terms. In this way the best elements could be selected for the upper house, and the machinery of government placed into action with the least difficulty. Rules could be inaugurated and precedents established by intelligent men without radical political influence. A further provision should follow, so that only a portion of the senate would be elected until the people had become fully developed for assuming proper control.

4. There should be a further provision that as long as American sovereignty continues the majority of the supreme court of the islands should be Americans. The appointment to the supreme court rests with the President of the United States, and at present a majority of the supreme court is American, but the removal of this majority is an act that should take place coincident with the removal of American sovereignty; it would be much easier to conceive of a Governor General being a Filipino than the majority of the last court of appeal.

5. Owing to the expense of living, and the long distance from the United States, the Governor General's salary should be raised from \$18,000 to \$25,000. A clause might be added that if a resident of the Philippine Islands was ever appointed, that the salary should be reduced automatically to \$18,000.

6. The bill should also stipulate a commission form of Government for the city of Manila. For many years to come Manila will be the only city of the islands where there will be a large population of Americans and Europeans. It is the capital, the residence of foreign consuls, and the main port of entry. Hygiene and sanitation are important factors. A commission governing Manila will result in the least friction and the greatest efficiency, and will be a guarantee of conservative government.

7. Provision should be made for the discharge of the American part of the civil service two years after the passage of the bill. This would give warning to a faithful, deserving, efficient body of Americans.

8. A legislature consisting of 24 senators and 90 representatives will be too great a representation for the small electoral vote and will be too heavy a drain on a small treasury balance. The bill should prescribe a maximum 16 senators and 50 representatives.

9. Immigration laws should be delegated to the Philippine Legislature. There is no necessity, as with the United States, to isolate the Philippine Islands from her neighboring countries. On page 6, line 27, omit "And to immigration into the Philippines."

We will hear the Resident Commissioner from the Philippine Islands.

Will you please state, Mr. Quezon, how long you have been Commissioner from the Philippines?

STATEMENT OF HON. MANUEL L. QUEZON, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. QUEZON. I have been Commissioner since December, 1909.

The CHAIRMAN. Who elected you?

Mr. QUEZON. The Philippine Legislature, which is composed of the Philippine Assembly and the Philippine Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. And under the present organic act each body must unite in such election?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; each house voting separately. When I was elected the first time I received 62 votes in the assembly as against 4 of my opponent, and every vote in the commission. The second time, I was unanimously elected by each house.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you been a public man in the Philippines before you were chosen Commissioner?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; immediately after leaving the university I practiced law for several months; then I was appointed provincial fiscal (prosecuting attorney) of Mindoro and later of Tayabas, which position I resigned to practice law again in Lucena, the capital of my Province. Here I was elected municipal counsel; that is, a member of the municipal government. Then I was elected provincial governor of Tayabas. Subsequently, I was elected to the first Philippine Assembly for the first district of that Province; and after serving my term was elected Resident Commissioner.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. QUEZON. Between 34 and 35 years.

Senator WEEKS. When you speak of leaving a university, to what university did you refer?

Mr. QUEZON. To the University of Santo Tomas, where I received my university education. I have not been educated abroad nor have I entered American schools in the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. That university is in Manila, is it?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; it is a university that was founded in the sixteenth century, and has been teaching law for three centuries.

The CHAIRMAN. How large an institution is it?

Mr. QUEZON. Under the Spanish régime, it was the only university, and therefore it had several thousand students. It taught law, medicine, philosophy, theology, pharmacy, and mechanics.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it still in existence?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; it is still in existence.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us any idea of its present size, and the number that attend it?

Mr. QUEZON. I am not quite sure as to the number of its attendance; but I think the figures given before this committee the other day, of about 5,000 students, are about right. The university is now of a higher standard than it was during the Spanish régime. It has improved both in the teaching force and in its means.

The CHAIRMAN. You are acquainted, then, with the members of the assembly who have been elected by the people?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What class of people are the members of the assembly?

Mr. QUEZON. Some of them are farmers; most of them are lawyers; whether fortunately or unfortunately, I think that is the case in every legislature; others are doctors of medicine; a few are college professors; and a few others have been elected by the labor vote.

Senator WALSH. By what?

Mr. QUEZON. By the labor vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Quezon, will you give the committee briefly an outline history of your life, stating where you were born and how you developed into a public man, and so on.

Mr. QUEZON. I was born in the town of Baler, in the Province of Tayabas, Island of Luzon. It is situated about here [indicating on map the southeastern part of Luzon]. This town is practically isolated. We can go to Manila by water, in which case we have to go by boat to Atimonan, and from there to Manila by land; or we can go all the way by land, crossing the mountains between Baler and Pantabangan, which is the nearest town.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was your father?

Mr. QUEZON. My father was the school-teacher of Baler.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he a full-blooded Filipino?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your mother also of native Filipino blood?

Mr. QUEZON. No; my mother's father was a Spaniard.

The CHAIRMAN. So that you have some Caucasian blood?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there many of the public men of the Philippines who have some Caucasian blood like yourself?

Mr. QUEZON. Not so many to-day as when the American Government was first established in the Philippines. At that time, for instance, the first three Filipino commissioners—I am speaking of the Philippine Commission now—were all of Spanish blood—Mr. Legarda, Dr. Tavera, and Mr. Luzriaga. But to-day, out of the five Filipino commissioners, Mr. Palma is the only one who has, I think, a little Spanish blood.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your father a man of any means?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; he was a small farmer, with about 30 acres of land. The town of Baler has no wealthy people; it has but 1,500 inhabitants.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he was a teacher also?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that he had some education?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you first come to go to school and where did you go?

Mr. QUEZON. I went to the public school in my home town. The reason why I emphasized the geographic position of my town is to call to the attention of the committee that even in that small, isolated place, in my time, there were already public schools—one for boys and the other for girls—a fact that is not well understood here.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. QUEZON. That must have been about 1885.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to a public school in your native town in about 1885?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you stay in that school?

Mr. QUEZON. I stayed in that school about three years. When I was 9 years old my father sent me to Manila, where I went to the College of San Juan de Letran and studied there five years. My expenses in college were too much for my father, so that by the time I was through college he had spent the little means that he had, and was no longer able to pay the expenses for my university education, so that I had to work in order to finish my career. I worked and studied law at the University of Santo Tomas until the revolution broke out. Then, like many other students, I left the university and joined the Filipino army and fought for two years; then I was made prisoner of war and put in jail for about six months.

After I was free I fell sick with malaria for one year, and after I got well I went to work again to finish my career. I made about \$12.50 a month as a clerk in one of the banking houses in Manila until I finished my studies as a lawyer.

In April, 1903, I was admitted to the bar and began at once to practice law. Six months thereafter I was appointed prosecuting attorney for Mindoro and then for Tayabas. What happened later I have already told the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the assembly are there who, like yourself, have some Caucasian blood?

Mr. QUEZON. Of the present assembly I know of only one; Mr. Revira, from Negros.

The CHAIRMAN. There are not very many and have not been very many men elected to the Philippine Assembly who are of Caucasian blood or mixed blood, but most are of pure blood?

Mr. QUEZON. There were more in the first assembly than there are to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of those men in the assembly are graduates of some college?

Mr. QUEZON. All of them.

The CHAIRMAN. All of them?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then it is the man of education who comes to the front and goes to the legislature in the Philippines?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; more than the man of great means.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have their public meetings and things of that kind?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; they have big public meetings.

Senator CRAWFORD. I did not quite understand what you said a moment ago. You say it is not the man of means?

Mr. QUEZON. I mean it is not the rich but the educated man; in other words, there is no plutocracy in the Philippines.

Senator KENYON. Do they have torchlight processions and bands and things of that kind in their campaigns?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; they do in Manila; in the Provinces they do not make so much noise.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Quezon, you have seen all the changes that have occurred in the Philippine Islands. Can you tell the committee, in a condensed way, what the changes are which have taken place since American occupation of the islands?

Senator WALSH. Let us first inquire, Mr. Chairman, what they were before the beginning of the revolution against Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; and then how the conditions have changed since that time.

Senator WALSH. Yes; they had first the old quiet Spanish dominion; and then the period of political agitation and revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; just give us the changes that have taken place since you were born, Mr. Quezon, under the Spanish régime.

Mr. QUEZON. Under the Spanish régime the government we had in the Philippines was partly civil and partly ecclesiastical. I say partly ecclesiastical in that the Catholic Church, which was the state church, took a prominent part in the affairs of the government. In fact, the Spanish Government relied mainly upon the influence of the friars who were in charge of the parishes to keep the allegiance of the people to its sovereignty. It is a remarkable fact, Mr. Chairman, that during the 300 years of Spanish régime there were practically no Spanish soldiers to speak of in the Philippines until the insurrection of 1896 broke out. The friar who was at the head of the parish was some sort of an inspector, advisor, and supervisor of the municipal governments as well as of the public schools. In the general government of the islands the archbishop and the provincials of the religious orders were the advisers of the Governor General, and their advice was not frequently unheeded.

So far as the condition of the natives before the law is concerned, there was no difference between a Spaniard and a Filipino. The definition of a Spaniard given in the Civil Code applied equally to the native Filipino. The only suggestion of difference in this respect was to be found in one section of the penal code, which provided that the circumstance of the offender being a native should be considered as mitigating or aggravating, in the discretion of the court.

In my opinion, this provision of the law was written with good purpose—that is to say, in order to give the courts a chance to take advantage of this section to impose a lesser penalty upon the defendant when it appeared that he did not have full conception of the gravity of the crime he had committed. It would seem that the theory upon which this provision is based is the theory that every foreign government takes; to wit, that the native people are always of a lower civilization than the citizens of the governing country. It was supposed that the native did not have the privilege of education, and this lack of the privilege or opportunity for education was taken into consideration in measuring his criminal responsibility.

Senator LIPPITT. What is that you say—the privilege of what?

Mr. QUEZON. The privilege of education, and therefore he is supposed not to have a full realization of his acts; consequently, instead of punishing him as much as would be the case were he a white man, he would be punished less.

On the other hand, I think that this section of the code was availed of when the crime was against the State, to impose a heavier penalty against the native.

Senator REED. It was heavier than it would be against the Spaniard?

Mr. QUEZON. I should think so.

Senator REED. What class of crimes is it that you first spoke of where the penalty was made lighter on the Filipinos?

Mr. QUEZON. There are no special crimes. The section of the penal code of which I am speaking simply says that the courts may take into consideration the circumstance of the offender being a native for the imposition of heavier or lighter penalties. So that whatever the nature of the crime the court may in each case consider the condition of being a native.

Senator REED. In palliation?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes; in mitigation or in palliation.

Senator REED. I see.

Mr. QUEZON. This is in so far as the condition before the law of the natives of the Philippines as compared with the Spaniards is concerned. I said that the law made little or no discrimination between them.

Now, as to our government. There was the central government, which was called *gobierno general* (general government); the government of each Province, which was called *gobierno civil* (civil government); and the government of each town, or local governments. These local governments were constituted purely by native officials, but neither their powers nor their constitution was similar to our present municipal governments. The local government was, prior to the Maura reform, composed of the *gobernadorcillo*, *tenientes*, *alguaciles*, and *cabezas de barangay*. The *gobernadorcillo* was the mayor, so to say; the *tenientes* and *alguaciles*, some sort of delegates of the *gobernadorcillo*; and the *cabeza de barangay*, the collector of taxes. The number of *cabezas de barangay* was in proportion to the number of the population, each *cabeza* being assigned to collect taxes from a certain number of people. The treasurer of the Province knew how much taxes each *cabeza* had to collect, and it made no difference whether he collected the taxes from the people or not he had to ingress in the provincial treasury that amount. If the taxpayer died or moved away after the period for collecting the taxes began, the *cabeza* had to pay from his pocket the tax that said people should have paid. In other words, at the beginning of a tax collection the *cabeza* was, as it were, told, "You must hand in 150 pesos," and the *cabeza* had to hand in that amount.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is a very simple way of collecting taxes.

Senator LIPPITT. What happened to the people he was to collect the taxes from if they did not pay?

Mr. QUEZON. The people, as a rule, paid the tax.

Senator LIPPITT. But suppose one of them moved away from the town, as you suggested?

Mr. QUEZON. If one of them moved away, the *cabeza de barangay* had to pay the tax anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. What power did he have to collect the payment of the taxes?

Mr. QUEZON. I think he could have them arrested, and put them to work on the road.

Senator KENYON. How could they compel the *cabeza* to hold the job? [Laughter.]

Mr. QUEZON. Of course, it was one of the hardest jobs under the Spanish régime; but the people had to take it whether they wanted to or not, because the Government, I think, always found some way of compelling the man to take it. But usually it was a job that a man went into with some money, and left without having a cent.

Senator SHAFROTH. What was his compensation?

Mr. QUEZON. Nothing. [Laughter.]

Senator LIPPITT. You say he went in rich and came out poor? [Laughter.]

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; that was usually the case with the cabeza de barangay.

Senator CRAWFORD. You say he had to turn in 150 pesos a month, for example; would he not sometimes, in that case, collect 250 pesos?

Mr. QUEZON. Oh, the taxpayer knew how much he had to pay and the poor cabeza could not collect from him any more than that.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did he have to hold his office? [Laughter.]

Mr. QUEZON. Two years.

Senator REED. There was no trouble about having those men confirmed, was there? [Laughter.]

Mr. QUEZON. There was this advantage to the man who held this job, that after several years' service he was to be gobernadorcillo or capitan municipal—that is, what you call, here, mayor; so that if a man had the ambition of becoming a mayor he simply had to hold that job and pay out of his pockets the taxes that he was unable to collect from taxpayers.

Senator REED. It was a sort of campaign assessment, was it?

Senator CRAWFORD. That is the only country I ever heard of where, as a practical matter of fact, the office had to seek the man instead of the man seeking the office. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. That was on the principle of an outside power coming into a country and taking one of the citizens of that country and holding him as a kind of hostage, to compel the community to pay its taxes, was it not?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was something that Spain imposed on the Philippines, I suppose.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes; although the name and institution of the whole thing was done by Spain. Barangay was among the oldest native institutions founded by Spain in the Philippines. This whole system was changed back in 1893 by the liberal minister of Spain, Maura, who established municipal governments of a more autonomous character.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the municipal government still responsible to the central government, so that it had to account for all taxes collected for local purposes?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; since the Governor General was ex officio the president of all municipal governments. This system of that accountability to the central government is still, more or less, the system now in vogue in the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. That was just a continuation of that system was it?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes.

Senator REED. Well, it was not a bad system, was it?

Mr. QUEZON. If I may express my own personal opinion, I will say that I do not think it is altogether a bad system; it may be improved in its details, but the system is not bad; it gives efficient government.

Senator REED. I referred to the matter of taxes alone in my question. I am glad to have your opinion as broad as you want to make it; but in the matter of collecting taxes, as I understood you, after this reform or liberal government came in, they gave a greater degree of autonomy to the municipalities?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. Nevertheless, in collecting taxes for the imperial government, the imperial government did it through the municipalities; is that correct?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And that is what I asked about it; that that was not a bad system; it was not oppressive in any way, was it?

Mr. QUEZON. I believe it was a good system.

Senator REED. Now, you say they gave autonomy to the cities; do you mean by that that they had complete control of all matters, civil or criminal, or that they simply had the right to run what we ordinarily term the municipal affairs—the affairs of the municipality?

Mr. QUEZON. That is all.

Senator REED. Outside of that, the laws of Spain governed, as the laws of a State may govern in this country?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; and it is the same to-day, in that the municipal governments have no right to pass laws, but only the insular government.

Senator REED. It is the same. And is there any complaint of the system, as a whole, and not speaking of any particular parts of it?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir.

Senator REED. The system is sound, is it, although there may be some particular things in it that the people complain of or would want to change?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes; that is correct.

Senator REED. In reference to the time when the reform minister came in, were any of the hardships that had been imposed on these tax collectors mitigated?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes; the local governments were better.

Senator REED. Was there any real oppression there by Spain that you can practically point out to us?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. But as I want to be fair—

Senator REED (interposing). We want you to be fair.

Mr. QUEZON. As I want to be fair I shall have to give an elaborate answer to that question.

Senator REED. I want you to be fair; I want to know the truth; I do not want to know one side only.

Mr. QUEZON. My opinion is that while there has been oppression in the Philippines during Spanish régime, we can not altogether blame therefor the Spanish Government as such. I believe that the Spanish Government, or rather the Spanish Nation as a nation, tried to do by the Filipinos as best it could, and that all the time it thought that its policy and administration in the Philippines was in the interest of the Filipino people.

The early law enacted by the Spanish Crown, known as the "Ley de Indias," shows the fatherly interest of the Crown in the natives of the islands. This was a wonderful law from a paternalistic point of view. The attitude of the Government was that of a guardian

toward its minor who could not take care of himself. This law demonstrates that the Spanish Government did not want to exploit the Filipinos, but to promote their welfare. Everybody here knows that the main purpose of the occupation, or the conquest, of the Philippines by Spain, was to bring to the Islands the Catholic religion; the main thing in the mind of Philip the Second was the extension of Catholicism.

Therefore, the occupation of the Philippines having been originally, as it were, a religious enterprise, the attitude of Spain toward the islands always had a sort of religious motive behind it. This is in so far as Spain itself is concerned; but when we analyze the conduct of the administration in the Philippines, it is a different question.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Spain derive any revenue out of the islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; I shall come to that later. I wish now to say something about the government we had in the islands. As a system, that government was doubtless a bad government, but we can excuse Spain for this because nobody can give more than he has; and we all know that Spain itself had, at that time at least, a poor system of government. So that she just transplanted to the Philippine Islands the wrongs of her own system. Our just cause for complaint is in the conduct of Spaniards who were in charge of the government of the Philippine Islands, who, as a general proposition, were not good men.

Of course there were a few exceptions; indeed we had a few governors general who are considered by the Filipinos themselves as entitled to their gratitude. But, as a general proposition, we did not have good administrators in the Philippines; they made money out of the people in unlawful ways; and they executed the laws as best suited their own interests. They abused the natives and tried to keep them down. They thought—and I believe rightly, too—that the education of the natives would sooner or later mean a struggle for their freedom; and consequently, of their own accord they did not want to afford us general education. Public schools in the Philippines, which were established in the latter years of Spanish régime, have been the result of constant struggle on the part of the Filipinos themselves.

The church was the first entity in the Philippines that began to establish centers of education. At first some of these colleges were intended only for Filipinos who were sons of Spaniards. Later on native Filipinos who had means to pay for their education were admitted to these colleges.

Then the church also established seminaries for the purpose of preparing natives for the priesthood. Slowly and gradually these colleges increased in number, and accordingly the opportunity for education became greater. Even colleges for women were eventually established.

As the number of educated Filipinos increased they began to fight for the extension of education to the masses, through the free public schools, and I do not think it will be an overstatement to say that the root of the Filipino rebellion against Spain is to be found in this early struggle for popular education.

The CHAIRMAN. How many uprisings were there against Spanish rule during the 300 years of Spanish occupation?

Mr. QUEZON. I think there was only one real revolution for the purpose of driving Spain out of the islands—the rebellion of 1896; and I doubt very much whether, when first started, that revolution had for its purpose obtaining independence from Spain for the islands. This is a matter of controversy. The campaign for reforms which finally ended in the rebellion of 1896 did strive for independence. It was seeking the separation of the church and the state—the people did not want the friars to continue being the official agents of the government in the general governing of the Provinces and the municipalities. It also demanded more and better public schools, where the Spanish language would be actually taught, and more opportunity for the Filipinos to take part in the government of the Philippine Islands.

The failure to secure those reforms brought about the rebellion. The campaign for those reforms was really a peaceful campaign carried on by Filipinos in Spain and supported by Filipinos in Manila.

But the Spanish Government in the Philippines met this peaceful campaign by imprisoning those Filipinos in Manila who had or were thought to have some connection therewith, or putting them to death on the charge of sedition, or at least by sending them to exile, with the result that those who were engaged in that movement had to go to the mountains and fight rather than to allow themselves to be taken defenseless. As the persecution of these men reached their relatives and even complicated absolutely innocent people the number of those who took up arms became greater until the rebellion became general.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us an idea of just what the demands of the Filipinos were?

Mr. QUEZON. As I said before, they wanted the separation of the church and state.

The CHAIRMAN. What else did they demand?

Mr. QUEZON. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech, better and more extended education.

Senator CRAWFORD. And larger participation in their government?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; and larger participation in their government. With regard to education, they advocated the teaching of Spanish in the public schools. I want to bring up this point—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Let me interrupt you for a moment. Why could not they provide their own education, when they controlled their own municipalities, you say?

Mr. QUEZON. Because the system of education was really controlled by the central government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Mr. QUEZON. The Filipinos asked that in the public schools Spanish be taught. You may be astonished to hear that, because it seems to be the policy of all conquering nations to teach to the conquered people their own tongue. But in the Philippines, Spain—or I do not care to say Spain, because I do not think it was the fault of the Government of Spain, but the Spaniards in the Philippines—resisted the teaching of Spanish to the Filipinos. In the public schools the pupils were taught how to read and write their own native dialects, some mathematics, little geography, catechism, etc.

Senator WEEKS. Will you explain to the committee why it was that the Filipinos lived for 300 years without insurrection under these restricted Spanish laws which prevailed, and then when the liberal law was passed in 1893, which had for its purpose the bettering of conditions of the Filipinos, within three years they were in insurrection?

Mr. QUEZON. Senator Weeks, I shall be glad to explain that. In the first place, it is necessary to understand that the Maura reform was of a very restricted character. It affected only the system of local government, and rather more in form than in fact. In so far as personal liberties and rights were concerned this reform did not change things at all. Of course, in the campaign for reform that the Filipinos carried out, the liberalization of local governments was asked, but that was not all that they were asking for; so that the establishment of these more autonomous municipal governments, according to the Maura law, did not meet all, not even a substantial part, of the demands of the Filipinos. In so far as the general and provincial governments are concerned things did not change in the least.

The new law affected only the municipal affairs, without conferring political rights of a national character. Again, I think that the reason why the Filipinos, in spite of their bad government, did not revolt sooner is because during all the time they silently bore the abuses and wrongs of the Spanish Government there was no such thing as a Filipino people; the Filipinos living in different islands of the archipelago did not consider themselves bound together by a community of interest; they did not have any idea of what a "country" meant; they did not, in a word, have a consciousness of their own nationality.

Senator WEEKS. Is that not true to some degree now?

Mr. QUEZON. Not at all, Senator Weeks; not at all. If you will permit me, I shall elaborate upon that question later. I just want to finish my answer to your former question, as to why the Filipinos did not revolt sooner than they did. Of course the real reason for that was lack of the sentiment of nationality, and indifference to and tolerance of abuses due to the lack of education. Up to a few years prior to the Filipino rebellion there was little education among the people and they could not discriminate between a bad and a good government. Ignorant men who are born under an oppressive government grow so accustomed to it that they take its abuses as a matter of course. But as people become educated their eyes become, as it were, opened and they come to the realization of the oppression to which they are submitted. This is what happened in the Philippines. As the Filipinos were getting educated they began to look upon their country, not as a conglomeration of different islands inhabited by different people, but as a nation with a community of interests. This, of course, had the effect of creating national sentiment among the Filipinos. They began writing in criticism of the Spanish régime; they pointed out the rights of the people, the abuses of the government, and their books were eagerly read in the Philippines. Of course such books were not written in the Philippines; a man who would dare to write such books there at that time would have lost his life at once. They were written in Europe and sent to the Philippine

Islands; they were read by the educated people and their contents communicated to the masses of the people.

Senator LIPPITT (interposing). In what language were they written?

Mr. QUEZON. In the Spanish.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they written by Filipinos?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. You say they were communicated to the masses of the people?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; by the educated Filipinos. Nothing has done as much to spread the knowledge of the wrongs of the Spanish Government as the establishment of public schools. Those schools were found all over the archipelago; and, defective as they were, they served to give a little education to the common man, or rather to the children of the common man, so that their inevitable effect was to disseminate among the people everywhere the realization of the wrongs done them by the Spanish administrators and the idea of the Philippines being their country and the Spaniards being invaders. That, I believe, is the real cause of the Philippine rebellion.

But the rebellion would not have started as soon as it did, I think, had the campaign of the Filipino leaders advocating liberal reforms in the Philippine Islands not been met by the Spanish Government with imprisonment and death for those who were engaged in it.

I believe that to-day, perhaps, the Philippines would still belong to Spain—or, at any rate, you would not have found the Filipinos taking sides with the Americans in the Spanish-American War—if the Spanish Government had listened to the representations of the Filipinos who were advocating better government for the islands.

The one death that more than any other moved the people of the Philippine Islands to engage in a general revolution against Spain was that of Rizal. Rizal is the national idol of the Filipino people to-day; he lives in the heart of every Filipino; he was a Tagalog, by the way, but his picture is to be found in Visayan or Ilocano Provinces as well as in the Tagalog Provinces. Rizal was born in the town of Calamba.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that?

Mr. QUEZON (indicating on map). Right here, in the Province of Laguna.

The CHAIRMAN. That is near the city of Manila?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. He was educated in the Philippines, in a Jesuit college; when he was still a boy, I think he was about 14 years old, he got a prize for writing a poem, in competition with all the Spanish poets in the Philippines; but he did not finish his studies in Manila. He went to Spain and then to Germany to complete his education.

Senator CRAWFORD. He had some means, did he?

Mr. QUEZON. His father had some means, but he was not rich.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Rizal a pure-blood Filipino?

Mr. QUEZON. He was a pure-blood Filipino, except that it is said he had some Chinese ancestor several generations before. He was a doctor of medicine, an eye specialist, a linguist—he spoke almost every living and dead language of Europe—a poet and a novelist. He

wrote the one novel that, in my opinion, made the Filipino people a people.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that book?

Mr. QUEZON. "Noli me Tangere." It means, "Do not touch me." In this book, for the first time, the Filipinos saw in writing a statement of their defects and vices, as well as the defects and vices of the Spanish Government. Rizal had the unusual ability of telling his people their vices without offending them. Rizal did not confine himself to criticizing the Spanish régime and proposing remedies for its evils; he also criticized his own people and told them what to do to ameliorate their moral and intellectual condition.

While this book did not favor a separation from Spain, but, on the contrary, advised against any armed revolt, it was, in my opinion, the very book that created the sentiment of nationalism among the Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. He wrote that book in Europe, did he?

Mr. QUEZON. He wrote that book in Europe, but though its sale in the Philippines was prohibited by the Spanish Government it was secretly distributed among and read by the Filipinos.

Senator SHAFROTH. Was it in that book that Rizal said that in his travels he had found that civilization existed to the highest degree in that country where the most liberty was to be found?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. Although there was no seditious thought in "Noli me Tangere," for, as I said before, Rizal advised his people to be loyal to Spain, yet, simply because he criticized governmental affairs and the intervention of the friars therein, the possession of that book by a Filipino meant his imprisonment or exile, if not his death; but fear of these evils did not prevent the Filipinos from acquiring and reading it. He advocated the continuance of Spanish sovereignty.

Senator LIPPITT. What is that that he advocated?

Mr. QUEZON. He advocated the continuation of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. QUEZON. The book was published in 1886. Rizal never advocated revolution; he merely asked that the Spanish Government redress the wrongs done to the Filipino people.

From my point of view—and I suppose that a Spaniard who would read that book to-day would agree with me—"Noli me Tangere," even from the standpoint of the Spanish Government, was a patriotic book; it meant to strengthen Spanish sovereignty in the Philippine Islands by the grant of liberties to the people that would naturally secure their good will.

Senator WEEKS. And the Spanish Government proceeded to do some of the things that he advocated?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir.

Senator WEEKS. It did not?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; it did not.

Senator WEEKS. That is, the law of 1893 had nothing to do with what he advocated?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; the law of 1893 did not even attempt to cure the evils complained of by Rizal. In fact his book was at once declared irreligious, immoral, and seditious. Rizal, himself, being at that

time abroad, his relatives, his father and mother, sisters and brothers, and friends were made to suffer the persecution of the Government. Grieved at seeing that other people were suffering on his account, Rizal decided to return to the Philippine Islands and answer whatever charges there might be against him. Rizal was advised by his relatives and friends not to do this, but he would listen to no one, and having made up his mind to take the trip, efforts were made to secure from the Spanish governor general a promise that he would not be interfered with. This pledge was given, but no sooner had Rizal landed than he was exiled. This unjust and treacherous treatment of their great advocate made the Filipinos feel that there was no hope of securing anything from Spain by peaceful means. And some of the more impatient Filipinos thought that the time had come for an armed struggle. A secret organization was started for this purpose, but it could not go very far; the people at large were not ready; they did not want any revolution. The wealthy and educated Filipinos were in the immense majority against an uprising. The discovery of this secret organization, followed by the imprisonment and death of men not only actually engaged but suspected of being engaged in that organization, made some people decide to take up arms, and then the rebellion of 1896 started. As soon as the rebellion started, of which Rizal did not approve, he asked to be sent by the Spanish Government to Cuba as a physician in the army. Having been granted his request, Rizal sailed for Spain, but upon reaching there he was not allowed to land, and was brought back to the Philippines on the charge of sedition. On his arrival in Manila he was sent to Fort Santiago, and after being court-martialed was put to death.

Senator CRAWFORD. You say that Rizal was going to Cuba?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator CRAWFORD. But he did not go there, and they did not take him to Spain?

Mr. QUEZON. They took him to Spain, but he was not allowed to land there; they sent him back to the Philippines, and when he got back he was court-martialed and put to death.

Senator CRAWFORD. And that inflamed the zeal of the Philippine people, did it?

Mr. QUEZON. It inflamed the zeal of the people all over the islands. The death of Rizal made the uprising a national rebellion.

Senator KENYON. In what year was Rizal put to death?

Mr. QUEZON. On the 30th of December, 1896. That day is now a national holiday in the islands.

Senator CRAWFORD. That in itself created a national feeling among the people, did it?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir. And then the general rebellion against Spain consolidated that sentiment of nationality. Practically everybody took part in that war. It was not the educated or the rich men alone—not even mainly. It was the farmer—the laborer—all over the archipelago.

Senator REED. That is, the men that it is proposed in this bill not to allow to vote?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; some of them are, unfortunately, denied the right to vote under this bill. And then—whether wisely or unwisely, I do not care to say, but believing they were right—the Filipinos

resisted the extension of the sovereignty of the United States over the islands. In this gigantic resistance, where the Filipinos everywhere united, the sense of oneness, of community of interest, was made stronger. Since that time anything like provincialism has disappeared in the Philippine Islands. Tagalog soldiers were fighting with Visayan soldiers in the Visayan Provinces and Visayan soldiers were fighting with the Tagalog soldiers in the Tagalog Provinces.

Senator REED. What caused the Filipinos to rise against this Government? I am not asking you to take sides, but what was the theory of that?

Mr. QUEZON. Well, we did not believe that we rose against this Government at all; we think that you tried to conquer the Philippines, and we resisted it.

Senator REED. You wanted Spain driven out?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; and to have an independent Philippine government.

Senator REED. And then you wanted to have your own independent government. And then when you found this Government asserting its sovereignty—

Mr. QUEZON (interposing). We resisted it.

Senator REED (continuing). You resisted it?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. So that the resistance to this Government was based solely on the desire of the Philippine people—

Mr. QUEZON (interposing). To be independent.

Senator REED (continuing). To be independent?

Senator SHAFROTH. And it was the same impulse that caused them to rise against Spain?

Senator REED. Did they believe that they would be oppressed by this Government, as they had been by Spain? Was that the general idea—or did they stop to reason much about it?

Mr. QUEZON. I do not believe, Senator, that they thought of that. I believe they only knew that they wanted to be governed by themselves, and—

Senator CRAWFORD (interposing). They did not want to be governed by strangers?

Mr. QUEZON. By strangers. And in connection with that I think I might add this: That the cessation of the armed struggle in the Philippines was not altogether due to the success of the American Army. Of course, the American Army was strong enough to wipe the Philippines off the map; but, admitting this, I believe that that was not the only cause that brought about the absolute peace that there is in the Philippine Islands to-day. It was also due (and credit must be given to Mr. Taft for that) to the conduct of the American civil authorities at that time and mainly to the fact that the Filipinos understood as they had been told by the first representatives of the United States in the Philippine Islands, that your Government there was not to be permanent; it was only temporary; it was only for the purpose of helping the Filipinos themselves to get on their feet and establish a government of their own. This announcement of your purpose has contributed more than anything else, I believe, to the present peaceful conditions in the Philippine Islands.

Senator REED. The Filipino is beginning to be convinced that this Government does not—

Senator WALSH (interposing). No; he refers to the cessation of hostilities now.

Senator REED. Well, you referred to the fact that they stopped fighting?

Mr. QUEZON. They stopped fighting.

Senator REED. That they became gradually convinced, or at least to a degree convinced, that this Government did not intend to permanently impose its power on them?

Mr. QUEZON. I think they were lately convinced of that.

Senator REED. Lately?

Mr. QUEZON. I mean, not immediately after the war against the United States started; but as the war progressed and Filipino officers were captured and nicely treated by the Americans and were informed of the purpose of the United States, they came to believe in this statement. Of course, most of the officers went to jail as prisoners of war, but even in jail they were, as a rule, well treated. As I said before, I was in jail myself for about six months—and for about a month I was better off in that jail than I would have been if I had been out. [Laughter.]

Senator REED. Were you in the rebellion?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; I fought for two years.

Senator REED. You fought against Spain; but did you go into the rebellion against the United States?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; for two years.

Senator REED. Did you go into the rebellion against Spain, too?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; I did not.

Senator REED. You did not join the rebellion until the United States occupied the islands?

Mr. QUEZON. No; I was too young when the rebellion against Spain first broke out; I was not old enough to carry a gun.

Senator REED. Were you a private, or were you an officer in the Filipino army?

Mr. QUEZON. I enlisted as a private, but I was commissioned second lieutenant in about seven days, I think; then I was gradually promoted until I became a major. I was a major when I was imprisoned.

Now, during the time that Mr. Taft was in the Philippine Islands, his policy of "The Philippines for the Filipinos" did a great deal to convince the Filipinos that this Government intended to teach them in the arts of self-government, and that whenever they could show that they were capable of governing themselves they would be given independence. A few years later the Filipino people began to doubt again the intentions of the United States, because they did not think that the promises of gradual self-government were being carried out.

And if I may say so frankly, I am afraid that if this Congress should fail to pass this bill that its failure may cause a very pronounced distrust on the part of the Filipino people.

The CHAIRMAN. This administration has carried self-government further than ever before by giving the Filipinos a majority of the upper legislative body, called the "Commission."

Mr. QUEZON. And the effect of that, Mr. Chairman, to-day is this: If you had a war to-day you would have every Filipino fighting for you. Now, I do not know that I could have said the same thing if you had had a war three years ago.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is, in case of invasion by a foreign country?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; to-day you would have every Filipino fighting for you.

Senator WALSH. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be allowed to go on and answer your original question, to review the progress of the Philippine Islands.

Senator CRAWFORD. Their development and education, and so on?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; the committee would like to get an expression from you as to the changes that have come about during your own life, in education, in commerce, in politics, and in the general condition of the people.

Senator CRAWFORD. And public improvements and everything.

Senator LIPPITT. You say a few years ago the Filipino people were convinced that we meant to give them independent government?

Mr. QUEZON. Up to four or five years ago.

Senator LIPPITT. But to-day they are in doubt?

Mr. QUEZON. No; not to-day. I do not want to make a definite statement as to dates, because I do not want even indirectly to single out any administration as being responsible for the change of attitude on the part of the Filipino people toward the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. I am talking about the change among the Filipino people.

Mr. QUEZON. I say that during the first few years, immediately following the war against the United States, the conduct of the Philippine Government was such as to make the Filipinos believe that you really were there temporarily, submitting to a trial their capacity for self-government, and upon their capacity being shown meant to give them independence. Later on, because of certain things that happened, they began to change their opinion on this score. In the first place, they did not believe the promises of Philippinization of the service were being carried out as they should be, and they took this as indication that there was a change of policy on the part of the Government; then certain things were done by the Philippine Government that they believed, whether so intended or not, would bring about the permanent annexation of the Philippine Islands by the United States.

Since President Wilson sent Gov. Gen. Harrison to the Philippine Islands with the instruction to inform the Filipino people, on behalf of this Nation, that your policy is to grant the Philippines independence by gradually extending to the people, step by step, more and more powers in their government; and since that announcement has been followed by action through the appointment of a majority of Filipinos in the Philippine Commission, the Filipino people, more than ever before, are to-day convinced that your reiterated promise of independence would be carried out. Of course we know that the President of the United States is not the Government of the United States, and that, in so far as the policy of this Government is concerned, it is really for the Congress to determine what it should be;

for this reason we expect Congress to confirm the policy of the President by enacting this bill.

Senator LIPPITT. The only point I was leading up to is: Why it is that you think that three years ago they would not have fought for this country, and now you think they would fight for us, if, three years ago, they were more convinced that we would grant them independence than they are now?

Mr. QUEZON. No; on the contrary, three years ago they were not so convinced.

Senator LIPPITT. Oh, then I misunderstood you. I got the wrong impression of what you said before; I thought you said they were in doubt now.

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; quite the contrary. The policy of the present administration, both at Washington and in the islands, had the effect of reassuring the Filipino people that the policy of the Government, as announced to them since the early days of your occupation, will be unflinchingly carried out.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean now that they have come back to the original view?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. I see.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will give us that short review, Mr. Quezon, we would like to know the changes that have come about in the Philippine Islands within your own lifetime.

Mr. QUEZON. I think I have spoken in a general way about the government under Spain.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what changes have there been in education?

Senator REED. You have told us about the condition of the public schools and the condition of the people under the Spanish Government.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator REED. And you had just got up to the revolution, and told us the causes of the revolution, ending with a description on your part of the patriot Rizal, and how that led to a national feeling among the Filipinos.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes; this awakening of the Filipinos into a consciousness of themselves as a people is, in my opinion, the event of the greatest moment which has taken place in my lifetime. I should like to refer the committee to the map [indicating map on wall] in explaining what I am about to say.

This is the map of the Philippine Islands. All the natives inhabiting these islands from the northernmost to the southernmost part, with the exception of a few thousand Negritos, are racially the same; those 5,000 or 10,000 Negritos are located here [indicating on map] in the mountains of Luzon. With regard to their religion and civilization, there are some differences among them. In their religion they are divided into Christian and non-Christians. The non-Christian Filipinos are composed of the Moros or Mohammedans and the pagans. The Moros live in the Sulu Archipelago and in this part of Mindanao [indicating on map]. The pagans live in the interior of northern Luzon, and few of them in Mindanao and certain of the smaller islands.

Many people in this country have the idea that only Moros live in Mindanao. That is not true. In Mindanao, which is one of our

biggest islands—it is said to be as large as Luzon, if not larger—there are as many Filipinos as there are Moros, except that the Filipinos live mainly in the eastern part of the island and the Moros in the center and in the south. But even in territories mostly occupied by Moros there are towns inhabited by Filipinos; for instance, Davao, Cottabato, etc.

Going back to the point I was trying to make: According to the census there are about 600,000 of these non-Christians. Three hundred thousand are Moros and about 300,000 pagans, the former inhabiting Jolo and part of Mindanao and the latter in the so-called Mountain Province.

The CHAIRMAN. In the island of Luzon?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; in the island of Luzon.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is, those are the non-Christians?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; the non-Christians.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is, about a half a million non-Christians altogether in the islands?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, about that; although Mr. Dean C. Worcester says that there are over 1,000,000 of them. But I do not care to go into a controversy about it; I take the figures given by the Philippine census, which give the non-Christian as one-eighth of the total population of the islands.

Senator CRAWFORD. And the rest of the one-eighth of the population, aside from the Moros, we will call "pagan"?

Senator LIPPITT. That is, aside from the Mohammedans.

Mr. QUEZON. Yes. The rest are Catholics.

Senator REED. Let us get this clear: One-eighth of the population of the Philippine Islands is non-Christian, and a part of that is Mohammedan, and a part you denominate as "pagan"?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. The great bulk of the non-Christian people are Mohammedans?

Mr. QUEZON. I think there is about an equal number of Mohammedans and pagans.

The CHAIRMAN. But you say that racially they are all the same?

Mr. QUEZON. Racially all the Filipinos, whether Christian or non-Christian, with the exception of the negritos, are the same—Malays.

Senator REED. Is there not a great difference, however, in the physical type of characteristics of the people of Mindanao and the Filipinos of Luzon?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; I do not believe there is; I do not think you could distinguish between a Moro and a Christian Filipino, if they were dressed alike; even a man who has been living among the Moros could never pick out a Moro from another Filipino. And that is, of course, more true with regard to the Christian Filipinos inhabiting different parts of the archipelago; there is no difference between them.

Now, in so far as their civilization is concerned, the Christian Filipinos have a much higher civilization. There are very few that I should call really uncivilized people in the Philippine Islands, the Negritos, Igorrotes, etc., because many of the pagans are not uncivilized altogether. They have homes and farms, and live peacefully. The Moros, in my opinion, are not uncivilized; they profess the Mohammedan religion, and have an oriental civilization. But

there is no question that these non-Christians are backward people. As to the Christian—the seven-eighths of the population—anybody who knows their intimate life will confirm the statement that they constitute a homogeneous people in their religion, civilization, costumes, ideals, and do constitute a people in the strict sense of the word. Their oneness as a people is clearly seen in the conduct of the assembly. The Philippine Assembly is constituted of men elected from all parts of the archipelago. There are Ilocanos, Tagalogs, Visayans, as they are denominated, from the name of the several Provinces. Since the inauguration of that body there has been no case where the members of the assembly have voted on any question on provincial lines. Whenever there has been a national question at stake the members of the assembly have voted like one man; the fact that one member was a Tagalog and another a Visayan never affected their deliberations or votes.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is that because of the individuality of these people and their coming to a conclusion as reasoning individuals; or is it because they blindly follow the educated men who go out and tell them, "We want you to unite on such and such a proposition"?

Mr. QUEZON. In order to be accurate in my answer, I should like, Senator, to know exactly what you mean by your question—

Senator CRAWFORD (interposing). Well, I have this in mind: You are here telling us of the development and condition of those people—and to me it is thrilling, it is fascinating and intensely interesting; but suppose you go down to Mindanao; you go there into the interior of the island; and you have represented them; and you tell them, "We should do so and so"; I can imagine that their opinion of you is such that they would not ask any questions about it; they would all agree absolutely, by the thousand, with what you said.

Now, is it that, or is it also true that they do, personally, as individuals, appreciate and possess this knowledge of fact and bring the support of reason to them, that has caused them to be thus united?

Mr. QUEZON. As I understand, you want to know how the masses follow their leaders, whether they follow them blindly or after exercising their individual judgment. Of course there are in the Philippines, as in every other country, very ignorant men. And when I say "very ignorant," I do not mean necessarily the illiterate, since there are illiterate people who are not ignorant, because they have natural ability. When I say ignorant I mean those who have very little, if any, sense at all, who are to be found in every country. Such people as these do not have enough intelligence to reason one way or the other on important public questions. But outside of this class of people, who are the exception among the average men, even the illiterate Filipino, the laborer, the poor man, uses his own judgment, and does not do what he is told to do, simply because some educated compatriot of his said so. They do what they think is right. I could illustrate what I mean in this way: I can assure you that, although I am to-day one of the strongest Filipinos in the popular estimation in the islands, if I went to my people and told them that we should not have independence, I do not think I could get followers anywhere from one end to the other of the

archipelago. In advocating independence, I am not only doing what I believe in, but what my people command me to advocate.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us an idea of what the political issues are in the Philippines?

Mr. QUEZON. The political parties of the Philippines have undergone somewhat of a change. Immediately after the first year of the war with the United States was over there was organized one political party in the Philippine Islands and for a few years it was the only political party—the “Federal” party. That party was in part composed of people who, as in other countries, take the side of the conqueror and get offices from the conqueror. There were also Filipinos in this party who belonged to it because they believed it was best for the Philippines that the United States should permanently annex the islands. The Federal Party was in favor of annexation. Although this party was unpopular, no party advocating independence was organized until the Philippine Assembly was about to be established. This was not because the Government prohibited the organization of such a party nor because there was any law against it, but because the governor general, and I think President Taft will admit it, did not think it was wise at that time to give free rein to discussions about independence, since the revolution was so recent.

Senator REED. So recent?

Mr. QUEZON. So recent, and the wounds on both sides being so fresh. Gov. Taft thought that the talk of independence might cause some trouble. Therefore he advised those who consulted with him that it was better for the interests of peace (and everybody was interested in peace) which meant the interests of the Filipino people themselves, that they should wait; and they did wait. In this way the Federal Party, until about 1904, was practically the only political party in the Philippines. As I said, this party was mainly composed of officeholders; and it advocated the permanent annexation of the Philippines to the United States to become a State of the Union. It is a singular thing that even this pro-American party aimed at the freedom of the Philippines by demanding for her the sovereignty of a State of the Union. No party ever favored a colonial system of government for the islands.

About one year prior to the inauguration of the assembly another party was organized, the Nationalist Party and the Federal Party, knowing that it could not secure the indorsement of the people for its program or platform, and knowing also that it could not find a single advocate in the United States for its proposition, changed its platform and advocated independence, but independence along the lines of President Taft's policy; that is to say, it asserted that it was best for the Philippines that the United States should remain there for an indefinite period of time in order to prepare the people for self-government. The party also changed in name and was called the Progressive Party. The Nationalist Party on the other hand declared itself for immediate independence, asserting that the Filipino people had both the right and the capacity to govern themselves.

The first election for the Philippine Assembly was fought on this issue. The voter was asked to say whether he wanted to remain

under the United States for an indefinite period of time, believing that the country was not as yet capable of self-government; or whether he thought he could govern himself, and that therefore he should be given independence as soon as possible. The answer of the voters was to send to the Philippine Assembly 65 Nationalists and 15 Progressivists.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that election?

Mr. QUEZON. That was in the election of 1907. To-day I do not believe there is much difference among the Filipinos with regard to independence. And I say this, because I have been unanimously elected by the assembly with the mandate to work for independence as soon as it could be secured.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any Progressivist Party there still?

Mr. QUEZON. Yes, sir; it still has about 15 members in the assembly, but the party no longer stands for an indefinite postponement of independence.

The CHAIRMAN. In what respect then do the parties differ?

Mr. QUEZON. The political parties in the Philippines to-day are somewhat like the political parties in the South, where everybody is a Democrat, but they have their own alignments among themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Then there is no essential difference between them now?

Mr. QUEZON. There is no essential difference now; they all advocate independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, are there any questions that come up in the assembly that bring about any distinct lines of difference in policy?

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, you will agree with me, that in view of the limited powers granted to the Philippine Assembly by the organic act of the Philippine Islands, there can be no question of domestic policy that can divide the members of the Philippine Assembly. About the only thing they can do is to pass appropriation bills for schools, public improvements, and the support of the government. As to schools and public improvements, everybody is for them; and as to the expenses of the government, everybody advocates less expenditures and more efficiency.

Senator LIPPITT. Before election? [Laughter.]

Mr. QUEZON. And after election, also. In fact they reduced the expenses of the government and lowered the salaries of the officials.

I believe that if this bill should pass, in view of the fact that it grants the Philippine government more powers, there will arise some issues between the political parties as regards matters of internal policy. For instance, they may have an issue on the tariff, or on the disposition of the public lands, although I do not believe there will be any discussion as to whether or not individuals or corporations, whether natives or foreigners, should be granted by sale large tracts of land; I do not think there will be any question about that; I do not think there is anybody that would advocate that that be done; that the lands be disposed of in that way.

Senator WALSH. You think they will not squander the lands?

Mr. QUEZON. No, sir; we all believe that the public lands should be disposed of only by sale in small tracts.

The CHAIRMAN. There was some question as to divorce, which brought on a religious discussion?

Mr. QUEZON. But it did not become a political issue. It was rather debated on the ground of its social aspect, as it affects family relations. I should like to continue for a moment what I was going to say about land questions. While there is agreement among us as to the wisdom of not selling lands in large tracts, there are differences of opinion as to leasing them for long periods and in large quantities.

The CHAIRMAN. As it is getting late, I would like to ask the members of the committee whether they desire to hear Mr. Quezon further this afternoon, or some other day; I do not think he has finished?

Senator WALSH. I would like to hear Mr. Quezon again on the effects of American occupation of the islands.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, may I make a suggestion?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. QUEZON. I am ready to give a general idea of what has been done in the Philippines under the American régime. But so far as possible, I should prefer to be limited to a discussion of the present bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time has now arrived for adjournment; and we will be glad to hear you, Mr. Quezon, as the first witness week after next, or possibly after some other witness has appeared.

I will say that we still have before us the Secretary of War, ex-President Taft, Mr. Dean C. Worcester; and I have received a letter from Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, of this city, who said that he would be glad to come the first week in January; and I also have a letter from one of the judges of the United States Customs Court of Appeals, Mr. Smith, who was a commissioner in the islands himself; so that we still have a good deal ahead of us.

Senator LIPPITT. Mr. Quezon's account is very important and very interesting; and I hope that we can hear him after the holidays.

Senator KENYON. Mr. Quezon has stated that he prefers to hear what the others have to say before concluding his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. If it is agreeable to the committee we will adjourn to the 30th of December, when we will hear Mr. Dean C. Worcester.

In the meantime I think we ought to appoint a subcommittee to go over some of the details of the bill, and if it is agreeable to the committee that will be done.

(Thereupon at 12 o'clock noon the committee adjourned until Wednesday, December 30, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES
UNITED STATES SENATE**

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 18459

**AN ACT TO DECLARE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND TO PROVIDE A MORE AUTONOMOUS
GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLANDS**

DECEMBER 30, 1914

PART 4



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1915

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GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1914.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee assembled at 3.30 o'clock p. m.

Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Fletcher, Saulsbury, Ransdell, Shafroth, Bristow, Crawford, and Lippitt.

The CHAIRMAN. Before presenting Dr. Worcester, I desire to say that I shall ask the committee to meet to-morrow morning, at 10 o'clock, in the room of the Committee on the Philippines, for the purpose of giving the members of the committee an opportunity to ask Dr. Worcester questions, which opportunity probably can not very well be had this afternoon.

I desire to say of Dr. Worcester, that he is probably the American who has dwelt for the longest time in the Philippine Islands. He visited the Islands, I think, first in 1888, under the Spanish régime, and I think visited them once again before the American occupation. Since the American occupation he has been commissioner for 12 or 13 years; so that he has a wide acquaintance with the islands.

When the committee invited him to come before it for the purpose of giving assistance in considering this bill (H. R. 18459), Dr. Worcester offered to bring his lantern slides and illustrate his lecture. His offer was accepted; and he will now proceed to make his statement in a continuous form, probably without interruptions of any sort—unless members of the committee desire to interrupt him—and he will illustrate what he has to say by views taken in the Philippine Islands.

I will now present Dr. Worcester. [Applause.]

STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER, FORMERLY A MEMBER OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

Mr. WORCESTER. Ladies and gentlemen, during the period that I was a Government official in the Philippines we used often to wish that more of our national legislators might visit the islands, and that those who did come might visit the islands more frequently.

It is a great pleasure to me this afternoon to have an opportunity of taking you on a flying trip to the islands, and I can promise you that both seasickness and politics will be left out; so that you will have nothing to trouble you. My only object is to give you some idea of what the islands are like, and what the people are like; some notion of the conditions which we found there and of the conditions which exist there to-day.

The impression is very general, in some parts of the world, that the Philippines are not on the map; and even those who understand that they are on the map have rather vague ideas about them. In the days of my youth, in Vermont, there was an old lady who used to apply a diminutive to my first name, and who used to spank me when I misbehaved. When I returned to my home in Vermont after my first visit to the islands, this old lady said to me, "Be them Philippines that you have been a visitin' the same fellows that Paul wrote his epistle to?" [Laughter.]

We do know a little better than that in these days; but I have caused that map of the world [indicating] to be thrown on the screen principally to show you the relationship of the Philippines to main lines of ocean travel. You will see that the Panama Canal is somewhat to the south of the islands and that they are directly on the line of travel between the Panama Canal and parts of Asia.

If you make the canal trip to the islands, perhaps the first view that you would get would be of this beautiful volcano [indicating], near San Bernardino Strait, between Samar and Luzon.

This [indicating] is a somewhat nearer view of it. As you know, many of the islands are in part of volcanic origin, and there are some active volcanoes on them.

That [indicating] is the geographer's typically perfect volcano, and I must pause to tell you a little story about that. When President Taft's congressional delegation was in the Philippine Islands, we arrived at the foot of this volcano at night. I knew that it would be visible only early in the morning, because of clouds, and those of the party who wished to see it were routed out of bed at 5 o'clock and went up to the bow of the steamer to look at it.

I met Senator Scott, of West Virginia, who was standing on deck rubbing sand out of his eyes. "What mountain is that over there," he asked. Its name is spelled "M-a-y-o-n," and is pronounced "my own." I said, "That is Mayon Volcano." He looked at me again, and he said, "For God's sake, how did you get that?" [Laughter.] Doubtless he was thinking of all the stories he had heard of land-grafting commissioners. That volcano is 7,916 feet high from a level plain and at its base is about 120 miles in circumference, so that you will see that it is quite a mountain. I told the Senator I could not afford to pay the bill for damages on the piece of property if I owned it, as Mayon has been too active.

The next view is a wonderful picture of the crater of Taal, situated in Bombon Lake, on the island of Luzon. This picture was taken the night before the great eruption of 1911, in which the lives of 1,400 people were almost instantly snuffed out.

You have heard a great deal of the tropical climate of the Philippine Islands, perhaps, and that it spells to Americans illness and sudden death. You have thought of the Philippines as a land of palm trees, and that is the fact, so far as the lowlands are concerned [indicating]; in those regions coconuts are one of the principal sources of wealth. But the Philippines are also a land of pine trees [indicating], which grow up in the highlands.

This [indicating] is Baguio, at the end of the Benguet road, 5,000 feet above the sea level and about 200 miles from Manila. It is the place where the people go to get away from the heat of the lowlands. There we have a climate with a mean temperature of 68° for the hot-

test month of the year and about 64 degrees for the coolest month. There the summer capital has been established.

There [indicating] are the pine trees alongside the road; there [indicating] is the hospital of the crest of the ridge, where they get every breeze that blows; and there [indicating] are the tuberculosis cottages extending away from the hospital. The hospital is especially useful for people recuperating from the so-called tropical diseases or from surgical operations, and the climate has a wonderful effect on victims of tuberculosis, the disease being practically unknown among the people native to those highland regions, and many remarkable recoveries have occurred among patients sent up there from the lowlands. All of the expenditures that have been incurred in opening up this region would be justified because of the value of Baguio as a health resort alone.

There [indicating] is a view in the teachers' camp. All of the American teachers and some of the Filipino teachers go there to Baguio in the summer; they go there to hear lectures on important subjects, and to get out-of-door sports in a climate where such sports can be carried on without discomfort; and there they get together and compare ideas and methods of getting results.

That [indicating] is typical scenery of the summer capital, which is a town of magnificent distances.

Some of you have doubtless heard of the palaces in which the Government officials reside; it might interest you to see some of them [indicating] [laughter]. These are typical of the houses that are constructed for renting to the officers of the Government. The Governor General has a private residence of his own, or, at least, one intended for his exclusive use, which was erected at Government expense. The remaining dwellings were also erected at Government expense, but they are rented out to the officers at a rate which gives a liberal return on the investment. And the first buildings which were constructed are not as good as those which you see on the screen.

I want at the outset to give you some idea of the very widely different social strata that are represented in the Philippine Islands. We hear and see in the press a great deal about "the Filipino people." There is no such thing as a Filipino people. There is in the Philippine Islands one of the most complex aggregations of peoples to be found in the same land area anywhere in the world, and the individual whom you now see on the screen [indicating a head-hunter standing before a house ornamented with human skulls] is not a Filipino. That word is properly used to designate the civilized, Christianized inhabitants of the islands, living mostly in the lowlands, who number at the present time about 7,000,000 souls and make up seven-eighths of the population. The remainder of the population of the islands is made up of a group of some 27 different peoples, to which we have applied the designation "non-Christian," for the lack of a better word. We can not call them "wild," because a good many of them are very gentle and pacific—although some of them are wild enough. We can not call them "pagan," because some of them are Mohammedan, and the only common characteristic that they seem to have is their unwillingness or their failure to adopt the Christian faith; so we call them "non-Christians," although that word leads to some peculiar complications. Now, the Filipinos are a very temperate people as regards the use of alcoholic liquors,

whereas among the hill people of Luzon a man, if he can get hold of any bad whisky or other intoxicating liquor, will drink until he gets so drunk that he thinks he has to hang onto the grass in order to lie on the ground; the whole universe reels about him, and he feels that he wants to get fast hold of something or other. Now, if you mix a half a pint of bad whisky with a head-hunter, the result is apt to be pretty disastrous in his immediate vicinity. In view of that circumstance, it became necessary to pass legislation prohibiting the sale of liquor to those people. And after that law was passed making it illegal to sell liquor to "non-Christians," the people said, "Since Worcester had that fool law passed, a man has to become a Christian in the Philippines before he can buy a drink." [Laughter.]

There is a representative of a very different stratum of society, Gen. Aguinaldo, the former leader of the rebellion. I may say that he is more easy to photograph now than he once was. The gentleman with him is Mr. Frank L. Crone, director of education. Aguinaldo does not represent the highest class, although since his surrender he has been a good citizen. The Ifugao head hunter does not represent the lowest class. I now show you a Negrito, a representative of the aboriginal people of the Philippines. They are dwarfs, and stand practically at the bottom of the human series, so far as the possibility of undergoing development is concerned. There are probably not more than 25,000 Negritos in the entire archipelago, out of a population of 8,000,000; so that you must not regard him as typifying very much. He is of interest merely as representing the aborigines of the islands.

There [indicating] is a picture of Señor Sergio Osmeña, the speaker of the Philippine Assembly, who stands pretty close to the other extreme. He is a man of good education, a perfect gentleman, a very astute politician, and a very valuable member of society. It must be remembered, also, however, that he does not represent a large class of people. There are some 25,000 men like the little black chap, the Negrito, whom I have shown you, whereas, very unfortunately, there are not 25,000 men like Speaker Osmeña in the islands.

A glance at the face of this Negrito [indicating] will give you some idea of the impossibility of developing him. The problem connected with the Negritos is simply to protect them, for they are being eliminated by natural processes. Their death rate is above their birth rate; they will soon be a link that is missing.

Contrasted with that, I will show you the face of a wise old Tagalog, Capitan José Serapio, who was the first governor of Bulacan under American rule; and he has learned a great deal in the hard school of life, although he has not spent much time in any other.

I will not go to the extreme in showing you members of the fair sex, representing the lowest tribes, as the shock might be too rude even for a sophisticated audience, such as this. I will show you [indicating women clothed in leaves] merely these Bontoc Igorrot women, who have spring, summer, and fall styles, dependent not on the caprice of tailors, but upon the state of the neighboring vegetation. [Laughter.]

There are about 66,000 of those people.

By contrast with these rather primitive sisters, I will now show you Miss Mendoza [indicating], a graduate of the University of the

Philippines, the department of medicine and surgery, who is now employed in our general hospital. She is a young woman whose attainments would compare very favorably with those of graduates of our best women's colleges in this country.

Of course, I can not show you in the brief time that we have at our disposal representatives of all the different civilized peoples, who are very much more like each other than are non-Christian peoples, much less the representatives of all the numerous non-Christian peoples, who differ from each other greatly.

I am just trying to give you some idea of the extremes.

Now, we will imagine that we have crossed the Pacific Ocean and arrived at Manila. A few years ago you would have found yourselves in an open roadstead, in a bay about 30 miles wide, and with a southwest monsoon blowing it would have been difficult to get to land from your steamer. Nowadays you enter a quiet harbor, behind a fine breakwater, with a basin dredged to 31 feet in depth; and you go to a pier where large ocean steamers can run alongside [indicating].

Freight is handled on these piers nowadays by modern devices [indicating]; their facilities for handling freight are very good; instead of the slow, primitive methods which formerly existed, freight is now handled expeditiously.

Inside of one of the pier sheds you will notice [indicating] the electric railway connection, which is intended to shift freight from the pier all over the city of Manila, whence it is taken by rail or by good roads to the Provinces.

A few years ago you would have found the carabao cart in use as the principal means of transporting freight. You will now find rows and rows of automobiles and automobile trucks, although the carabao has not been completely eliminated.

A few years ago it would have been impossible for you to visit Manila and find a comfortable place to stay, unless you happened to have friends there. Now, one of the finest hotels [indicating] in the Orient is located there.

I notice that that hotel has been discussed in the hearings of this committee; and the question of the propriety of investing sinking funds of certain Government bonds in the securities of the hotel company has been raised. As to that, I can say that such a hotel was thought to be a great public need; that the Philippine Islands ought to have means of attracting tourists, and of course tourists would not go there unless there were some place for them to stay; and we now have a good stopping place for the tourists and those who go there on business. The hotel is making money, and its bonds are a good investment.

There [indicating] is the old Luneta, the official promenade, on which the official executions sometimes took place in the Spanish times.

Here [indicating] is a view of it after the Americans had been in Manila for awhile. I regret that I have not anything showing the present conditions there. But the sea out beyond it has been dredged to improve the harbor, and two breakwaters have been constructed. The dredged material has been used to make the filled land on which the Manila Hotel and other buildings now stand. Old Manila was a fine example of a walled city in the East. There [indicating] is a view of one of its gates with Vice President Fairbanks

standing in front of it; and there [indicating] is another view of one of the gates of Manila. It is only a few years since the last draw-bridge was taken away, and the moat surrounding the walls was filled up. It was a center of infection and seemed to contain a sample of every kind of water-borne disease germ that had infested the islands since Magellan discovered them. We very glad to fill it up, for sanitary reasons.

There [indicating] is a view of a part of the old city of Manila occupied by the conventos or monasteries. The streets were so arranged when the city was planned that you can practically all the time get shade on one side of the street or the other.

That building in the background [indicating] is a part of the structure which houses the oldest university under the American flag, the University of Santo Tomas, where priests of the Dominican Order have given higher instruction since 1619.

That [indicating] is a view showing the Governor General's residence and its grounds. I notice that there has been some inquiry in the hearings before the committee as to whether the Governor General inhabited a palace at Manila, and whether he lived in a palace at Baguio. This [indicating] is the Manila "palace" of the Governor General [laughter]; the Baguio residence is not as elaborate as that. This Manila residence is an old Spanish building, rather badly out of repair.

There [indicating] is a typical house such as is occupied by the better classes in Manila. That is such a house as the Spaniards used to live in, and such a house as the well-to-do Filipinos live in to-day; it is a house very well suited to the needs of the climate.

That [indicating] is the kind of house that the ordinary American employee builds for himself when he has some means at his disposal and wants to make a home of his own. That is an American-style house adapted to the tropics.

That [indicating] is the kind of house in which the well-to-do Filipino laborer lives to-day. It is a very sanitary house, if he would only keep his windows open at night. That [indicating] is the building in which the officials of the insular government have their offices, the executive officials; it is called the Ayuntamiento.

That [indicating] is the government cold storage and ice plant, which made ice accessible to the general public in the old days, partly directly through sales to people who came to the factory for ice and partly by bringing down the price of ice at private factories, so that ice was within the reach of the people at large. It is a great refrigerator plant as well as being an ice-making plant, and great quantities of meat can be preserved there.

The Y. M. C. A. has reached the Philippines, and that [indicating] is their building; it has proved a good home for American clerks and others.

That [indicating] is the municipal building of the city of Manila, and there [indicating] is the Elks Club. I am sorry that I have no picture showing the Army and Navy Club.

There [indicating] is an institution which is reported to have made 100 per cent on the investment when the American Volunteers first arrived in the islands and were very thirsty; it is the brewery which has a monopoly of making beer with refrigeration; and as you can

not make beer in any other way in the Tropics, that was a complete monopoly. That monopoly has now expired, or is about to expire.

The Spaniards were peculiarly careless about taking advantage of natural conditions. The Pasig River runs through Manila, and would have made a very attractive frontage for houses; but that has not been taken advantage of to a great extent; occasionally you find a residence with a fine outlook on the river; but principally the back doors are toward the river [indicating].

A great part of Manila is penetrated by a series of canals [indicating], which are useful for the transportation of freight, but are a great menace to the health of the city, as the current in them is very sluggish; and the waters are full of deleterious matter. One of the heaviest expenses that the city needs to incur to put it in good sanitary condition is that of cleaning and walling these canals.

That [indicating] is the type of building that has caused us so much trouble, with regard to health conditions. When a building like that gets infected with bubonic plague it is very difficult to eradicate it, and we now discourage that kind of construction.

Conditions were very insanitary in Manila when we arrived there. It was necessary to burn one section of the city during our first great cholera epidemic, in order to decrease the infection, and that view [indicating] shows the burning actually in progress.

Later on, in fighting the cholera, we did a rather ingenious thing: Where whole regions became infected with cholera, we put disinfectants in our chemical fire engines and threw the streams in the houses, and also under the houses; and we saved a good many lives in that way.

That [indicating] was a condition that was all too common in the various parts of the city where the poorer people resided, with the ground flooded much of the time, especially during the rainy season; while the absence of anything that could be called streets resulted in dreadfully insanitary conditions; when cholera once got a start in such a district, it was almost impossible to eradicate it.

That [indicating] was a typical street in such a region; that was a pretty wide street. There were plenty of places on Tondo Beach where the "streets" were so narrow that one had to double up like a jack-knife in passing along them.

In many parts of the city you will find that the poorer classes now live in the fashion that you see here [indicating]. Drainage has now done its good work; and we now hardly know what kind of a problem it would be to fight cholera there, because cholera seldom comes there under the conditions that we have brought about.

Now, these streets were even worse than they looked. That [indicating] is what happened when you tried to drive through one of them with a two-wheeled cart; and you can imagine the impossibility under those conditions of getting drays in there to remove night soil and other harmful substances.

Drainage has now been resorted to, and you will now find in some sanitary districts conditions such as you see here [indicating]. I wish I could tell you that all Manila has been put in such good sanitary shape, but we have had to work when conditions permitted and as funds were available, and the task is not completed.

A good deal has been done in the cemeteries. In the old days the bodies were buried so close to the surface that the remains of people

who were buried a short while before were often resurrected in digging graves for those who had died more recently and were thrown into a bone pit - which was certainly undesirable, both from an esthetic standpoint and from the standpoint of health.

That [indicating] is a part of the cemetery of Manila where the poorer classes of the inhabitants are now buried; other parts of the cemetery, more attractive and beautiful, are utilized by those who can pay.

Some of you may have read of the dreadful conditions which were alleged to exist in our prisons in the early days. The conditions were doubtless very dreadful, but we inherited them. That [indicating] is a scene taken shortly after the American occupation in the hospital of the insular penitentiary. I will show you the corresponding scene in the prison hospital to-day. [Applause.] That building [indicating] is as fine a hospital as can be found in the tropics, and the prisoners get the best medical and surgical attention.

We have also established one of the great medical and surgical institutions of the world outside prison walls, the Philippines General Hospital, with corridors connecting its large modern buildings; and there [indicating] is a scene in the corridors of that institution.

In the old days the Filipinos used to regard a hospital as a place where a man could go to die, if he was not fortunate enough to have a home to die in. [Laughter.] At the time of the American occupation there was not a single modern operating room; to-day the Filipinos flock to the hospitals. We have an out clinic [indicating], for those who do not have to be in bed. We there treat about 70,000 a year.

Infant mortality is a great problem; and even in Manila, where the bulk of the physicians live, conditions are still very bad. Dr. Felipe Calderon, who is the head of the gynecological department in the Philippine General Hospital, has selected this [indicating the interior of an insanitary hut] as a typical birth place for the lower class child, the picture having been taken under his direction.

That [indicating a modern hospital ward] is the sort of place to which the poor native women of Manila may now go, and a confinement there is really a liberal education to one of them.

Those [indicating] are the old municipal midwives, with Dr. Calderon, who is a very accomplished gynecologist; and here is another good Filipino doctor [indicating]. Those old women were responsible for many deaths. They indulged in practices that bordered closely on witchcraft, and resulted in infection, causing a great many deaths.

There [indicating a group of trained nurses in uniform] is a little body of Filipino women trained under American direction, who not only take care of the sick in the Philippine General Hospital, but go out on missions of mercy in the city, and whose work has now replaced that of the old and ignorant women whom I have shown you.

The training of Filipino girls as nurses has resulted very successfully. They do admirable work. And there [indicating] is a small portion of the baby crop which is perennially at the Philippines General Hospital [laughter and applause]; those babies are not going to die; those babies are going to become useful citizens.

Here is a leper. I will not keep this picture on the screen long, as it is too shocking. Leprosy was a very dreadful thing in the Philip-

pires when we went there. It was thought by the church authorities that there were 30,000 lepers in the islands. Fortunately they confused all sorts of diseases with leprosy; and one result, and a very satisfactory result, of our campaign against this disease has been that we were able to restore to society hundreds of people believed to be lepers who were not lepers at all; we cured them and sent them about their business. The true lepers have been isolated; and one of the admirable things about the Filipinos is the way they have endured the separation from their homes, the separation of mother from daughter, of husband from wife, of sister from brother, which has been necessary.

But that stern policy was theoretically justified by the frightful nature of the disease, and has been practically justified by the results obtained.

We have just about cut the number of lepers in the islands in two already. The new cases are constantly diminishing in number, and we have found a treatment now which actually results in cures in a few cases—cures that seem to be permanent as far as we can judge. We keep the people who are apparently cured until they have been negative, under microscopic examination, for two years, and then turn them loose to see what happens.

You must pardon me if I sometimes fall into speaking in the present tense in describing what goes on in the islands. I was there as a Government inspector for 14 years, and I sometimes forget that I am no longer there.

The nursing of lepers is not a pleasant task. Those Catholic sisters [indicating] whom you see believed when they started for the colony that they were certain to become infected, and yet they were willing to go. Of course, we knew that they would not become infected; but they thought that they would, and their self-sacrifice in going was a very beautiful thing; and they have given those people admirable care.

I must pause to tell you a story illustrating their self-denial. The first time I went to the leper colony after they had undertaken their dreadful duties I wanted to do something to help them. I said to the sisters, "What can I do for you?" They said they could not think of anything that I could do. I said, "Well, if you think of anything before I go, let me know." And just as my steamer was about to sail, a lifeboat came alongside with some of the sisters in it, looking as if they were rather ashamed of themselves, because they were going to ask so much. They said that they had thought of one thing that they wanted, if it would not be too much to request of me. I asked them what it was. They said that they got so tired at night that they had trouble in waking up early in the morning; and they would like an alarm clock. [Laughter.]

Now, most of the diseases formerly so prevalent in the Philippines came from insanitary conditions which could be, and largely have been, remedied where we have had the men and the means to do the work. Here [indicating] is one of the things that caused a great deal of the trouble, the old-style open well, with the people washing the family clothes around it, and the water after being used for washing, soaking back into the well. We traced many vicious outbreaks of cholera to that cause.

Next, there ought to have been an artesian well picture to show you. It is out of place and we shall see it later. I will say, in passing, that we have already dug more than 800 artesian wells, and that the effect has been not infrequently to reduce the death rate of a town having such a well 50 per cent. That is one of the things that the municipalities need to borrow money for. It is a mighty good investment for a town to get a good artesian well.

Now, please imagine that we are starting off on a little trip into the provinces, and that you are getting a look at the common people, just as you would see them along the road. There [indicating] are some fellow travelers, with their rations on their heads, in the shape of sacks of rice.

There [indicating] is a manufacturer, or rather, a vendor, of the earthen pots which are used for water containers. There [indicating] are some country people burning those pots. They heap rice straw on them and set it on fire. These pots are made on very simple potter's wheels in the shape you see [indicating].

No man ought to say that the Filipino is not a diplomat; any man who can drive four pigs where he wants them to go is a diplomat; and they can even drive six or eight pigs, as you can see [indicating].

There [indicating] are some hunters with their dogs. Wild deer are numerous in some of the islands; and they form an important source of food.

There [indicating] is an old fisherman digging bait in the sand.

There [indicating] is a laundress spoiling somebody's clothes. The method of washing clothes in the Philippines is to wet them and put them on a stone and pound them with a wooden club. This gets the clothes clean, but it also does other things to them.

Here [indicating] are some girls bringing in green feed for horses during the dry season. Horses, by the way, are now pretty scarce in the Philippine Islands; but we hope some day they will be more abundant and of better quality.

I want to give you some idea of the primitive conditions of agriculture [indicating picture]. One of the great opportunities we have, and one which we are utilizing, is to improve the conditions under which the products of the soil are raised. The methods that we found in use in the Philippines were those of the days described in the Bible.

I will show you rice growing; you know that rice grows in the form of a grain. Most of the rice is produced under irrigation. There [indicating] is a typical view of rice growing along the shore of a lake. But the facilities for mechanical irrigation are very few in the islands; you occasionally see a crude water wheel like this [indicating] run by the current which raises a little water. More frequently the rain is depended upon entirely, with the result that when we have a dry year the rice crop falls off, and we have to import rice to feed the people. One of the things the Government has been doing and is continuing to do, is to spend considerable sums in putting in irrigation works, so that instead of raising one crop of rice a year which is a gamble, the people may raise two crops a year which are certain.

This picture [indicating a very crude plow] shows an implement which is in common use for plowing the soil. In order to have it effective it is necessary to have the soil pretty moist. The carabao has one advantage; he will not sink in the mud any deeper than to his belly; he floats like a kerosene barrel. In some cases we have

tried to substitute a motor-driven plow for the carabao plow. That will not work where the soil is very wet; but it will on some lands, where they can grow upland rice as we do wheat or rye.

You will find it hard to believe that most of the rice is harvested by cutting one head at a time. There [indicating] is a typical harvesting scene close to Manila. Some sickles are used, but mostly the rice is cut in that way [indicating].

There is the same thing in the country of the Bontoc Igorots. You can see how the people do their work, and you can see how they use their heads as a depository for the cut grain. The method is the same in most of the islands.

There [indicating people treading out grain] is the process of thrashing. This is a method of thrashing which is still commonly to be seen even in the immediate vicinity of Manila. Sometimes grain is trodden out by carabaos. They drive the animals over the grain and tread it out in that way.

Of course, modern thrashing machines are invaluable, and there [indicating] is the first one that was used in the Philippine Islands. What we did at first was to get some of the smaller machines. This one was brought in by the bureau of agriculture and it got so much more rice from the stacks than the people were accustomed to that they were convinced that something was wrong. Of the four men shown there [indicating] two were provincial governors; and they were looking for the box of grain which they thought I had hidden away inside the machine so that I could pull a string and cause it to come out of the spout.

Such implements as that [indicating] have now become common.

You must now imagine, from this view [indicating], that we are approaching a town. You can catch a glimpse of it through the coconut trees. That [indicating] is a scene in the town of Laoag in the north of Ilocos—but not the best portion of the town. It is in the part where the poorer people live and is fairly typical. In the early days you might have found a village street looking like that [indicating], cut to pieces during the rainy season and remaining so.

At present you will find many villages where the streets look like that [indicating].

Here [indicating] is the house of a fairly well to do person.

Here [indicating] is a typical bamboo and nipa palm house, which is much more comfortable and cooler than the more elaborate structure I have just shown you.

Here [indicating] is an old church. Some of those old buildings are architecturally very wonderful; many of them have large auditoriums 80 or 100 yards long.

There [indicating] is a typical bamboo and nipa house of the better class; it is admirably suited to the needs of the country, and suffers from only one drawback. During the dry season the roof becomes highly inflammable. You see that enterprising man [indicating] has a cask of water on the roof of his house. But they do often have dreadful fires when the wind is sweeping across the country.

That [indicating] might answer as a fair average presidente or mayor of one of the Filipino municipalities. As a matter of fact, he was an insurgent general.

One of the admirable things about the Filipino is his artistic ability. You will remember that in using the word Filipino I am talking about the 7,000,000 of civilized, Christianized people inhabiting the lowlands. I have often been accused of trying to make the people of the United States believe that the chaps running around the mountains dressed in pocket handkerchiefs are representative Filipinos. It is needless to say I have never debased myself by making any such assertion as that. There is nothing to be gained by bogging the truth, and the truth is that a large majority of the people of the Philippine Islands are of the sort I am showing to you now [indicating]. These pictures were taken at haphazard in Philippine towns, to illustrate conditions as we found them.

Here is the man who lived in that house [indicating]; and beside him is this very beautiful wooden image which he has made himself and colored himself; and it is remarkable that a man of such limited opportunities has been able to do such a thing.

Here [indicating] is a bust of a Jesuit priest, which was made by José Rizal, the Filipino patriot who was executed by the Spaniards.

The Filipinos are a pleasure-loving people, and there is a typical scene [indicating] in a house of the poorer class, where one member of the family is playing the guitar and the others are dancing. They have other pastimes, however. The Filipino is not an intemperate man, so far as drinking is concerned. But he is a born gambler; he will take a sporting chance on almost anything in which the element of chance enters, and one of his favorite amusements has been cock-fighting, and you often see friendly contests like this [indicating] going on beside the country roads.

There are two boys [indicating] having a good time with a coconut. The boys in the Philippines are like the boys in most other parts of the world.

There is a village blacksmith [indicating] working under a mango tree and making an adz head.

Every town has its pretty girls [indicating] and in the Philippines they sometimes manage to casually stroll by when a stranger comes to town, as they do in other countries.

That lady [indicating] has a good deal of Spanish blood and is a good example of the mestiza class.

There [indicating] is an Ilocano woman with the kind of dress that was in fashion a few years. The way of wearing the kerchief around the neck varies, as does the length of the train; but that is the costume in common use.

There [indicating] is an occupation in which the Filipinos excel, the making of beautiful embroidery. Women in the Philippines have extraordinary manual dexterity and display it in many ways. It will some day become an asset of great value to the Philippines.

They also make beautiful hats [indicating], which are larger than the hats commonly worn here in the summer, and are so flexible that the best of them can be doubled up and put in a cigarette case and will resume their shape again when the pressure is relaxed.

I wish I might tell you that all the women were as comfortably dressed and as pleasantly employed as those you have seen; but unfortunately there are a very large per cent of them that are dressed like those you see now [indicating], and they have a hard struggle for life.

There [indicating] is what is known as "an anting-anting," or charm, which is supposed to make the wearer bulletproof and proof against cutting by a knife. It will be hard for you to believe that at Paranaque, 4 miles away from the capital, two young men agreed to try the merits of their anting-anting; one of them struck the other with a bobo and cut his arm nearly off, so that he died a little later. But the belief in those charms still is a common superstition. Perhaps the most profitable enterprise in the Philippines would be to start a new religion in an out-of-the-way place where the people are very ignorant. In my day I have seen a good many such movements. At Cabaruan, in the Province of Pangasinan, a religious sect grew up like a mushroom. They had a full-fledged trinity; and this woman shown here [indicating] represented the Virgin Mary. When I took the picture she was in jail for stealing carabaos. [Laughter.]

And things like the recent Ricarte insurrection—so-called—are possible only because of the ignorance of a certain element in the population.

Here [indicating] is our artesian well, which did not appear at the proper time on the screen; I wanted to show it immediately after the old-style well by way of contrast. You will see that there is no possibility of infection. That water is good to drink, and is sanitary.

We have not confined our activities in the matter of sanitation to the city of Manila by any means. There [indicating] is part of the river bank in what was believed to be the most insanitary provincial town in the islands, when it was unimproved. It was reeking with every sort of filth and producing every sort of disease.

There is the same bank improved. It does not look like Central Park in New York; but it is sufficient, and this spot has now ceased to be a danger to life.

There is a street being improved in that particular town. It happens in that particular picture [indicating] we were at the edge of the village. But I have waded up to my knees in mud of that town, Butuan, in northern Mindanao. That is a poor town; but this [indicating] shows what can be done even in the poorer provincial towns.

One of the most important things in the islands has been to improve the means of land communication. There were some roads in the old Spanish days, but they were not well cared for, and many of them were very primitive.

This shows a mere track across the field [indicating]. It represented the rudiments of a road [indicating]; and this rather sketchy vehicle [indicating] behind the carabao is the so-called canga, or drag.

The next step in advance was to put stone on the road, so that vehicles would not sink up to their bodies in the mud during the rainy season [indicating]. Such a road was not comfortable during any part of the year; but it made it possible to get across the country.

To-day we have many miles of improved highway. That [indicating] is the class of road of which we have more than 1,000 miles. I am purposely showing you roads through a bad region, taken in the wet season, the same as in the picture I have already shown you; and over roads such as this you can drive in automobile 60 miles an hour. That vehicle [indicating], which was in common use, cut the roads to pieces. And that was not the worst kind of vehicle; that was the palace car of the country in the old Spanish days. As you

see, the axle is square, not round, and the two solid wooden wheels are fixed on the axle and turn with it as a whole. The roads were cut to pieces by such carts in a comparatively short space of time.

In order to keep good roads it was necessary to forbid the use of such contrivances. This caused some hardship at the outset, but has resulted in great improvement. There [indicating] you have the road destroyers at work. You see they have cut ruts in the road, and the water has already settled in the ruts.

That [indicating] was the result of using such vehicles in the old days; the road was made concave instead of being convex, and the standing water was often deep. In some parts of the islands that kind of vehicle [indicating a hammock on a pole] was the only kind of vehicle usable in the rainy season.

The absence of roads formerly made it necessary to transport a great many of the products of the soil on the backs of animals. That [indicating] is copra coming to market in this way.

Here [indicating] is a little barrio, or native village; and here [indicating] is a road badly washed, and here [indicating] is one that has been completely destroyed, so that it looks like the bed of a brook.

And that [indicating] might be considered about the best type of road in the old days; fairly dry, but with very poor culverts, and its surface concave, rather than convex.

And that [indicating] is the type that has been substituted for it; and that [indicating] is the type of cart that has been substituted for the old road destroyer; it is a cart with broad tires which smoothes the road down instead of cutting it up, and carries a heavy load. Although the change worked hardship at first, it has been a very valuable one.

We found in the early days that it was imperative to provide a good system of maintenance for the roads, because the roads first built were allowed to go to destruction by the Filipinos; no one ever put gravel on them, or anything of the kind. Here [indicating] is what happened to one road after it was left to the people themselves to maintain. That is provided against now in the fashion you see here [indicating]. The road material is distributed at intervals of about 300 yards. Here is one pile, and here is another [indicating]. And on each kilometer during the dry season and each two kilometers during the wet season the caminero or road tender is constantly working filling up the depressions, and so on. That is one of Gov. Forbes's ideas; and he laid such stress on this road improvement that the people got to calling him—his name is W. Cameron Forbes—they got to calling him W. "Caminero" Forbes, caminero meaning "road tender."

You will now find miles of road like that [indicating] along the shores, and up to the hills. It is a great pleasure to-day to go into the Provinces from Manila. Bring just as large a touring car as you care to bring—but you do not have to go away from Manila to get touring cars. We have plenty of them there at present.

There [indicating] is a typical culvert of the old days; and the white ants were likely to get into the wooden stringers and eat through them. In any event, the stringers would decay and the structure would then break down. That would be all right for the

traveler if the drop was short; but if the drop was long, it was very hard, and he would be likely to have trouble.

The smaller streams were sometimes provided with footbridges of the sort you see [indicating] during the dry season, and they were carried away during the wet season. There were a few fine bridges of volcanic stone or tufa, but they were apt to be damaged by earthquakes and to make trouble.

The wider streams were crossed by means of catamaran rafts or dugout boats. This sort of craft [indicating] suffered from the difficulty that if the wind blew strong when you were crossing a big stream the waves lapped over and the boat filled and your horse and carriage went to the bottom and you did the same or swam, according to your ability. [Laughter.]

Now, that condition [indicating a fine reinforced concrete bridge] has already taken the place of the other over a good many of our streams. We have some 5,400 reinforced concrete culverts and bridges. Of course the vast majority of those are culverts of small dimensions, but some of them are bridges of very considerable size, as you see [indicating].

This kind of construction seems to be very permanent in the Tropics, and it certainly has brought about great changes.

That [indicating] is the type of bridge that we make to cross streams that are wide in the rainy season and in the dry season dwindle to almost nothing. The top of that bridge is loose and is not fastened to the supports or uprights; but is fastened to the banks by a cable, so that when the river rises the top floats off against the bank, and when the river falls we can put it back in place.

The result of the improvement in means of land transportation has been that hundreds of thousands of small farmers who previously had been unable to get to market without having the profits of their products eaten up by the expense of transportation, and so had no incentive to grow more than they themselves needed, have been brought in touch with the world's markets, and that is one reason for the quadrupling of Philippine exports since the American occupation began.

Travel by sea is also much easier and safer than it was. The waters of the islands are beset with reefs. In the old days boats sailed hit-or-miss along certain lines where ships in passing had not struck anything before. Our Coast and Geodetic Survey has now charted about two-thirds of the waters of the archipelago. The colored portion of that picture [indicating] shows you the part which has been charted. So that travel by sea and the transportation of freight by sea have been rendered safe.

Also there has been wonderful improvement in the lighting of the coasts. At the time of American occupation there were 47 light-houses, big and little. At the time I left the islands there were 146. I have no doubt that this number has since been added to. The coasts are now among the best lighted in the world.

Now, I want to show you what we are doing in the matter of education. As you know, the bulk of the people of the islands are illiterate, and one of their great needs, if they are to become a united people, is that they should have a common language. We are giving

them that, in the English language. I will show you something of the educational work that is going on.

That [indicating] is the sort of building that we necessarily used for school work in the earlier days of the American occupation. It is just an ordinary house set aside for the purpose, and you will see that the attendance was quite equal to the capacity. There are the pupils outside [indicating].

That [indicating] is a somewhat smaller reinforced concrete building, of the modern type, having wide windows, which insure good lighting and the best of sanitation.

It has been suggested in the hearings before this committee that buildings of that type are expensive, and that we have wasted money in putting them up. We have not wasted money. That type of building is expensive, if you are thinking of four or five years only; but if you are thinking of the future—and schoolhouses will be needed for many years in the islands—the permanent construction is vastly cheaper in the end. The results are very much better at all times, and the people are very ambitious to have such schoolhouses.

There [indicating] is a typical group of the children that you will now find attending the schools.

The school buildings in the Spanish time, for the most part, were bad—as bad as they could be.

There [indicating] is an old Spanish central school building, which housed what would correspond to a secondary school in our country. The walls were 2 feet thick; the few windows were barred; the floor was of damp earth; perhaps there was not even a blackboard in the schoolroom; and there were very few textbooks; the children used to study out loud.

Under favorable atmospheric conditions, one could hear a schoolhouse a mile away [laughter]; the diligence of the pupils was thought to be indicated by the amount of noise they made. Now you will find buildings of that sort [indicating], the high-school building of Cebu, taking the place of those old, insanitary schools; and the children are now getting really very excellent instruction.

At the outset our school work was too academic; we were in danger of bringing up a race of clerks and petty lawyers, who would not be very useful in the country. As many of the children to-day do not go beyond the primary school stage, great emphasis is now being laid on manual-training work, and you see these pupils at work which will be of use to them in real life. Frequently you will find the provincial group of school buildings to consist, as in this instance [indicating], of a high school, and a trade school, where useful manual arts are taught, with a neighboring athletic field [indicating], which is also very useful indeed, because many of the young people of the Philippines are physically quite defective until we get hold of them and show them how to develop themselves.

I will not dwell on the academic work at all, because it is the typical academic work of primary schools, adapted to suit the conditions in the islands and carried on, you must remember, in the English language.

There [indicating] are some young women being taught to use modern cooking apparatus. One such young woman managed for some time our kitchen at the Philippine General Hospital, where

we fed a thousand people, so that you can realize that it was rather a large housekeeping undertaking.

Another thing that we are trying to teach the girls is to make up a well-balanced ration from material which will not cost much more than the ration of rice, now in common use, but which will be much more nutritious and will be better balanced, and the purpose is to have it made up from the things which are found in the poorer houses and cooked with the simplest utensils. That class [indicating] shows girls in training for that purpose.

We train the girls also in the making of embroidery and lace. There [indicating] are some young school girls making embroideries. They have been brought out of doors for the purpose of making the picture. There [indicating] is some work of one of the little girls in a Manila school. They do beautiful work, and that little girl is earning twice as much as her father is earning by hard manual labor. And there [indicating] is some lace made by a little Filipino girl in one of the public schools.

I have given you some idea of the primitive methods employed in rice culture; and I may say that the methods in other important branches of agriculture are in their way just about as primitive as in rice culture, except as we are changing them; and one of the best ways we have of improving them (as it is one of the best ways of accomplishing so many things of an educational nature) is to work through the public schools.

In connection with many schools we now have gardens where the boys learn, and they have home gardens also, where their parents learn from them; and thus they furnish more or less food to the family, and ultimately, slowly, we influence the prevailing agricultural methods. These methods are still, however, very primitive, and necessarily they do not change very rapidly, and here is a wonderful field for development.

Rice has been the staff of life, practically the bread of the country, for generations. Corn was used as a food throughout very limited areas; and we have been trying, through the medium of the schools, to generalize the use of corn and have met with considerable success. That [indicating] is one of a half a dozen circulars on corn growing which has been sent to the schools.

In 1913, in the public schools, there was a corn-growing contest, in which 30,000 boys were engaged; and there [indicating] is Gen. Aguinaldo's little son, standing in front of the very good field of corn which he himself raised.

In order to popularize the use of corn as a food, it was necessary for us to resort to means that would appeal to the people; and we have had farm demonstrations and corn expositions in the towns, where the pretty girls cook corn meal and make popcorn, and so on; and in order to get people to go to those demonstrations we use sometimes such devices as you see [indicating]; and there is one of those little demonstrations going on [indicating] with light machinery for shelling corn; and there is the advertisement [indicating] spelled out in ears of corn on the outside.

One of the very valuable things we are doing is to improve the physiques of the children in the lowlands. The lowland children have been defective physically, partly because of inadequate diet

and partly for climatic and other reasons. There [indicating] are the boys and girls out in the open, getting a good, stiff course in calisthenics. There [indicating] you see the boys engaged in playing a game of roly-poly, in which they can all engage; and that is encouraged. We have developed a spirit of sportsmanship which did not previously exist among the boys; and we are mixing up the different peoples of the islands by means of games and contests, which bring people from different parts of the archipelago together.

There [indicating] is the finish of a hard-run foot race. And that [indicating] is the type of young man being developed now, comparing very favorably with young Japanese of the same age; whereas in the old days they did not compare favorably with the young Japanese.

The work is not by any means confined to the boys. There [indicating] is a crowd of girls playing basket ball, of which they are very fond; and now [indicating] you see a group of the sturdy young women that are being raised up as the result of the attention being given to their physical development, which is very important.

There was a very great lack of teachers at first. When we brought the first American teachers to the islands we intended to use them to supervise the work of Filipino teachers; but that plan could not be carried out on a considerable scale, because we could not find any large number of Filipino teachers who were really properly prepared for the work. But the better class of them, as well as some of the better students, promptly began to do special work to fit themselves; and we soon largely changed and developed the old Spanish normal school at Manila.

This [indicating] is one of the two buildings of the present normal school, and we have trained since the American occupation more than 8,000 Filipino teachers, many of whom are doing very excellent primary work, and some of whom are doing good work in the higher grades.

There [indicating] is the College of Medicine and Surgery, which was very much needed. There is a great shortage of good physicians and surgeons in the islands, and the Filipinos have developed special ability in surgery, because of their great manual dexterity.

A story is told in that connection which I think is pretty good. We had a man in charge of the penal colony, and he became ill with appendicitis, and we wanted to have him operated on, but he said he would not be operated on unless an American doctor would do it. There was no American doctor there, but there happened to be a young Filipino doctor there. The patient's condition finally became such that an operation had to be performed, and this little chap undertook it. Conditions at the hospital had been allowed to get very bad, through the neglect of the American; and the flies came around during the operation, and the doctor had to shoo them away as he operated. There were two American nurses who had been summoned to assist the doctor; and in the midst of the operation, one of the nurses said to the doctor, "You will have to revive the patient." The average surgeon would have stopped his work and then gone about to attempt the restoration of the patient. But this little fellow, with perfect sang-froid, said: "You revive the patient; I am operating on him"; and one of the nurses did revive him, and they saved the patient's life. It was a very clever piece of work.

At first it was hard to get the Filipinos to stick to their medical studies long enough to get the best results. As soon as they graduated, they wanted to go out and make money. With increasing facilities it has now become possible for us to hold them at the hospitals until they become more competent.

The instruction is not limited to the classes of persons you have seen; it is also carried on with the prisoners. There is a place on the island of Palawan to which convicts are sent, and they are not under guard, but merely under moral influence. They are encouraged to develop homes for themselves, being allowed to work a greater and greater percentage of their time for their own benefit, if their conduct is good. So that finally, when their sentences have been served, they have little houses like the one you see in this picture [indicating]. Their families are allowed to come to them after a certain length of time. They have ground under cultivation and they settle down and lead a decent life. And, in fact, men of that kind are in demand as farm workers after they have served their time. The Americans in this picture are Gov. Gen. Forbes and former Vice President Fairbanks.

It is to little chaps like this [indicating the picture of a child] that we must look for the future of the Philippine Islands. We do not know to-day what the possibilities of the great dark mass of the people are, simply because they have never had a fair opportunity to develop. But to-day the opportunity is being given those boys, and when the boys and girls of to-day have become the men and women of to-morrow then, and not until then, we shall have some basis for an intelligent estimate of their capabilities.

I will now take you on a hasty trip to the mountains and show you what we have done to develop some of the more backward peoples, commonly called the non-Christian tribes. At the outset your trip would not have been very pleasant. You will have difficulty in seeing it in the picture, but a foot trail runs up the side of the mountain there [indicating]. That ground lies almost perpendicular—as much so as any ground can lie. There were no good trails when we went there. We had to depend on the paths of the wild people and were often forced to abandon horses altogether when traveling.

One of the important things done in the hill country has been to open up a system of trails, of which, all told, there are more than a thousand miles in northern Luzon.

There [indicating] are some Ifugaos, who have already learned how to make their own trails. We have developed trail builders and powder men there, and they will carry a trail right across the face of a precipice, using the explosive themselves.

There [indicating] is a typical bit of finished mountain trail, and you can ride a large horse over it rapidly. Moreover, it can be converted into a wagon road by widening it. It does not look at first glance as if it ran up hill or down hill, because, so far as possible, we use a maximum grade of 6 per cent, in rare instances going to 10 per cent, with a first-class trail. But if you see the trail in the distance winding up a mountain [indicating] you can see that it does really rise.

When we once get a trail up to the west of a mountain range we stay up as long as possible. Here [indicating] is a stretch of trail in northern Luzon. Having reached the crest of the ridge, the trail runs practically level for many miles.

There [indicating] are some Benguet Igorots working on the road.

That [indicating a high cliff] will give you some idea of the difficulties in running a mountain trail in that section. We rode over it when it was in the condition shown there [indicating] on the sure-footed native ponies, and it was well to pull on the left hand rein at this point, because if you did not you would have plenty of time to think before you hit the bottom. There was a point farther on where one could sit in his saddle, stretch out his hand, and drop a stone 2,000 feet. That trail has been widened and made safe.

The lack of bridges made flying ferries such as you see in the next picture [indicating] necessary for crossing the mountain streams, which rise rapidly; this device consisted of a cable with a pulley on it, from which a car was suspended so that it could be pulled back and forth. And some of those ferries ran high in the air across wide streams, and were extremely useful. We developed that system until one of our cars would carry a loaded cart with a draft animal, or a horse and its rider.

But we did not limit ourselves to that. Here is a trail that has been converted into a cart road in Bontoc, in the center of the hillmen's country, built by the hill people themselves, under American supervision.

And there [indicating] is another of our trails in Mindanao, which has been converted into a wagon road by the simple process of widening and surfacing, as all of these other trails can be readily treated. We first start in with a narrow trail and then widen it sufficiently for carts to travel on it, and there we generally stop. In fact, many of the trails have not reached that stage yet; but many of them have been converted into wagon roads.

When we first went to the hill country the people made pointed objections, and there [indicating lance heads] are some of the objections that we used to meet. Those [indicating] are some of the implements used by the hill people on their head-hunting expeditions—their head axes—and those [indicating] are the lances they use in striking. Here [indicating] is the Ilongot knife, and there [indicating] is the Kalinga ax, and there [indicating] is the Bontoc Igorot axe, and there [indicating] is the head knife of the Ifugaos. Those are some of the different head-hunting tribes.

I will try to give you just a little idea of one of these tribes, the Ifugaos, of which you see an example here [indicating]; they number between 125,000 and 130,000; and the Spaniards were never able to control them or to dominate the greater part of their territory, although they did have two or three armed camps in it.

There [indicating] is a typical man in the typical dress of the Ifugaos. They are tattooed people. The tattoo does not show in the ordinary photograph. This mark on the breast [indicating] shows that this man has killed his victim—or his victims, as the case may be.

That [indicating] is a rather elaborate costume of a woman, in the condition in which we found the women when we first penetrated the country. They had been almost cut off from cloth. You have heard a good deal about the lack of clothing of these wild people, and you may have heard that we ought to have spent on pants for them what we did spend on schoolhouses. As a matter of fact, if you try to put a wild man in pants he gets angry and rebels, whereas if you let him alone he puts the pants on himself after a while.

[Laughter.] It is the same with the wild women; that is, they learn to dress after a little while. When we were there at first, we acted as if we had seen ladies dressed that way [indicating] all our lives. [Laughter.] Pretty soon they began to develop their fashions, and to-day they look somewhat like that [indicating]; they are wearing what the Germans would call anlager, or dress waists. Just give them time and they will come to it; but do not try to drive them to it. Wild men and wild women lead a good deal better than they drive.

I want to tell you in passing that this country of the head-hunters, where we should at first have had to fight our way, foot by foot, is now so safe that American women ride through unattended, and American schoolboys tramp through it on foot.

Here is a typical house of the Ifugaos [indicating]. Each tribe has its kind of house. This man lives up in the roof. He does not like rats, so he leaves projecting shoulders in the supporting timbers of the house to keep the rats from climbing up. He pulls his steps up after him, and he is monarch of all he surveys.

These primitive people are wonderful hydraulic engineers. Those [indicating] are terraced mountains, not hills; and this terraced hog-back that you see involved some marvelous construction; and every foot of it is under irrigation, the water being led down from the high mountains above. It is one of the wonders of the Philippines, and would be one of the wonders in any country. Centuries must have been consumed in developing these mountain rice terraces, in a country where any ordinary people would have starved to death.

When I am asked if the Filipinos will work I can say yes; they will work under proper conditions. A large part of the laziness of the Filipinos that has been complained of is due to the physical disability of the people in the lowlands.

You will find valleys like that [indicating] terraced for 10 or 12 miles, and the terraces sometimes extending for hundreds or even thousands of feet up the mountain sides.

There [indicating] is a typical view in the terraced country. This work is a monument to the capacity of the primitive people who have done it.

I have heard it stated that the word "wild" could not properly be applied to any of the peoples of the islands. I will guarantee that if any of you had accompanied me on my first trip to the hill country you would have thought you were very far from home and mother.

There [indicating] is a typical Ifugao warrior, with his shield lashed with rattan to keep it from splitting; and there [indicating] is a scene which was on the trail when we first went in; the fellow who has paid for his inability as a head-hunter, by losing his head to the other man. He is being carried out for burial on his shield like a Spartan of old.

That [indicating] was a common household ornament—the heads of a few of your enemies on the wall near the door of your house; and the average man had more on the mantelpiece over the fireplace.

The taking of heads was a common undertaking when the people were not busy with other things. That sort of scene [indicating] was typical of what one used to run across, when they had the head-hunting ceremony. And if any argument is needed to emphasize the fact that the qualifications for senators should perhaps be raised a little, I want to say to you that, as these requirements stand at

present, that man can qualify for a senatorship. He is of proper age, has resided for the required length of time in his territory, and he reads and speaks the Spanish language. [Laughter.]

I want to show you one of the things we have done: We have done a lot with the old people in that hill country and have greatly improved their condition. But our best work is with the boys. In dealing with such peoples we have tried to utilize their individual peculiarities; and the Ifugaos handle stone wonderfully in building their terraces. So we taught them a trick that I learned many years ago, in connection with stone quarrying, to bore holes in the stone, pour water on them and drive in wooden plugs and so split the rock. We had them build a stone schoolhouse, and I will show you the result. They had never seen any sort of a vehicle; we had them make cars and track for transporting the rock.

When I got back there after an absence of a year they had got out rock enough for a schoolhouse; and they had laid those rocks out in this way [indicating] to show me how the schoolhouse was going to look. I did not get a very good idea of it; but the next time I was there it looked like that [indicating].

And it was built by Ifugao boys from 6 to 18 years old, under a single American foreman.

The next year it looked still more like a schoolhouse [indicating]. And those Ifugao boys did all the work and constructed that building. [Applause.]

And I want to ask if boys like that are not worth developing, and if they ought not to be given their chance?

There [indicating] is a scene inside that schoolhouse.

Here [indicating] you have a Filipino girl teaching Ifugao boys the English language—certainly an unusual combination; and I invite your attention to the fact that the boys are looking at the chart and not at the girl. [Laughter.]

That is the way we settle our troubles in that Ifugao country at the present time [indicating]; at great annual gatherings, when the secretary of the interior comes through, and they talk things over and arrange things that need settling, and make plans for the year to come. That [indicating] was the gathering at which the Ifugaos agreed to have imposed on them the road tax which has worked so well in that country and has resulted in the road and trail system which we have to-day.

One of the great things we have done in the lowlands is to introduce the great American game of baseball. I have spoken of cock fighting. We legislated against that and a moral progress league was organized to combat it; but all that did not go very far. Since the boys have begun to play baseball the cockpits are deserted during important games. Baseball and other athletic sports are now doing their full share in helping the people of the lowlands to live more sanely; and the American national game has invaded the highlands as well. The women and girls of the Benguet Igorots were little better than beasts of labor in the old days and were not allowed to go to school; the Igorots were willing to let their boys go to school, but not their girls. This difficulty has been overcome. Some of the girls have now advanced far enough in their studies so that it is possible to bring them to Manila and train them as nurses; and there [indicating] are

two of them, with the American head nurse. Of course until they learned English there was no way of communicating with them.

We have had some funny times in teaching English to some of these people. The work in Benguet began with the boys. The teacher who taught the boys in the beginning was named Kelly. She taught them to say "Good morning, Mrs. Kelly." A few weeks after the school started some Americans who visited the Benguet country were very much surprised to have a delegation of old Igorot men whom they met remove their hats and say "Good morning, Mrs. Kelly," the idea having spread abroad that that was the American method of salutation.

The first time I told that story in Manila, as usually happens when one tries to tell a good story, another fellow told a better one. A tourist from Japan who was present said that he had recently met a young Japanese who had evidently learned his English from a book of conversations. He said to the young Jap, "Good morning"; and the young Jap replied, "Good morning, sir, or madam, as the case may be." [Laughter.]

Now, I will give you a glance at one of the other hill people who are advancing very rapidly, and then I will cease to detain you. There [indicating] is a typical Bontoc Igorot with his headdress, his head ax, and his official cane, which serves as a badge of authority. In the early days we often found them on guard trying to protect their women and children while the latter did the work in the fields. These people not only wage war on other tribes, but they wage war on the people of other towns and villages of their own tribes. There were 33 towns in Bontoc; and they had their balances of heads and knew just how many they owed other towns and just how many other towns owed them.

I forgot to tell you that it has been about eight years since there has been a head taken in Ifugao. Our Bontoc friends take a head or two every few years, but the practice is now of insignificant importance. They are the friendliest people in the world, and are great on shaking hands. I should advise any of you who go to their country to wear buckskin cavalry gloves, otherwise you will find that the expression "horny-handed son of toil" has a definite meaning there. Your right-hand glove will soon be worn to pieces.

They are tattooed people; that is, the men who have killed tattoo themselves, and some others do so as well. As you see [indicating] the tattoo pattern is wholly different from that of the Ifugaos.

That [indicating] was the style of dress that was common in the fields when we first went there. It has the advantage that when you need a new suit of clothes you can get it from the nearest thicket. (Laughter.)

That little girl [indicating] wanted her picture taken, and she had no clothes at all. I told her she could not have it taken without any clothes on, so she disappeared and returned dressed like that [indicating]. (Laughter.)

Now, to-day, you will see the women dressed like this while at their work, and frequently wearing upper garments when they are not at work.

There [indicating] is one of the fighting men as they were when we first went there. You will notice what splendid physiques these

people have. They are great big upstanding men. There [indicating] is a fighter in action, throwing the lance from the hip; it is more frequently thrown over the shoulder.

There [indicating a soldier in uniform] is one of the Bontoc fighting men of the sort that we have to-day. He is a competent, faithful, loyal, brave, and efficient soldier. He is not very long on trousers; but trousers would tire his legs, and the kind of shoes he wears do not wear out.

I will show you the evolution of the first Bontoc soldier who ever enlisted. It was difficult to get them, at the beginning, to join the constabulary, because the old "guardia civil" had perpetrated many abuses. This man is a chief named "Francisco," dressed as he was when I first saw him [indicating]. This slide shows how he looked a year later, after he had been in contact with the Americans [indicating]. He was the first man who enlisted in the hills, and this is the way he looked after one more year. In other words, in the short space of two years, having been under discipline one year, he changed from a long-haired savage to the very efficient sergeant of infantry whom you see on the screen; and, believe me, he was efficient.

There [indicating a row of armed savages] is the old fighting line, which was always out on mischief except when it was necessary to work in the field.

And that [indicating a company of Bontoc soldiers] is the one which has replaced it. We have never had a case of disloyalty or disobedience to orders among these people. That [indicating] is the house where the governor of the great mountain Province, with its seven sub-provinces, lived for many years. He thought he was fortunate to get it. This house [indicating a fine building] was built by Igorots, from bricks made by Igorots, with lime and mortar made by Igorots; and there are stone terraces from which the people watch athletic contests on the plaza.

That [indicating] is the building from which the provincial governor now administers the affairs of some 450,000 of these hill people; and it has been strenuously objected of late that the money spent on building it, which incidentally resulted in teaching carpentry and bricklaying, and so on, to a lot of ignorant people, ought to have been spent on trousers, the use of which should have been enforced on the Igorots.

I differ from that view.

The sanitary work in Bontoc has had wonderful results. Here [indicating] is the old-time doctor looking over a child to see what the trouble is; and he determines the child's prospect for recovery by killing a chicken and examining its entrails, as was done in Rome in the old times.

That [indicating] is the kind of chap who is doing health work there to-day. Such young men are trained in our Bontoc hospital and know how to vaccinate for smallpox. That reminds me that I ought to tell you the general result of our vaccination work in the islands. Smallpox deaths used to run from 40,000 to 60,000 a year. We have performed 10,000,000 vaccinations—which, unfortunately, does not mean that we have vaccinated all of the 8,000,000 of the people of the islands once and a pretty large percentage of them twice or a number of times. But the practical result is that the

deaths now run from six to eight hundred or a thousand a year, and are steadily diminishing. And among the wild people that work is especially necessary.

That boy [indicating] has an alcohol lamp, and has sterilized his needle, and is about to make a vaccination in proper form.

That [indicating] was our first hospital in this country, built from materials obtained when we tore down an old schoolhouse.

There [indicating] is the building which has now taken its place with every convenience for medical and surgical work.

And there [indicating] is the staff of that hospital which administers to the needs of these simple people, who believed in the old days that the spirits of the dead determined the course of diseases and caused wounds and illness.

They were so anxious to get into our hospital when it was started that they came in and lay on the floor, as you see [indicating], before we could get beds set up. After we got beds I found an arrangement which amused me greatly. We had not enough beds; every bed had an Igorot in it and an Igorot under it; and the ones underneath thought they had the advantage of the ones above, because they had a roof. [Laughter.]

There [indicating] is the Bontoc schoolhouse, built of brick burned by the people. They did not know what a brick was when we went there; and there [indicating] are some of the boys and girls of the school. And they perform school work which does them good.

That [indicating] is a bright little Igorot boy named Pit-a-pit, whom we all liked by reason of that smile. Nine years later the first picture, this one [indicating], was taken. He is a well-educated boy at the present time.

There is a scene [indicating] showing our work in one of those schools; and a Filipino woman is teaching an Igorot woman something, which as you see, she needs very much to learn, namely, how to use a sewing machine, and make clothes for herself.

There are [indicating] some of Bishop Brent's Igorot school girls, most of whom, probably, wore no clothing before he taught them to do so.

There [indicating] is a Sister of Charity teaching Bontoc Igorot girls how to make lace. Before she got hold of them they were so dirty that the dirt would scale from their joints when they bent. They were so dirty that if they touched a piece of lace they would spoil it; to-day they are clean enough to make lace, as you see.

A great deal can be done with those people if they are only given their chance.

I think we have seen those boys [indicating] before. Bontoc Igorot boys, like other boys, are more or less prone to get into mischief if they have nothing else to do, and good Catholic fathers have taught some of them to play wind instruments [indicating] and they play most of the time when they are not engaged with their school duties.

There [indicating] is a wonderful picture. That little chap can take ordinary English dictation, if it is moderately slow, on the typewriter, which he works very skillfully indeed.

To give you a knowledge of the devotion of some of the people working in this hill country, that is [indicating] Father Jergens, a son of the man who had until his death the British Army contract for oleomargarine. When the father died he left his son \$7,000,000, but

that did not change his determination to continue his work among these hill people of Luzon. And there [indicating a fine brick church] is where some of his money went. Think of it, in northern Luzon and in the head hunter's country, and largely built by the Igorots themselves.

Our troubles we have now settled in the fashion you see [indicating]. That is a scene which followed the improper killing of an Igorot presidente by an Igorot constabulary soldier; and there was considerable uneasiness for a while, but the whole thing was settled amicably and we did not have any trouble about it at all.

The people who have responded most readily to our efforts to improve them are the Bukidnons, in northern Mindanao. There [indicating] is a man whose headdress shows that he has killed six or more persons.

There [indicating] is a typical woman with the old dress, which was modest and rather striking; and that [indicating] is the way you will find those people looking to-day. We did not make the slightest effort to get them to change their costumes; they did it themselves; and I may inform you that they order some of their dry goods from Montgomery, Ward & Co., of Chicago, the parcel post bringing them what they want. We found many of them living up in the tree tops in such structures as that [indicating]. That [indicating] was the house of one of the higher chiefs of the tribe, and to-day they are building houses like that which you see [indicating].

That [indicating] is typical of the villages which they have built up, having come down from the mountains and settled on the plains.

There [indicating] is the primitive house in which they live while building a good house under instruction, and the good house is going up.

That [indicating] is a typical street in one of the present model villages, which I think can not be improved upon anywhere in the world—at least anywhere in the Tropics—from the standpoint of sanitation; and it is something to have accomplished, to persuade those people to come down out of the hills. The method of leading them along has been very simple. They are imitative. When the street of the subprovincial capital began to get sticky, the lieutenant governor called his servants and had gravel put in front of his house. He said not a word to anybody in town about it; but the people then put gravel in front of their houses. Next the lieutenant governor built a stone sidewalk and the population of the town turned out and soon every house had a stone sidewalk in front of it.

Now, it has been alleged that when I begin talking about the hill people I lack "terminal facilities," and I fear some of you must feel by this term that such is the case, so I will not further impose on your time, although there are many more things I would like to tell you. I will simply thank you for your very kind attention and close. [Applause.]

(Thereupon, at 5 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until Thursday, December 31, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1914.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee assembled at 10 o'clock a. m.
Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Ransdell, Shafroth, Bristow, Crawford, McLean, Lippitt, and Kenyon.

STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER—Continued.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Worcester, you gave us yesterday a very interesting review of what the islands had been and what they are now. Will you now please take up H. R. 18459, and give us your opinion upon it and any suggestion of a change that you may have?

Mr. WORCESTER. I will be very glad to, sir. I should like, at the outset, to call attention to one of the provisions of section 28, the next to the last section of the act.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you not, in the first place, give us your general idea of the bill—what would be the effect of it substantially as it is?

Mr. WORCESTER. I should regret to see the bill passed in its present form, sir, because I think that it contains provisions which would prejudicially affect conditions in the Philippine Islands and the interests of the people.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now referring to the legislative features of the bill or the preamble?

Mr. WORCESTER. I am referring to both, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please set forth your views in your own way?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think that I should first like to call attention to one or two matters which are perhaps a result of oversight or lack of familiarity with conditions concerning which, perhaps, there would not be much discussion.

I have noted the provision of section 28 of the bill, which reads as follows:

That the provisions of the foregoing section shall not apply to the provincial and municipal officials; their salaries and the compensation of their deputies, assistants, and other help, as well as all other expense incurred by the Provinces and municipalities, shall be paid out of the provincial and municipal revenues in such manner as the Philippine Legislature shall provide.

There are several Provinces in the Philippine Islands, including all of the so-called special government Provinces, populated to a considerable extent by members of the non-Christian tribes, which are not self-supporting, and, in the natural course of events, can not be self-supporting for some time to come. It is impossible, I think at the present juncture, to expect those backward peoples, some of

whom are just emerging from savagery, to pay the cost of their own civilization, and I believe, judged even from the financial point of view, it would be very much cheaper to civilize them than it would be to fight them.

The necessity for appropriating for these Provinces was recognized by the last legislature, with a lower house composed exclusively of Filipinos and an upper house with a majority of Filipinos. That legislature appropriated for the Province of Neuva Viscaya \$35,900; for the Mountain Province \$75,300; for Mindoro \$16,500; for Palawan \$12,055; for Agusan, which is now otherwise classified, having been divided into two Provinces, \$52,620; for the Department of Mindanao and Sulu \$112,500, and it also appropriated for two Provinces populated almost exclusively by Filipinos, small sums. One of these, the Province of Batanes, is composed of a little group of small islands between northern Luzon and Formosa. It is the most isolated region in the Philippines and the number of inhabitants is not sufficient to justify a provincial government, but the isolation is such as to make such a government necessary, and the result is it can not be self-supporting. For it the legislature appropriated \$7,500. In Samar the salary of the governor for the hill people, who are really descendants of Filipinos for the most part, although there are a few non-Christians there, was also appropriated for from the insular treasury.

Now, the suggestion I would make is that the hands of the legislature be not tied in that particular. They have been left free in many more important matters, and these expenditures are really very necessary if these Provinces are to continue to do their work. And it seems to me it would be very unfortunate to limit the power of the legislature in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. The present law does not limit the legislature in that way?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not at all, sir. Insular government funds can be appropriated for such purposes.

I should like to call attention, also, at the outset to one or two slips which I note have occurred in the testimony. It has been stated that in every town in the islands, practically, there is some sort of a doctor. I wish this were true. But that statement gives a very misleading view of the facts as regards the possibility of sanitation. There are whole Provinces with only one single doctor, and until recently there have been whole Provinces where there was no doctor at all. The number of medical men in the islands to-day is very insufficient, and recognition of that fact led to the establishment of the College of Medicine and Surgery as one of the departments of the University of the Philippines, in which Filipinos of both sexes are educated in medicine and surgery.

I notice there seems to have been some misapprehension as to the number of children in the public schools, and it seems to me it is important that a correct statement should be entered on the record. Mr. Martin said the number under instruction was 300,000. That was intended as an approximate figure, I think, and it now seems to me that he was in error. In May, 1913, there were 430,000 children enrolled. In May of 1914, the present year, there were 577,000 children enrolled, and the attendance is very high in proportion to the enrollment in the Philippine Islands. The children are desirous of

getting an education and the attendance, perhaps, runs a good deal more near the enrollment than it would here. There are at least 800,000 children in the Philippines who would attend schools if they had an opportunity to do so with reasonable convenience, and there are 1,200,000 children who ought to attend schools.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course you do not mean in addition to the present number?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; I mean those as total figures. And if at any time this Government should be disposed to assist the people of the Philippines in a practical way there is no way, in my opinion, in which money could do quite so much good in the Philippines as it would if made available for increasing school facilities.

The CHAIRMAN. In all of those schools English is taught and the studies are in English?

Mr. WORCESTER. All of the schools are conducted in the English language.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent do they continue to speak English after they get through the schools?

Mr. WORCESTER. That depends, I think, very largely on where they are. The Filipino boys and girls like to keep up their English and like to use it when they have opportunity. It is a very common experience for those of us who speak Spanish to address some young man or woman in Spanish and receive a reply in English. There is hardly a town in the Philippine Islands to-day (by "town" I mean municipality) inhabited by Filipinos where one can not find young people who will converse quite freely in the English language.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give any idea of the percentage of the population able to speak the English language?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; I could not do that. There are no figures available at the present time, and I should have to guess. I should say, without hesitation, that there is a great deal more English spoken in the Philippines to-day, after a decade and a half of American rule, than there was Spanish spoken after something more than three centuries of Spanish rule. And I base that statement on personal observation. I have used the Spanish language myself for many years in my extensive Philippine travels and in later years English also.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you think the use of the Spanish and English languages compares at the present time?

Mr. WORCESTER. Among the older men and women of to-day Spanish predominates. Among the boys and girls and the very young men and women English is very much more common.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, perhaps you had better go back to the bill.

Senator LIPPITT. Before you leave that, Doctor, I think you were not allowed, perhaps, to state what the attendance of the children was in the schools. You said it was always a large proportion of the enrollment. How many would that be?

Mr. WORCESTER. I could not tell you exactly, sir, although I think the Bureau of education can readily furnish those figures. But I have looked through the attendance lists of many schools, on my inspection trips, and found they would run up in the nineties, usually, sometimes as high as 97 or 98.

Senator LIPPITT. Ninety-eight per cent, you mean?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was section 28 you criticized. Now, what other section do you wish to criticize?

Senator SHAFROTH. Doctor, in your book you make an estimate, do you not, of the number of children who are attending schools? I think I remember seeing some such estimate in one of the chapters.

Mr. WORCESTER. I think I put in some actual attendance figures which were obtained from the Bureau of Education.

Senator SHAFROTH. They were the figures at that time?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes. The later figures are, of course, now available. I sent for the facts last summer because I was anxious to see if our policy of extending primary education had been continued or curtailed there during the interim since my departure, and I found it had continued—the enrollment had continued to grow.

Perhaps I might as well go back to the beginning and call attention to the third paragraph in the preamble. It seems to me that that does not correctly state the purpose of the people of the United States, and that the mere element of stability in the Philippine government, if demonstrable in advance, which in itself would present some difficulties, would not be sufficient. I think that the Government—

Senator LIPPITT. Will you read that clause, so that it may be in the record—just what you are talking about?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir:

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein.

It seems to me that the government should be just as well as stable, and it seems to me, to meet the wishes of the people of the United States, that it should be representative in form. I can not believe that they would approve of a monarchy, which would be wholly unlikely; nor can I believe that they would approve of a military oligarchy, which, in my opinion, would be a certainty were the people left undisturbed to manage their own affairs. It seems to me then, that a just and representative government should be provided for, and it seems to me, further, that the will of the people should be carefully determined and considered, in any event, before we withdrew our sovereignty. You have been assured, I note, by reading the testimony, of a practical unanimity in the demand for independence in the Philippine Islands. I wish to assure you that there is no such unanimity; that what many of the people have in mind when they say they wish for independence is not independence at all. The truth is that from the outset the thing that the politicians have desired is the privilege of working their will on the common people, with the Navy of the United States lying in the offing to prevent interference from the outside, and that they call independence. Such a condition is, to me, unthinkable.

If we are to assume responsibility for government in the Philippine Islands we must retain some measure of effective control. We can not have there a protectorate over a government which might commit acts for which we should not desire to assume responsibility. Yet this has been and is the common conception of independence among the more educated people of the islands. So far as the common people are concerned, most of them know nothing about it, and

many of them have the most absurd ideas as to what it would mean. At the time the members of the Philippine Assembly were first selected, at the time of the first election, a campaign was made in Mindoro on the ground that if an assembly was established, and the proper man was elected from Mindoro, independence would come within six months, and it would mean no work and free food for the people of the islands. And many of them were ignorant enough to believe that was the case.

Senator LIPPITT. You say "a campaign was made." Exactly what do you mean by that?

Mr. WORCESTER. I mean to say, sir, that one of the candidates for election to the assembly made that among his election promises, or, rather, his preelection promises, in speaking to the people.

Senator LIPPITT. Was he elected?

Mr. WORCESTER. He was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did I understand you to say that, in your opinion, there is not a strong sentiment there, a dominating sentiment, in favor of independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. There is a strong sentiment in favor of independence among the politicians of the class who, as Filipinos say, love to fish in troubled waters—the class which made the plans in Hong-kong that were carried out through the trouble period of the Philippine insurrection against the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Was not that really brought to something of a test when a party was formed which antagonized independence, and did not that party fall away and decay?

Mr. WORCESTER. It fell away, but perhaps not altogether for the reason which you imagine.

The CHAIRMAN. What was that party called?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was called the Partido Federal. That party was formed, in the first instance, in an effort to secure peace in the islands. The time had come when the people generally felt that the reestablishment of good order and of personal safety were paramount issues. And the Federal Party contained at the outset influential men of every political belief who felt that there would be no future for the islands and that nothing could be done until they got peace, and they cooperated with us very effectively to that end. There were many men who came in from the field, joined this party, and helped to bring about the establishment of peace.

At the outset the government established was appointive, so far as the method of filling offices was concerned; and it naturally followed that many of these men who had rendered valuable service were appointed to office. Later on, as conditions became normal, it was felt that other men who had not affiliated themselves with the Federal Party, and who were conducting themselves in a proper manner and were men of influence in the community, ought to be recognized, and they also were appointed. We appointed many men who had openly opposed a continuance of American sovereignty and were known then to be opposed to it.

There have been and are only two political parties in the Philippines, the "ins" and the "outs." That condition is not peculiar to the Philippines by any means. And when the people found that men who had supported us in the old days were left out in the mat-

ter of appointments, and men who had opposed us were put in—and it happened at that time that a good many such men were put in because the others already had their share—it began to be believed that the way to get recognition was to make trouble so that one might be given an office to induce him to keep quiet. And that, in part, accounted for the change.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Commissioner Quezon said the other day that if he or any other man in the Philippine Islands antagonized independence he would not, in the election, be able to get a single vote.

Mr. WORCESTER. Well, I do not think that statement was accurate, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would a candidate who stood upon the federal idea as opposed to the independence idea be overwhelmingly defeated?

Mr. WORCESTER. At the present time there is an uncertainty on the part of the Filipinos as to what is going to happen, a fear that the men who were in the saddle in the old days of the revolution would again mount it if independence should come; and those who are opposed to it would not express their attitude openly, either verbally or by the exercise of the franchise. They have not forgotten what happened to those who advocated American control and who favored the American policy in the early days.

The CHAIRMAN. Nothing would happen to them if they were in the majority?

Mr. WORCESTER. Something would happen to them if independence came.

The CHAIRMAN. If it should be submitted to a vote. You are in favor of having it submitted to a vote of the Philippine people before it is granted, as I understand it?

Mr. WORCESTER. Ultimately; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I should judge from what you say there would be no chance of defeating independence, in view of the fear that public men seem to have in not espousing it.

Mr. WORCESTER. There would be no chance now. But the day will come when public opinion will be a good deal more freely expressed than it is at the present time—the day will come when those men who did things that were unpleasant in the days of the revolution have ceased to be regarded in the light of a possible menace.

Senator LIPPITT. What, exactly, do you mean by those statements you have been making? You have used some rather roundabout expressions—that these people would not express themselves if they were opposed to independence, that they would fear something. Exactly what would they fear?

Mr. WORCESTER. They fear that if independence were to come about vengeance would be taken on them.

Senator LIPPITT. When you say “vengeance” what do you mean? Would they be deprived of office or murdered or what?

Mr. WORCESTER. In the old days the adherents of such views were frequently murdered. They fear that the same thing might happen in the future.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean to say that that sort of feeling is so general in the Philippines that people who are really opposed to independence are afraid to express themselves openly?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is generally true that people opposed to independence are afraid to express themselves openly. If you speak Spanish and can talk directly with them, they will tell you what they think if you have their confidence.

Senator LIPPITT. What will it be that they say?

Mr. WORCESTER. They will say they think the country is not ready for independence and that it would be a calamity under existing conditions. At the same time, they will ask you not to quote them.

Senator SHAFROTH. Does not that arise from the fact that the immense majority is against that position among the Filipinos?

Mr. WORCESTER. The immense majority has not any particular attitude in the premises. If you are referring to the population as a whole, the common people are indifferent. As long as they can live peacefully and quietly and pursue their normal occupations, they are contented.

Senator SHAFROTH. Great petitions have been presented, signed by a good many people, asking for independence, have they not?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes. You can get a petition for almost anything signed by a great many people in the Philippines.

Senator SHAFROTH. Has any petition been signed by Filipinos against independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. A recent number of one of the Manila papers stated that a petition was being circulated asking for a continuance of American sovereignty, and that it has been signed by some 60 important Filipinos. Whether or not that is true, I do not know.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is that an American paper?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is a paper published in the English language; yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the name of it?

Mr. WORCESTER. The Manila Bulletin.

Senator LIPPITT. I am told that it is a very common thing in the Philippines at banquets, etc., for men to get up and speak in favor of independence and then to come privately to Americans and say they are not in favor of it, but they felt they had to speak that way in order to appear in that light in case independence should be granted. Have you yourself had any such instances as that?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have, sir. Would you like a specific case?

Senator LIPPITT. I would be very glad to have a specific case or several of them.

Mr. WORCESTER. At the time Secretary Dickinson was in the Philippines a political banquet was held in his honor, just before his departure, at which there were a number of speeches. I sat by Dr. Tavera, who at that time expressed himself quite radically when on his feet as in favor of early independence. When he took his seat I said to him, "Doctor, what would you do if you got it?" He said "Calle te," which means "be still," and comes pretty near meaning "shut up." I knew him pretty well. "I would take the first boat for Hongkong."

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a man of considerable property there?

Mr. WORCESTER. He was the leader of the Partido Federal at one time. He was a member of the Philippine Commission for many years and is one of the ablest living Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you to make the suggestion that the overwhelming sentiment there in favor of independence would prob-

ably change in a few years if it were to be submitted to an election at that time.

Mr. WORCESTER. I mean vocal sentiment. The sentiment that finds its way into the native press is in favor of independence; but I mean to say that the people with something to lose, the men of property, are generally, in reality, opposed to it, but that they refrain from expressing their views in fear that if independence should come they would be punished by those who have advocated it and in the certainty that nothing will be done to them by Americans because they remain quiet and nothing will be done to them if they openly oppose independence because of the attitude of the United States in the matter of free speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose independence should be given the Filipinos within a few years. What do you think would actually happen?

Mr. WORCESTER. You mean complete independence?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WORCESTER. With no United States protectorate?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WORCESTER. I think that what would happen would be that there would be a quarrel for offices in the first instance; that elections would soon become farcical; that within a comparatively short time the different political factions would become so at outs with each other that armed violations of public order would result; that we would soon have a state of bloodshed and anarchy and that not very long after complete independence had been granted there would occur aggressions against foreigners owing to the disturbance of the public order; that these aggressions would be of such a nature as to justify foreign intervention and would be made the basis for such intervention; and that the islands would be taken possession of by some foreign power or powers beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, they have had self-government among themselves for a good many years in the municipalities, have they not?

Mr. WORCESTER. They have had a large degree of intervention in their own affairs. It can hardly be said to be complete self-government, because a close supervision has been exercised over municipal expenditures, and the power of removal of municipal officers has been retained in the hands of the Governor General, so that they may be kept going straight.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have they been permitted to elect their officers?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; all of the municipal officers, with the exception of the municipal treasurers, are elected.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the basis of the franchise to vote for municipal officers? Is it the same as the basis of the franchise to vote for members of the legislature?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; voters must have held office in the Spanish régime—

Senator LIPPITT. It is the same—

Mr. WORCESTER. It is the same. They must have held office, or have certain property qualifications, or pay a certain amount of fixed taxes, or read and write the English or the Spanish language.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have there been any disturbances there after these elections where the natives have participated in the elections as between candidates or as between people and the candidates?

Mr. WORCESTER. A great deal of bitterness has resulted from some of the elections and a disturbance of social conditions has ensued. There has been little disturbance of public order. I have in mind especially the town of Cuyo, in Palawan, which was always a very prosperous and peaceful town until elections began to be held, and its people are now hopelessly split up into rival factions, so that it is impossible, in the very nature of things, for them to do much for its betterment. I received and transmitted a signed petition from the people of that town asking that the right of electing a member of the Philippine Assembly should be withdrawn because of the trouble elections had caused in the town.

Senator SHAFROTH. Outside of agitation, has there been any bloodshed?

Mr. WORCESTER. Very little, indeed.

Senator LIPPITT. There could not be bloodshed as long as there was a constabulary there?

Mr. WORCESTER. No; the organization for maintaining public order is adequate, and things do not come to that stage in connection with municipal elections. There is not enough involved to bring about such a result.

Senator McLEAN. Doctor, have you any opinion to express as to the cause of the present disturbance there?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; I should like to go on record, because I myself have been one of a number of people to suffer in the past from irresponsible statements circulated in the United States relative to disorders in the Philippine Islands. The man back of the present disturbance seems to be Artemio Ricarte, a professional insurrectionist, who has often in the past sent his agents into the Philippines to stir up trouble among the ignorant people. The method of procedure ordinarily followed is about this: They go to some region where the people do not know better, or work among some class that is especially ignorant, and they say to them, "There is going to be an insurrection with lots of guns; you had better be on the side of the people with the guns." That always appeals, of course. And they say further, "You had better be an officer instead of a soldier; you would be able to get on better. A colonelcy will cost \$5; a captaincy will cost \$2; a lieutenantcy will cost \$1." Those are, perhaps, fair average figures. When these poor dupes have paid over their money in order to secure commissions and when the men who are organizing the alleged insurrection have gathered a reasonable sum in this way they divide it and depart, usually leaving a list of the officers and men of the organization, or what purports to be a list, and including in it the names of people who declined to join them, so as to get them into trouble. And the common people who go in for that sort of thing frequently have not much of any idea there will be trouble, but they fear something might happen to them if they stayed out, or they really believe they are going to be officers and so reap a reward.

Now, we have usually found out about those things seasonably and have squashed them before they came to anything. In the present instance it would seem that such a movement had started and had

gone a little further than usual, possibly as a result of the somewhat limited experience on the part of those who had it to deal with.

Senator McLEAN. Have you any information other than what you get from the press as to the existing condition there?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have some information which I received yesterday by cablegram from the Philippine Islands, which came to me direct because of the fact that having expressed my views to the press along the lines above indicated I thought I would satisfy myself, by a direct communication, as to the facts. I had been unable, I may say, to find out who was sending this information from the Philippines, and much of course would depend on its source.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you that cablegram there?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose you read it into the record?

Mr. WORCESTER. This was a code message and was transmitted to me over the telephone after being translated and there may be some slight inaccuracies in it. I might say I particularly asked for information as to conditions on Corregidor and the other islands at the mouth of the bay, as Governor General Harrison was silent on that subject in the communication from him which I read in the public press. I arranged to have this message come through my own immediate subordinate in the Philippines, knowing that he would add suggestions of his own if there was anything in it which did not accord with his own views. The message reads as follows:

General commanding Corregidor denying the rumor regarding disarming of scouts. Mob in botanical garden scattered by the police before the time set for uprising. Arrested 20 bolo men. Movement wide. Quite well organized. Ricarte connected with it. Drastic measures required to prevent it from spreading. It is generally believed the disturbance is being caused by widespread ideas of Government weakness. Sedition not suppressed. By a wrong interpretation of promises of administration in circulation by politicians among ignorant masses. Boy scout military organization. Foreigners apprehensive. Great many have applied for firearms permit. Impossible to do anything to corroborate many facts. Witnesses are forbidden to give information. Government will not allow us to see documents seized by Army. Have issued arms to civil employees. Uprising insignificant in accomplishment, but dangerous on account of potential agitation of lowest classes. Similar to 1896.

I wish to say that the revolution of 1896 became formidable only in the end. It was not formidable at the outset; it was a small matter in the beginning. This does not mean that now there are conditions comparable to those that arose in 1896, I am sure.

Have arrested men in Manila. Rizbullag—

I think this means Rizal, which is the Province adjacent to Manila, and Bulacan, which is also adjacent to Manila, but further to the westward—

Main leaders have not been apprehended. Concessions secured indicating that Americans were to be attacked.

I think that is a mistake in transmission. I think it means "communications secured," probably, because "concessions" would be meaningless. I will read it "communications secured."

Communications secured indicating that Americans were to be attacked. Property to be confiscated or destroyed—

That code word means both things, I understand—

There is no evidence that property-owning natives are involved. Absolutely no Americans connected with uprising.

Now, as to the portion reading "have issued arms to civilian employees," a later supplementary cablegram was received directing that those words be stricken out, and that is obviously an incorrect statement.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, no arms were issued to civilian employees?

Mr. WORCESTER. No arms were issued to civilian employees. This is signed by P. G. McDonnell, who is the man from whom I requested the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. McDonnell?

Mr. WORCESTER. He is the editor of the Cablenews-American and Philippine correspondent of the New York Sun and, I think, the papers of the Scripps-McCrea syndicate generally.

Senator McLEAN. What is his experience in the islands? How long has he been there?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think he has been there 12 years, sir.

Senator McLEAN. In what capacity?

Mr. WORCESTER. He was a newspaper man in the first instance. He came there as a newspaper correspondent. Afterwards, for a good many years, he was a member of the municipal board of the city of Manila and ultimately he returned to his newspaper work.

Senator McLEAN. Have you any other information?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have no information, sir, except that on the day that I sent this message I received a cablegram from Mr. John R. Wilson, through whom this later message was transmitted, saying everything was quiet at Manila at that time.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you think, Doctor, that this disturbance over there is due to the fact that there is pending in Congress this bill?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have no means of judging, sir, whether that is the case or not. I am inclined to believe it was just one of the perennial disturbances of that general nature which inevitably occur from time to time in a country where brigandage was a few years ago common, and where a rapid change in the social conditions has come about; and that with reasonable care and energy on the part of the officials it would amount to nothing at all in actual accomplishment.

Senator SHAFROTH. You do not think, then, it is an uprising of the people to demand immediate independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. I should greatly doubt it, sir. Personally I would not attach much importance to it as a formidable disturbance of public order at the present time. Those things are very likely to be misinterpreted at a time when a measure like this is pending, for improper purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor Worcester, the signer of that cablegram to you—is he the author, also, of those cablegrams to one or more of the New York papers that have been given a good deal of significance at this time.

Mr. WORCESTER. Not so far as I know, sir. I have been unable to ascertain who was sending those messages to the New York papers.

Senator McLEAN. Have you a personal acquaintance with Mr. McDonnell?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

Senator McLEAN. For how many years?

Mr. WORCESTER. During practically the entire period of his sojourn in the islands.

Senator McLEAN. What is your opinion of him as a reliable informant?

Mr. WORCESTER. Knowing that he knew I wished this information on the eve of my appearance before this committee I feel very sure it is a conservative statement of his views as to the actual situation. He knows I always attempt to deal in facts. And I have received from him a great deal of information since leaving the islands, which there has since been an opportunity to corroborate, and I have never yet been deceived by him in matters of fact. It must be remembered, however, that much of the matter contained in this cablegram is in the nature of an expression of opinion and of course that is subject to discount.

Senator McLEAN. Is he opposed personally to the granting of independence or to this measure?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have no doubt that he is opposed to the granting of independence.

The CHAIRMAN. In this connection, I believe this would be the proper place for me to read into the record a cablegram from the governor general addressed to the Secretary of War. It is dated:

MANILA, December 27, 1914.

SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington:

Referring to telegram from your office of 24th instant, Army headquarters state there is absolutely no truth in the reports about Corregidor, Carabao, and Fraile alleged occurrences. The boy scouts are unarmed organizations whose movements are well known to the Government. A law is about to be passed prohibiting their existence without approval of the Governor General.

On Christmas eve there was a small and unsuccessful movement in Manila connected with the Ricarte campaign. Ricarte has for several years conducted from Hongkong revolutionary propaganda appealing to the most ignorant classes of Filipinos and selling through his agents in the islands commissions in his so-called army for sums from a peseta to 10 pesos (10 cents silver to \$5). During the past three months five of the Ricarte leaders have been arrested and sentenced to four and six years, including Ricarte's right-hand man. It has been regarded as a grafting scheme under a revolutionary guise, but from time to time arouses excitement among the uneducated classes.

Christmas eve about 75 men, extremely ignorant, without firearms, met at the botanical garden in Manila and were dispersed by the municipal police without disorder, except that three shots were fired into the air by the police and 20 men arrested. Eight of the latter held upon the charge of carrying concealed weapons—knives and bolos. Nobody was injured, except one man shot by policeman later in the night, in another part of the city, when he attacked a policeman with bolo.

Movements of similar character occurred at Navotas, 10 miles from Manila, where about 40 men assembled and endeavored unsuccessfully to loot municipal safe, taking provincial governor prisoner, who afterwards escaped uninjured. Twenty of this party captured by constabulary or municipal police.

Ten men with two firearms in Laguna de Bay attempted to make trouble last night with no results. Everything quiet now, and vigorous attempt will be made to secure leaders, chief of whom believed to be man under sentence of imprisonment for homicide, who has jumped his bail. Nobody of any standing or influence is concerned in this movement.

HARRISON.

Senator LIPPITT. Dr. Worcester, is the fact that an uprising of this sort can take place under the present government of the islands of any significance as to what might happen in case the islands had their independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it is, sir. It is an evidence of what would happen if the government were not strong. It will be noted that so far as concerns statements of fact there is substantial accord between Gov. Gen. Harrison's message and the one which I read to the committee. The differences would seem to be in the expressions of opinion as to the importance of the movement. It would seem that the Governor General had left Manila after the first inquiries were made relative to the alleged disturbance, which is evidence certainly of his good faith in the belief that a disturbance was not going to occur; and I think all that remains to be ascertained is whether or not the movement was not, perhaps, somewhat more extended than he thought at the time he wrote his second communication. As a possible menace to the public order of the Philippines it seems to me negligible. As an indication of what might happen it has some importance. It is one of a series of movements, things that from time to time spring into being, and unless they are checked they go on and become formidable. If an embryo organization brought together for the ostensible purpose of disturbing public order is not broken up, it is apt to be forced in the end to go ahead and do something to justify its existence.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is the rallying cry of those who make these disturbances that they are deprived of their independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not think so, sir. The statement which is circulated among them is frequently that there is going to be a revolution, without any specific cause for it being alleged.

Senator SHAFROTH. Without any object in view?

Mr. WORCESTER. Without any special object in view.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any further recommendation as to the preamble, except what you have already given?

Mr. WORCESTER. It seems to me, referring to the next paragraph—

Senator LIPPITT. Have you finished discussing that third paragraph? I thought you were interrupted by some questions and had, perhaps, not said all you meant to say.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; I think I have said all I care to say concerning the third paragraph.

It seems to me that it is unwise to declare that—

For a speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States.

I think that we shall much sooner accomplish our purpose if we place in their hands only the largest degree of control of their domestic affairs which they show that they can exercise with a reasonable degree of success. In other words, I believe that the practical way to develop the Filipino people is to let the apples hang high and make them climb for them instead of telling them to hold their hats and shaking the tree. Set high ideals and make them live up to them. We have had a good deal of experience in making the people live up to such ideals. We required a high degree of proficiency for doctors of medicine, and we are now educating and turning out really well-trained physicians and surgeons. We set high requirements for the training of nurses, and the result has been admirably satisfac-

tory, and, I think, this is the principle that should be followed to give the Filipinos increased opportunity only so fast as it seems reasonably probable that they can properly take advantage of it.

Senator SHAFROTH. Doctor, have you studied the question as to when, in your judgment, they should be given independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not think, sir, that we can form any accurate estimate of the time when Philippine independence could safely be granted if we are agreed that they shall have a representative government there. We shall, perhaps, be able to form such an estimate when the boys and girls of to-day, who are being educated, have become the men and women of to-morrow, and we can see what the practical results of our educational work really are.

The CHAIRMAN. When will that be, Doctor, approximately?

Mr. WORCESTER. It will be at the end of a generation from the time we began our educational work, or at least when it became reasonably general in the islands. If I may say a word more, in that connection: The people whom I see over here, who assume to be Filipinos are, for the most part, not Filipinos in the proper sense of the word. They are Filipinos by birth, of course, but so far as their blood is concerned they are not Malays. The great mass of the Filipino peoples is composed of men and women who are to all intents and purposes Malays. Now, the darker individuals have not as yet developed to any great extent. It is impossible to say to-day whether that fact is due to mental inferiority, or whether it is due simply to a lack of opportunity. I do not know. I am encouraged to believe that the latter is the case, because of the amount of practical common sense that one sometimes finds stowed away in the head of one of those old chaps who has learned what he knows from the hard school of life. That is fairly frequently. But the truth is, whatever may be said to the contrary, that education for the many in the Spanish days was of the most rudimentary character. The enrollment in the public schools at the time the Spanish sovereignty terminated was only approximately 177,000, and the attendance was very irregular. Means of instruction were almost lacking and frequently the only thing taught was a little catechism in one of the native dialects. Even Spanish was not taught in a very considerable percentage of the public schools.

Now, under those circumstances, certainly it was not to be anticipated that the individuals who suffered from the results of that educational system would go far. The people of the mestizo class—which means not half-breeds but individuals of mixed blood, they are not necessarily Malay at all—had, on the average, very superior opportunities through the influence and the means of their fathers. The mestizos are almost invariably, in the first instance, children of native mothers by foreign fathers, and these fathers often looked after their children—that is, they gave them opportunities for education and travel, which are not enjoyed by the average native at all.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent are the people of the Philippine Islands mestizos or of mixed blood?

Mr. WORCESTER. Half-bloods, not to a very large extent; mixed bloods in a very large majority of cases, although you will not get them to admit it. You will have a man tell you he is a pure Malay when everybody knows he is a Chinese mestizo. They do not like their Chinese blood, as a rule.

Senator CRAWFORD. Are there enough of these men in whom the white blood predominates and who are intelligent to take the responsibility and, if our influence was withdrawn, to successfully administer a stable government for this admixture of peoples of Malay blood?

Mr. WORCESTER. I believe it has been estimated that there were enough of them for one change of officers in the important offices. The answer to your question, sir, is, I think, that their training has been such and their spirit toward the common people at the present time is such, that they would not so administer the public affairs of the Philippine Islands, even if there were enough of them.

Senator CRAWFORD. The question of whether a permanent stable government could be maintained there, that was reasonably just, depends upon whether or not that class could maintain such a government, does it not, if the influence of the United States is withdrawn?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir—could and would.

Senator LIPPITT. What kind of a government would that be, Mr. Worcester? Would that be a representative republic, an oligarchy, or what sort of a government would it be, as described by the Senator?

Mr. WORCESTER. At the present time, sir, there are only about 250,000 people voting in the Philippines with the existing requirements, and a good many of them do not exercise much intelligence in casting their ballots. I have already expressed an opinion that if the islands were turned loose elections would cease in the not very distant future.

Senator LIPPITT. An opinion was expressed to me a day or two ago by a gentleman who had some familiarity with this situation, that if the islands were given absolute independence in a very short time the Moros would control the islands. Do you think there is any justification for that? He said that the Moros were a warlike sort of people and they would overrun the conduct of the balance of the people if left entirely free from outside interference.

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not think that it is true that it would come about in a short time, sir. I think it would come about in the end, if the wholly improbable thing were to occur that the islands were shut off from the rest of the world, so far as outside interference in matters of public order was concerned. The proportion between Moros and Filipinos has not changed essentially since the days of the Spanish conquest. At that time the Moros were increasing in the archipelago. From small beginnings in Basilan they established themselves in Sulu, Tawi Tawi, Mindanao, and Palawan, and on one occasion even remained in Mindoro, which is an island almost at the mouth of Manila Bay, for two years without its being possible for the Spaniards to dislodge them. I have perhaps confused somewhat my statement of conditions which existed at the time of the discovery with that of the conditions which afterwards arose. At the time of the discovery they were actively and successfully pushing their religious propaganda. The Spaniards had great difficulty in controlling them and for many years were unable to do so. They built a strong line of forts on the islands where the Moros landed first on their way north, and for a long time the fleets of Moro boats from the southward swept through the northern islands with each southwest monsoon, carrying men and women and children away into

slavery and making life unsafe throughout practically the entire archipelago. The old fortifications for defense against the Moros are found clear up to the northern end of Luzon and on the island of Polillo, out on the Pacific near the northern end of Luzon, on the east side. We have had a great deal of trouble with the Moros, who are indomitable fighters. The Moros do not hesitate to say to people they know well, and sometimes they do not hesitate to say in public, that they would resume their attacks on the Filipinos if an attempt were made on the part of the Filipinos to govern them. And my own belief is that it would be wholly impossible for the Filipinos to govern them in their own country. Now, that is the place to act, in keeping them off the seas. When they once get to sea in their little boats, with the coast line of the Philippines longer than that of the continental United States and abounding in good harbors and rendezvous where they could gather in accordance with a preconcerted plan, it would be easy for them to attack some defenseless town and get away again before any organized armed force could be brought into action against them.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they now held in restraint by the Philippine Constabulary?

Mr. WORCESTER. They are held in restraint, sir, at the present time by the Philippine Constabulary, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think that would be sufficient to still hold them in restraint afterwards?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not at all, sir. Soldiers of the United States Army have only very recently been removed from their country and have not gone very far, and they know they can come back again promptly, and may be called upon at any time. They have had their very severe lessons in armed combat with the men of our Army.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time of those deprivations of the Moros in the Spanish régime, was there anything that corresponded to the present Philippine Constabulary to check them?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; there was the guardia civil, so called.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a sufficient body?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was officered chiefly by Spaniards and made up chiefly by Spaniards.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that a sufficient body?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not so efficient as the present Philippine Constabulary, by any means.

Senator LIPPITT. Did it succeed in controlling the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; all the Moro country—

Senator LIPPITT. I mean such part of the islands as was under Spanish control?

Mr. WORCESTER. It did not succeed in preventing Moro raids. It did succeed in preventing the spread of the Mohammedan faith, and a line was drawn at the points to which the Mohammedan faith had extended at the time of the Spanish occupation, and the Moros kept within it so far as actual domination and permanent occupancy of territory was concerned; but not until 1874, when some steam gunboats and some machine guns came into use, were the Spaniards able to check piracy and to keep the Moros in the southern country where they belonged.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the numerical strength of the guardia civil?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not know, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. They were the same, you think, as the constabulary?

Mr. WORCESTER. I should have to make a guess, which I dislike to do. I have never ascertained the number of the guardia civil.

Senator LIPPITT. Are the Moros in favor of independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; not at all.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have they ever petitioned against independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; that is, they have spoken against it openly.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have those expressions been transmitted to Congress, do you know?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think, sir, you will find in the report of the Secretary of War, Mr. Dickinson, quite an extended account of what occurred at Zamboanga when he was there. He quotes the representations made by the Moros at that time.

Senator RANSELL. What do the Moros wish?

Mr. WORCESTER. The Moros wish us to continue to look after their affairs, so far as any choice between Filipinos and the Americans is concerned. I have no doubt the Moros would be delighted to have their own way in their own country if they could really vote on what they wish for in their heart of hearts.

Senator LIPPITT. When you say they are not in favor of independence, you mean they are not in favor of substituting Filipino government in the islands for the American?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is what I mean.

Senator LIPPITT. Their conception would be, then, to leave them alone and let the other part of the islands have the independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. That would be their conception.

Senator SHAFROTH. Have they ever petitioned for separate independence for themselves?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not to my knowledge. They would no doubt like it. They are piratical sea rovers just brought under control, and it is safe to assume they would like to be left free on the sea.

Senator SHAFROTH. You suggested something in the nature at the end of this generation there might be a likelihood or perhaps might be a preparedness for independence.

Mr. WORCESTER. What I was going on to say, Senator, is that by that time we should have some reasonable basis for an estimate of the capabilities of the common people, because many of them would have been given their opportunity for education and some would have been actually tried out.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you think that would show at that time whether they were capable of self-government?

Mr. WORCESTER. I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, sir. I do not like to express an opinion as to what the result at that time would be.

Senator SHAFROTH. You have expressed some opinions as to what would happen if it were done now.

Mr. WORCESTER. That is based on what has very recently been done, and on the further postulate that the men who did it are still in business, sir.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do you believe in promising independence at any time?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is a pretty hard question to answer. If it were not that any promise we can make is subject to misrepresentation and misinterpretation, and may do more harm than good, I should believe in promising independence when the people were ready for it. This has one very great advantage, that it gives them a stimulus to better things. If we were to say, "You are going to have your independence in 1935," or at some other time, this stimulus is taken away. They would say, "Very well, we will establish our own kind of a government then," and would let down meanwhile. If they are kept on their good behavior, if they are, so to speak, under bonds to keep the peace, if they know they are under observation, the chance of their walking straight is very much better.

The whole situation resolves itself to this: The Filipinos have advanced much further than has any other people of Malay origin. I had the pleasure of telling some of you yesterday some of the good things they have done in the days of tutelage since the American occupation, and some of those things are extremely encouraging. We have had a good many satisfactory results along a good many lines. And we have obtained them by setting high standards and compelling them to come up to them. Unquestionably, whatever may be said of the Spanish occupation, the Filipinos are to-day of a comparatively high social development. What the Spaniards did for them, and more especially what the friars did for them for a long time when that was really a missionary enterprise on foot was admirable. Ultimately the government became corrupt and degenerated into a machine for squeezing taxes out of the people. The funds so obtained were often used for improper purposes. The truth is the Filipinos are where they are to-day because they had been pushed there, and the question is what would happen if the pressure were removed? Have they been brought to the point where they can go on by themselves, or have they not yet reached that point? My own conviction is that they have not reached such a stage of development that they can go on alone, and I base that conclusion on what has happened and is happening in the remote parts of the islands, where because of isolation and a reduction in the number of priests the moral pressure has been relaxed. There has been a very distinct backsliding in a good many of those regions. I think it is fair to assume that some time in the future the stage would be reached where they could hold their own and would go on. But I am certain that they would not get the chance to try if they were turned loose at the present time.

The country is not economically ready for self-government. It does not feed itself. Millions of dollars' worth of rice has to be imported annually. Thousands of head of cattle have to be imported annually to furnish beef to the city of Manila. And the people have not come to a place where they themselves realize the importance of doing things that would make the archipelago the rich and populous country that it ought to be. It is capable of tremendous development and the population would increase rapidly if we could only save the youngsters that are born, and the population would increase by leaps and bounds if infant mortality were reasonably low. But it is at the present time shockingly high. There is no reason

why the Philippines could not support a larger population than Japan and they should ultimately become abundantly able to take care of themselves.

I will give a practical illustration of what I mean when I speak of their disinclination to do what is necessary by citing what has recently happened in the matter of dealing with rinderpest, a very serious cattle disease. It was introduced during the latter Spanish days, and after the war, when peace was established, there were not left in the agricultural country anything like a sufficient number of animals to till the soil. Brigandage and cattle stealing became very prevalent on account of this condition. In fighting this disease our bureaus of agriculture and science cooperated for many years, and the fight was in the end very successful. One of the exceedingly foolish things which the Filipinized legislature did at its last session was to take the control of that fight from the hands of the men in the bureau of agriculture, which has been directing it and place that control in the hands of Filipino provincial officials. This, too, just at a time when rinderpest had been almost wiped out. When the change took effect there were only nine towns in which the infection had not been entirely eradicated and the number of cases was very small, and deaths from rinderpest had ceased to be important in determining the death rate among cattle. The number of cattle was very rapidly increasing when executive control was taken away from the bureau of agriculture.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that power taken away?

Mr. WORCESTER. By act of the legislature, which deprived the director of agriculture of the authority he previously had and conferred it on the officers of the Provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that done?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was done at the last previous session of the Philippine Legislature; the first session after Gov. Gen. Harrison arrived in the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that was after the Filipinos obtained a majority in the house?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was, sir. They had tried to do it before, but they had been unable to do it because the majority of the Americans in the upper house would not consent.

Senator CRAWFORD. That could have been vetoed.

Mr. WORCESTER. It has not been vetoed. It might possibly have been vetoed by the Secretary of War, but this has not, as a matter of fact, been done, and before he could have been informed of the situation the old organization was gone. The result is that rinderpest has again spread. In 1902 the estimated value of the cattle destroyed by it during that year—and they were then mostly gone, anyhow, relatively speaking—was \$50,000,000. And it is perfectly well known to the people that without cattle that country can not continue to prosper, because it is an agricultural country pure and simple. Manufactures are almost negligible. Yet in 1914 that disease was again allowed to spread and was finally checked in a substantial measure only by the very active intervention of the Governor General and other high American executive officers of the government.

The CHAIRMAN. That checking occurred between 1903 and 1913?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir. The checking began originally in 1903 and continued, through the cooperation of the bureau of science and

the bureau of agriculture of the Philippine government, until the time of the last previous session of the Philippine Legislature, the one before the present session.

The CHAIRMAN. Would that be 1913 or 1912?

Mr. WORCESTER. 1913, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the condition now? Is it raging now as a disease?

Mr. WORCESTER. I can not say, sir, because I have not had recent information on the subject. Up to the time when I last received my information, which was the middle of the summer, rinderpest had continued to spread. It does not stop by itself, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not explained to the committee what motive the legislature had for putting a stop to those activities of the agricultural department.

Mr. WORCESTER. Simply, sir, that they wished to give more power to the provincial governors. The rinderpest work was unpopular among the people most benefited by it. It interfered with the free movements of their cattle, and they had not a large enough view to see that this meant real money in their pockets in the end. They have not come to that point as yet.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are not in any position to judge whether the action of the legislature has resulted very disastrously?

Mr. WORCESTER. It had resulted very disastrously at the time of the last information I had through the increase in the number of centers of infection.

The CHAIRMAN. What time was that?

Senator McLEAN. You go into that, do you not, in the new chapter to the latest edition of your book?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; I have discussed it there.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not, however, oppose the idea of giving the Filipinos full control of their legislature?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not think it wise at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Then that is a feature of this bill that you criticize?

Mr. WORCESTER. On May 17 there were 36 towns infected with rinderpest.

Senator LIPPITT. Of what year?

Mr. WORCESTER. Of 1914, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. As against nine towns infected—

Mr. WORCESTER (interposing). In February.

The CHAIRMAN. The prior February?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir. I have other figures, but I do not have them here.

Senator LIPPITT. As against nine towns in February of what year?

Mr. WORCESTER. February of 1914, the same year. That is, during the period from February to May the number of infected towns increased from 9 to 36.

Senator RANDELL. What kinds of cattle are infected?

Mr. WORCESTER. All horned cattle.

Senator RANDELL. It does not affect hogs?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; it does not affect hogs.

Senator RANDELL. Or mules or horses?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. It had, in 1903, almost wiped the horned cattle off of the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. It had, sir. In some places there had been a loss of 90 per cent of the original number.

The CHAIRMAN. The act that you referred to, with your permission, I will put into the record at this time so as to get it straight, because I think we will have to investigate it a little more. It is known as No. 2303, being an "An act amending section 6 of Act No. 17160 permitting provincial boards to intervene in the prevention of the spread of dangerous communicable animal diseases within the islands."

By authority of the United States, be it enacted by the Philippine Legislature, that:

SECTION 1. Sections 6 of act No. 1760 is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following paragraph:

(g) The director of agriculture shall prescribe all necessary measures to enforce the provisions of the foregoing subsections (c), (d), and (e), and the provincial governor of the province concerned shall have the direction of and be responsible for the enforcement of the measures so prescribed."

That is the case which you criticize?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is the case.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the motive for giving the provincial governors that authority?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not think I could speak for the Philippine Legislature on that subject. I can only hazard a guess. The governors wanted it because the rinderpest work was unpopular, and previously they really had to be the agents of the bureau of agriculture for performing it, with the result that when they did this work efficiently they were quite likely not to be reelected.

The CHAIRMAN. That was enacted December 13, 1913.

Mr. WORCESTER. It did not take effect in actual practice—the change was not made until February or thereabouts, so far as the bureau of agriculture was concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. And an emergency clause was attached, making it immediately effective.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes.

Senator BRISTOW. Dr. Worcester, it is not unnatural for an administrative measure such as an act for stamping out disease, to be unpopular with any administration. It would not be true, perhaps, in our own country, but on the Isthmus of Panama, if the sanitation of Panama had been left to the local authorities it would never have been done.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes. But in our own country a controlling majority of the people are in favor of work of that sort, as has recently been seen in the measures taken to prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth disease here. But in that country there does not exist such a body of public sentiment at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me read you, also, another act passed very soon after that, being act No. 2350, which was an act providing funds for the expenses of three companies of Philippine Scouts detailed on rinderpest quarantine duty in the Province of Pampanga and the salary and expenses of two live-stock inspectors. It reads:

SECTION 1. The sum of 7,500 pesos is hereby appropriated for the payment of the expenses of three companies of scouts, and the salary and traveling ex-

penses of two live-stock inspectors, all detailed on rinderpest quarantine in the Province of Pampanga.

That was made immediately effective. So it would look as though the legislature appropriated money to control the rinderpest disease.

Mr. WORCESTER. They did, sir; but the amount of money actually expended was materially less than the amount the campaign previously cost, because the expenses had been borne, in large part, by the Government of the United States, which supports the scouts, and they had been used largely in maintaining cattle quarantines. I do not mean to say, sir, that the legislature provided directly or indirectly for the suspension of the antirinderpest campaign. I do mean to say that the result of the action which they took was to destroy the effectiveness of the campaign at a time when it might have been carried finally through to completion and where they might have got rid of the infection throughout the archipelago.

Now, as to the popular attitude toward such things, there is hardly such a thing as a Filipino veterinarian in the islands to-day. At the time the University of the Philippines was established, because of the dire need of veterinarians and the belief that the Filipinos would make excellent veterinarians, as they had made excellent physicians and surgeons, with proper training, a college of veterinary science was opened. The first year there were no students at all. At the same time the School of Fine Arts opened and the registrations were necessarily discontinued, so as to prevent too large number of people from entering, after they had reached 700.

The last time that I had figures, which was just at the time I left the islands, the total number of persons who had entered the veterinary college was, I think, 43—I can give you the exact figures; the total enrollment in the veterinary college was 47; and in the school of fine arts it was 3,229.

Now, until the people learn to be more interested in protecting the animals, which make it possible for them to till the soil, than they are in drawing and painting, the status of agriculture would be precarious under Filipino rule.

The health work of human beings is another practical illustration. The lower house has tried for years to secure the passage of a bill placing the director of health under the control of appointive council, to be made up largely of Filipinos. That would be like putting a general of an army in the field under the control of a board of officers sitting somewhere else.

(Thereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the committee took a recess until 2.30 o'clock p. m.)

AFTER RECESS.

The committee reassembled at the expiration of the recess.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Worcester, will you resume?

STATEMENT OF HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER—Continued.

Mr. WORCESTER. I want to refer for a moment to the provision in lines 19 and 20 on page 5 of the bill, to the effect that polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited. Now, of course, if that

is intended as an academic statement of our attitude on the subject of the practice of a very objectionable custom, it is highly proper. If it is anticipated that under it the Philippine Legislature would pass an act prohibiting and penalizing polygamous marriages and would then proceed against those Moros who now have plural wives, I am frank to say I am very doubtful as to its desirability. There is, of course, no question as to the fact that polygamy is a great evil; but there is also no question of the fact that the Moros have practiced it from the beginning of time, and that they have practiced it in accordance with their religious beliefs.

It is expressly provided in this bill that religious beliefs shall not be interfered with, but that, of course, was not intended to apply in connection with the practice of customs which we regard as criminal. The practical question of how such an evil as polygamy is to be ended among a people like the Moros is worthy of very serious consideration. And, as the result of a great deal of experience in dealing with troublesome questions of that sort, I should personally prefer to trust to time to bring home to the Moros that polygamy was a custom decidedly out of date, rather than to attempt actively to enforce an act penalizing it, which would inevitably result in bloodshed and disorder.

The CHAIRMAN. To what extent does polygamy prevail among the Moros?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think considerably among the chiefs and leaders or datus, but to a very much more limited extent among the common people, because they can not afford to have plural wives. I believe a thing of that sort would eventually take care of itself.

Senator SHAFROTH. The provision is not itself self-executive?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not at all.

Senator SHAFROTH. And on that they would have to rely on the legislature to carry out the provisions of the act?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is why I suggest that if it is intended as an academic statement of our attitude on the subject of the practice of a very objectionable custom it is in its proper place here. The real way of ending an evil of that sort is through talking to the people concerned. In dealing with such a people as the Moros great care must be exercised. They are fanatically brave. I have known a man who was shot four times through his body and with both his legs broken by bullets to take his kriss in his teeth and try to pull himself forward by his hand so as to get in another blow and make it count. In dealing with people like that it is better generally to direct their energies into proper channels, if possible, rather than to combat them.

Senator LIPPITT. Are plural marriages in vogue in any other part of the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think not to any considerable extent now. There are several of the more backward, non-Christian tribes where the keeping of concubines openly used to prevail, but it is disappearing. It is a thing that is frowned upon, and the men get ashamed of it as they develop socially, and they are developing pretty rapidly. The thing is taking care of itself.

The conspicuous instance of polygamy is the one afforded by the Moros, they being followers of the Koran, and the Koran providing for that sort of thing.

Senator SHAFROTH. Polygamy does not exist among any of the other Provinces in the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think not, sir; except almost incidentally.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not want to break into your order, and prefer to have you follow it, but I would like to hear, when you get to it, with reference to whether slavery exists.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir. I do not know but that this is as proper a time to discuss that as any other. Plantation slavery has never existed to any considerable extent in the Philippines. It has been true among some of the more backward people of Mindanao that some slaves were used in clearing the forests, planting the crops, and that sort of thing. But in the fashion that slavery existed in the southern United States it does not exist in the Philippine Islands and never has. Household slavery has existed there and still exists. The sale of human beings for cash has occurred there and still occurs. The Moros in the old days used to take slaves in large numbers in connection with their raids through the Christian parts of the islands and carry them back to their own country. Boys were reared as slaves and kept to do work without any compensation. Girls were sometimes used for that purpose and sometimes added to the harems of the men who took them.

The Negritos have been especially victimized in the matter of being actually sold and passed on from person to person. Among the pictures which I showed you yesterday were some of the Ifugaos, who were also often sold into slavery among the Filipinos. Among the savage tribes of Mindanao slaves were often bartered in connection with marriages as part compensation for wives, and actual human sacrifices of slaves to propitiate heathen deities have been made since the American occupation, but the number of cases of that sort has been very limited.

Slavery is now prohibited by law in the Philippine Islands, an act accomplishing this having been passed since my departure. Its provisions are confusing, because it expressly revives all provisions of laws, ordinances, and decrees which were enacted or promulgated during more than 300 years of Spanish sovereignty. And no one knows, I think, just what those provisions are or to what extent they are contradictory of each other or to what extent they are in contradiction of the provisions of the Revised Statutes of the United States relative to slavery which have also been carried into this act. In other words, the presence of that great indeterminate mass of legislation on the subject, which no one took the trouble to look up, may make the enforcement of the act difficult, although it is further provided that if the provisions of the United States statutes—I do not know that I quite ought to say that, but as the provisions of the United States statutes are set forth in the text of the act, I think it would probably be held they would control if found to be in conflict with those other provisions revived without being quoted.

The great practical evil of the Philippines, as a social problem, is not slavery, it is peonage, and that is generally prevalent throughout the islands to-day—the getting of a man into debt and holding him thereafter in servitude under such conditions that his debt is constantly increasing. There is often no possibility of a man's ever freeing himself from it.

Senator CRAWFORD. In essence, peonage is slavery; do they ever sell peons?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is not a matter of selling peons, sir; it is a matter of selling their debts. One may buy another man's debt. In my report on that subject I accused a specific individual in Palawan of having bought slaves. In his defense a member of the Philippine Assembly said that he had done nothing of the sort; that he had merely bought the debts. Incidentally they went with the debts, so this seemed to me a distinction without a difference.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that legalized, this peonage?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is not legalized. It is prohibited and penalized at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. How was it enforced? You say it has been.

Mr. WORCESTER. It was not often enforced, as a matter of fact, in the courts, although the Philippine Commission was guilty of passing an act, or of voting for an act, which was invoked to enforce it afterwards. There was a custom there among certain classes of people of making contracts to labor and accepting money in advance and then simply running away without having rendered a day's service. And this act was passed in the hope of preventing that practice. It was subsequently invoked to compel persons, for instance, who had received advances to return to houses of ill fame, and we were made to look very ridiculous by this twisting of a piece of legislation that was adopted for a wholly commendable purpose and which was used to promote wholly undesirable ends.

Senator SHAFROTH. Is there any specific amount recognized that has to be paid or allowed these peons for their services?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not at all. The debt may begin with the borrowing of ₱2½ to buy a shirt or something of that sort. I remember a specific case in Mindanao, where a man did borrow that amount for that purpose, and after he and his wife and children had worked for a number of years in payment their debt was said to be some ₱75 when the case was investigated.

Senator SHAFROTH. Additional advances or interest?

Mr. WORCESTER. In the first place, high interest often runs against these amounts. The interest rate is sometimes 10 per cent per month.

Senator CRAWFORD. Per month?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes. It is an almost impossible thing to pay it. Then the people are frequently charged for things they have while they are working for their masters, and if they are unfortunate in breaking breakable property or in having a carabao used in the field get sick or something of that sort, that is added to the account, which constantly grows.

Senator SHAFROTH. How much of an allowance is made by the creditor for the services of the peon?

Mr. WORCESTER. A very small amount, usually. I have known cases where it was a peso a month. That is 50 cents a month. There were other cases where it was ₱2 a year.

Senator SHAFROTH. There is no law regulating it at all?

Mr. WORCESTER. There is no law regulating it at all.

Senator LIPPITT. Has a person held in peonage any power of saying what his remuneration shall be?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. No way in which to fix the wages or to bargain for those wages?

Mr. WORCESTER. He could bargain for his wages in advance if he wished to do so.

Senator LIPPITT. After he falls into the toils, the wages are fixed by his master?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; after he falls into the toils.

Senator LIPPITT. And the charges are fixed by the master?

Mr. WORCESTER. It sometimes happens that children are rented out in connection with debts, and in those cases the amount which is to be allowed for their services may be explicitly set forth in a formal document.

Senator CRAWFORD. Does the law recognize the right of this peon, for instance, to go in court and have his day in court and have these questions adjudicated in an impartial way?

Mr. WORCESTER. It can be done, and has been done in the past, sir. The trouble was to teach him his rights in the premises, but at the present time the law prohibits the custom.

Senator LIPPITT. How common is this thing?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is common indeed through the islands. It is, in my judgment, the great social evil throughout the islands to-day. The helplessness of many of the working people and their lack of initiative or of energy enough to emerge from this condition is the great social problem.

Senator LIPPITT. Is it common in Manila?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is common in every municipality in the Philippine Islands, including Manila.

Senator LIPPITT. How large a number of people are held?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it would be wholly impossible to say. If you at any time, being on the ground, should allow it to be known that you are interested in that matter, cases would begin to come to you. They would be brought to your attention, and there does not seem to be any end to them.

Senator LIPPITT. When you say it is very common, do you mean to say that every family has somebody held that way?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; not that; but that a very large majority of the well-to-do families have domestic servants whose state is more or less that of peonage.

Senator RANSELL. Is it a criminal offense to hold one in peonage, as it is in this country?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is now, sir. It has recently been made so.

Senator RANSELL. How long since?

Mr. WORCESTER. The act was passed early in the 1914 session of the legislature.

The CHAIRMAN. With your permission I will insert a copy of that act here.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes.

(The act referred to is as follows:)

[A. B. No. 611 (No. 2300).]

AN ACT Confirming existing legislation prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage in the Philippine Islands, subject to modifications as provided in sections two hundred and sixty-eight, two hundred and sixty-nine, two hundred and seventy, and two hundred and seventy-one of the act of the Congress of the United States approved March fourth, nineteen hundred and nine, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," and adopting measures for preventing violations of said laws.

By authority of the United States be it enacted by the Philippine Legislature, That—

SECTION 1. Nothing provided in the existing legislation shall be understood or construed as directly or indirectly permitting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage in the Philippine Islands. Subject to the modifications provided in the next following section, the provisions of law prohibiting and punishing slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage contained in any laws, orders, ordinances, decrees, instructions, or regulations promulgated during Spanish government and applicable to the Philippine Islands are hereby confirmed and ratified.

SEC. 2. The provisions of sections two hundred and sixty-eight, two hundred and sixty-nine, two hundred and seventy, and two hundred and seventy-one of the act of the Congress of the United States, approved on March fourth, nineteen hundred and nine, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States," are hereby adopted, with the necessary modifications, as if they had been enacted by the Philippine Legislature, to be in force within the territory subject to the jurisdiction of said legislature, so that said sections, as modified, shall read as follows:

(a) Whoever kidnaps or carries away any other person, with the intent that such other person be sold into involuntary servitude or held as a slave, or who entices, persuades, or induces any other person to go on board any vessel or to any other place with the intent that he may be made or held as a slave or sent out of the country to be so made or held, or who in any way knowingly aids in causing any other person to be held, sold, or carried away to be held or sold as a slave shall be fined not more than ₱10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage shall be fined not more than ₱10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(c) Whoever obstructs, or attempts to obstruct, or in any way interferes with or prevents the enforcement of the section last preceding shall be liable to the penalties therein prescribed.

(d) Whoever shall knowingly and willfully bring into the Philippine Islands or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof any person inveigled or forcibly kidnapped in any other country, with the intent to hold such person so inveigled or kidnapped in confinement or to any involuntary servitude, or whoever shall knowingly and willfully sell or cause to be sold into any condition of involuntary servitude any other person for any term whatever, or whoever shall knowingly and willfully hold to involuntary servitude any person so brought or sold shall be fined not more than ₱10,000 and imprisoned not more than five years.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the provincial governor of every Province organized under acts numbered eighty-three of the Philippine Commission to obtain information and take all measures that in his judgment may be proper to forestall and thereafter to prevent any violations of this act, and in case such violations have been committed, to order immediate prosecution. It shall also be the duty of the provincial governor to order, where necessary, the institution of habeas corpus proceedings, and he may apply to the provincial fiscal, and in his default to the proper court, for the designation of a lawyer to protect the rights of the person or persons for whose benefit the habeas corpus proceedings shall have been brought, and no fees shall be charged for such services, and the costs shall in every case be de officio.

SEC. 4. The courts of first instance shall have original jurisdiction over all cases for violations of this act.

Enacted, November 28, 1913.

Senator LIPPITT. Is there anything in that act that prevents peonage?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; it is prohibited and being penalized.

Senator LIPPITT. I read it through the other day, and I did not notice anything that would prevent peonage.

The CHAIRMAN. The next to the last clause bears out that idea, that there is a penalty for holding any person in peonage. It reads:

Whoever kidnaps or carries away any other person, with the intent that such other person be sold into involuntary servitude or held as a slave; or who entices, persuades, or induces any other person to go on board any vessel or to any other place with the intent that he may be made or held as a slave, or sent out of the country to be so made or held; or who in any way knowingly aids in causing any other person to be held, sold, or carried away to be held or sold as a slave, shall be fined not more than ₱10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever holds, arrests, returns, or causes to be held, arrested, or returned, or in any manner aids in the arrest or return of any person to a condition of peonage, shall be fined not more than ₱10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is where a peon makes his escape.

Senator LIPPITT. In that law that was passed, approved by the Philippine Commission—and I suppose it was afterwards accepted and passed by the legislature—which forbids any person who makes a contract for services not to perform the service, is not that about as effective a way of establishing peonage and maintaining it as any law could be devised to be?

Mr. WORCESTER. It has proved to be so, sir, in actual experience in certain cases there. It has been invoked for that purpose.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that law now in force?

Mr. WORCESTER. I could not say whether or not it is.

Senator LIPPITT. Was it in force when you left?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was in force when I left.

Senator LIPPITT. It seemed to me that act was much stronger in enabling people to be held in slavery than the so-called antislavery act. And I could not find anything in it which prevented people being held in peonage. It seems to me the act of the Philippine Legislature is much stronger in establishing peonage than in preventing it.

Mr. WORCESTER. It was effectively used for that purpose, but it was not passed at all with that intention.

Senator LIPPITT. I did not suppose it was.

Mr. WORCESTER. No. I have known instances in which the provisions of that act were invoked to compel prostitutes who had accepted advances of money before entering houses of ill fame, to return to them.

Senator LIPPITT. Is the habit of selling children very common?

Mr. WORCESTER. Do you mean among the civilized peoples, sir?

Senator LIPPITT. Among any people. Are there many children sold? You speak of children being sold, their parents selling the children for their services and those children ultimately becoming under a burden of debt and having to remain as practical slaves a large part of their lives.

Mr. WORCESTER. They remain peons frequently through long periods.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that common for parents to sell their children?

Mr. WORCESTER. That would not be considered a sale, sir. The distinction between what is done in that way and apprenticeship is sometimes hard to draw. In some cases the evil is a very real one and in others it is largely a theoretical one. That is not nearly as common as is the other procedure of getting a person involved in debt and then continuing that arrangement so that he can not escape from it. Yet it is by no means uncommon for this to occur. I might give you copies of a good many actual documents in which such transfers of children have been made. But the theoretical possibility exists that at an early time the child may be recovered through payment of the debt incurred in the first instance, while a child sold as a slave is gone for good.

Senator SHAFROTH. Do the children thus held in peonage go to school?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not ordinarily, sir.

Senator RANDELL. You were speaking about charging 10 per cent a month. What is the rate of interest allowed by law?

Mr. WORCESTER. There is no legal rate of interest. There is no penalty for usury in the islands. There was a usage among Government officers and employes, made stable by order of the Governor General, to the effect that anything in excess of 18 per cent per year would be considered improper, and persons in the Government service would be disciplined for charging a larger amount. And that was objected to on the part of some Filipino borrowers, who said 18 per cent a year was an extremely moderate rate.

On page 10, in lines 11, 12, and 13, the bill imposes a limit on the borrowing power of municipalities. And I note that in this connection, and in connection with the issuance of bonds for public works, the questions asked have indicated an impression on the part of the committee that it was desirable, in dealing with people who might be disposed to mortgage the future, to throw safeguards, very carefully considered safeguards, around borrowing. I think that is true, but I wish at the same time that that provision relative to municipalities could be modified in such manner as to give further authorization in the case of improvements which will bring immediate and quick returns and which might be very useful.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please quote in the record the phraseology you criticize?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir:

Provided, however, That the entire indebtedness of the Philippine Government created by authority conferred herein shall not exceed at any one time the sum of \$10,000,000, exclusive of those obligations known as friar-land bonds, nor that of any Province or municipality a sum in excess of seven per cent of the aggregate tax valuation of its property at any one time.

I refer to the last clause of that sentence. There are no sanitary improvements of more far-reaching importance than the sinking of artesian wells and the construction of suitable municipal market buildings where the people can barter and sell their products. Those markets give immediate and large returns, and as a financial proposition their construction is more than justified, no matter what the indebtedness of the municipality for other purposes may be, because the money comes back so very rapidly.

And on the general proposition of the issuance of bonds for public works in the Philippines, where there is still such a great lack of

them, it has seemed to us fair to let coming generations pay in part the cost of those very valuable improvements. Every additional mile of highway which we build brings additional people in reach of the markets, increases the exports of the Philippines, and puts more money in the pockets of the Filipinos with which to buy. Indirectly it increases local business and brings additional money into the insular treasury from the larger internal-revenue collections, and so makes it possible to carry on more public works.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you criticize any limit or this particular limit?

Mr. WORCESTER. I should very strongly favor imposing the limit that was recommended by Gen. McIntyre at the end of his testimony. I think that is a conservative amount.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall what that was. Can you repeat it?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was \$17,000,000, as I remember it, exclusive of the friar-land indebtedness. The money from public-improvement funds has been very wisely expended there, and it has brought very valuable returns. I think it is a good plan to be fairly liberal in providing for further similar expenditures.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not recommend any change as to the per cent of the tax valuation of any municipal indebtedness?

Mr. WORCESTER. Unless it might be qualified by a phrase which would authorize increasing the borrowing power, discretionary with the officials of the insular government—to increase that amount for the construction of such things as municipal markets, from which the returns would be immediate and large.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the committee any idea of what the total amount of public improvements has been since the American occupation of the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is stated in the testimony already, sir, in detail, for each year, and I do not think it would be well for me to trust my memory in view of the fact that it is there. I have read it in the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you give any idea of what percentage of municipal valuation these expenditures have amounted to?

Mr. WORCESTER. The municipal expenditures for public improvements were very small, sir, until we imposed very strict limits on the amount that could be expended for salaries. That is where the money went. And we did that in order to insure the construction of municipal improvements. I could not give you exact figures, but the amounts expended for public improvements would be very small in comparison to the amounts expended for salaries if the whole period were taken into account, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us where these Philippine bonds are held?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; I do not know anything about that. Gen. McIntyre can give you that information. I had nothing to do with bond issues while in the islands, and am not informed.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be our responsibility for that indebtedness in case of Philippine independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not see that the United States would have any responsibility, sir. It has not guaranteed the bonds.

The CHAIRMAN. There would be no moral responsibility?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not think so.

Senator LIPPITT. If the provisions of the bill should be put in force and the affairs of the islands should be handed over to a legislature composed of a house of representatives and a senate, with a veto power as provided, is there necessity for this bill having any limitation at all upon the amount of bonded indebtedness that the Philippine government could assume? If they are competent to be trusted with the management of their own affairs as the underlying ground of this bill are they not fitted to be also trusted with the amount of indebtedness they will incur? Is that not part of the management of their own affairs, particularly if that is controlled by the veto power in the Governor and the President of the United States?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is unquestionably part of the management of their own affairs, sir. Personally I am not in favor of giving them what seems to me too much liberty in that matter, and I should think it a wise precaution to place a maximum limit on the amount of the bonded indebtedness that might be incurred. But I should make that a fairly liberal limit.

Senator LIPPITT. Are you in favor, or do you approve (you have not come to that point, but I presume you will discuss it) of the project of giving them an elective senate? I do not want you to discuss that until you are ready, but I would just like to ask the question now.

Mr. WORCESTER. I can state my views in a moment and would be very glad to do so at this time. If what is deemed most important at the present time is practical results in the way of good legislation, I am opposed to changing the present arrangement. It will furthermore result in the loss of ability to bring about the initiation of legislation deemed, at this end of the line, to be desirable. With the present arrangement that could be accomplished, if necessary, by the appointment of men who were in favor of the measure which it was sought to pass. The proposed new arrangement would have an advantage in demonstrating the present actual capacity of the Filipinos in the matter of passing legislation, and it would be a demonstration of such a nature that there would be little room for discussion as to the nature of the results.

At the present time the very foolish action of the lower house in passing acts—I should not say at the present time, but in the immediate past—has some times been condoned on the ground that they knew the upper house would not pass them anyhow, and that they wanted to gain cheap popularity. Now, if both houses are elected by the people there will be no such reason as that for action. I am inclined to believe that the demonstration which will come will be important and conclusive, and, on the whole, I am rather inclined to desire that it should be had at this time. I only hope that it will be studied and that its results will be noted here.

Senator LIPPITT. You say the results will be immediate and conclusive. What do you mean by that? Conclusive of what?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think, sir, that objectionable legislation will be adopted under this arrangement.

Senator LIPPITT. That what?

Mr. WORCESTER. That objectionable legislation will be adopted.

Senator LIPPITT. In other words, you think it will be a failure?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it will be a failure.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you cite some of the legislation which was passed by the lower house which you deem so very objectionable?

Mr. WORCESTER. Acts have repeatedly been passed by the lower house providing for the creation of a sanitary or hygienic council, which would control the activities of the director of health.

An act was passed by the lower house abolishing the civil-service bureau as an entity and transferring its work to a division of another bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the effect of that?

Mr. WORCESTER. It would minimize its importance, sir, by giving it a secondary place.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the civil-service bureau?

Mr. WORCESTER. The civil-service bureau; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What functions has the civil-service bureau now?

Mr. WORCESTER. It exercises control in connection with appointments to the service and, within limits, in connection with removals from the service. It provides a list of qualified eligibles from which appointments to positions in the classified civil service may be made.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that to put that under the jurisdiction of a division of another body would tend to introduce the spoils system in place of the merit system?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; in the end.

Acts have repeatedly been passed abolishing—not abolishing, but making it a division of another bureau—the bureau of forestry.

Acts have repeatedly been passed turning the administration of the friar lands over to the municipalities and Provinces under such terms that it would have been possible, if the acts had been approved by the upper house, to divert to the use of the Provinces and municipalities funds which should be employed in providing against the bonded indebtedness, and making it possible to retire the bonds when they fall due.

An act was passed at one time forbidding the arrest of criminals on holidays or at night, which was a most remarkable provision.

There is a long list of acts of this sort between pages 772 and 791 of my book on the Philippines, in which the titles of the acts have been given and the effects which would have resulted from their passage are set forth.

The CHAIRMAN. Your idea is they were passed to carry favor with the people?

Mr. WORCESTER. In some cases they were undoubtedly passed to curry favor with the people, in the belief that the upper house would not pass them; and, in other cases, they represented the views of the lower house as to what ought to be done.

Senator LIPPITT. When you say, Doctor, that you think this proposed legislation would be a failure, will you state a little more in detail what you mean by a failure? In what way would the failure appear?

Mr. WORCESTER. At the present time, sir, the lower house has shown a disposition on various occasions to deal very hastily indeed with important matters. We have had an appropriation bill, an annual appropriation bill, transmitted to the upper house late in the afternoon of the last day of the legislature when the mere mechanical reading of it aloud would have consumed, perhaps, an entire

day. And we have had measures by the score sent up to us during the very last hours of the session, some of them of great importance.

It is stated, I do not know just how correctly, that just before the present Christmas recess of the legislature quite radical measures relative to taxation were adopted, and that they were adopted without calling in for a conference representatives of the interests which would be concerned.

I think that there will be hasty and ill-considered legislation, as to the responsibility for which there can be no doubt, under this arrangement.

Senator LIPPITT. You have always been in favor and have continually taken the position, in your official capacity as a commissioner, of giving the Filipino people a larger participation in the government, both in the way of employment and legislative action?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have been in favor of it, sir, and I have done just that. I think that the weather bureau, which was administered under my administrative control, has a larger percentage of Filipinos in it than any other bureau of the Philippine government. And my policy consistently was to encourage Filipinos to fit themselves for higher positions, and to promote them to those positions when the time came. And I was very glad, indeed, to see them making themselves fit for higher places, as many of them did.

Senator LIPPITT. You were also in favor of the establishment of a Filipino legislature, were you not?

Mr. WORCESTER. I was not, sir, personally, at that time.

Senator LIPPITT. But the administration, of which you were a part, as a whole were in favor of it?

Mr. WORCESTER. The administration was in favor of it, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. And the policy of the various administrations that have been there from time to time has been to give the Filipino people in various ways a larger participation in their governmental affairs, as a general policy?

Mr. WORCESTER. It has, sir. There has been no difference of opinion as to policy. The only difference of opinion has been as to the rapidity with which the policy might wisely be given effect. Some of us have been in favor of going more rapidly and others have been in favor of going more slowly.

Senator LIPPITT. Then I would like to know whether you think the point of maximum participation has now been arrived at, or whether you think the policy should be continued in the future, and if it should be continued in the future what would be your ideas as to what amount the participation of the Filipino people should be allowed to extend?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it should be continued indefinitely, sir, but that its carrying into practical effect should be based on careful examination of the results already had, and that we should get away from this idea of giving the Filipino peoples things simply because they want them, or because a certain element in the population wants them. We should free ourselves, so far as may be, from prejudice and give careful consideration to the question of how rapidly we may safely go in advancing them.

Senator LIPPITT. Of course I think everybody will agree with that general statement of the basis for it.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. But what I was trying to get at was whether there were any definite steps which you think of which might be taken toward giving the Filipinos a larger participation at the present time than they have to-day.

Mr. WORCESTER. This particular step, controlled as it is by the veto power, will not presumably result in the ultimate adoption of any legislation so radical as to seriously impair conditions in the islands, and it will give a valuable demonstration.

Now, referring further to Senator Hitchcock's statement, I might make one bare statement of fact as to the spirit which has been shown by the lower House in connection with legislation. I think I can make its attitude plainer than I could by giving a list of the objectionable bills passed by the house and a characterization of them. If there ever was any one act passed in the interest of the Philippine people, it was the cadastral survey act, which provides for the surveying of all parcels of land in a given district at once, the insular government paying part of the cost because of the benefit derived from the segregation of public from private lands; the Provinces and the municipalities paying part of the cost because of the benefit to them resulting from the ability to tax private lands; and the private owners profiting because of the greatly decreased cost to them of the necessary surveys, resulting from the fact that so many of them are made at once, and that a large part of the expense is borne by the insular, provincial, and municipal governments. After two long years, through two long sessions of the legislature, that act was held up by the assembly. Other measures of the most objectionable character were tied to it, and at the conference had at that time when it failed on the second occasion, the committee from the assembly met the committee from the commission with the statement that unless we would agree at the outset to admit to the making of public land surveys for the government surveyors who were known to be incompetent and who had been wholly unable to qualify under the very liberal law we then had it would be useless to proceed with a discussion of the bill.

Now, the admission of those surveyors was a political question pure and simple. In the earlier days surveys had been dreadfully inaccurate. After the public-land act took effect we found that men were making surveys with pocket compasses; men who had never looked through a transit; men who did not know how to use a transit. And those surveys were being accepted and the government was issuing titles to lands (we had in effect the Torrens land-title system) for which it was responsible, based on erroneous surveys, each one of which became a center for other erroneous surveys. An act was passed providing for the qualification of surveyors, and a good many of these men were deprived of the right to make public surveys, because they were wholly unable to qualify. We ultimately did away with all of the academic requirements in connection with examinations for surveyors, and they consisted simply in going out and surveying one piece of land and getting reasonably accurate results. A lot of those men could not qualify under those circumstances. Some of them had political influence, and for years every effort was made to secure to them the right to make public surveys. And in this case this all-important act was held up on the specific ground that if we would not arrange to allow these incompetents to

qualify without passing the practical test, the bill would not be considered by the conferees of the assembly, and as we declined to do that the conference failed. This is but one of many instances of the effort to connect most undesirable measures with measures that were highly desirable, concerning which there was no dispute, and which the lower house knew that the upper house was very anxious to pass.

Senator LIPPITT. Then you have not in your mind at this time any steps that you think would be advisable to take toward giving Filipinos a larger participation?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not personally object to this proposed step of giving an elective senate on the whole, sir, in view of the results I think will come from it, and the safeguards that will be thrown around it; but I should stop there, as far as this bill is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. What class of men do you think would be elected to the senate?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think about as good men as the country affords, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The proposition is to divide the archipelago into 12 senate districts?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that a man who runs for the senate in an election would have to be much more widely known than the present members of the assembly?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there men of that character in the Philippine Islands, who are known outside of their own communities?

Mr. WORCESTER. There is an increasingly large number of them, sir. In the old days the Filipinos were rather disinclined to travel. When we first began to fill positions which required a good deal of travel, we had difficulty in securing the right men for them, because they were disinclined to leave their homes. I have had a prominent man in Manila tell me he had never been to Cavite, and Cavite is only 8 miles away across the bay. As time has gone by that has changed very greatly and people are traveling about more and more. I think it will happen in the senatorial districts, that many men will at first vote for people whom they do not know and concerning whose qualifications they have not much information.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you approve of the idea of giving the senate the power to approve or disapprove of the appointees of the governor?

Mr. WORCESTER. Very emphatically not, sir. I think that is one of the most objectionable things in this bill. If that is done there will be deadlocks between the Governor General and the senate. There will be the holding up of appointments unless appointees pledge themselves in advance to things which are undesirable. There will be loss of prestige on the part of the men who must have their appointments confirmed by the senate. The people out there would think more of them if they were appointed by the President and were confirmed by the Senate of the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. Appointed by the President?

Mr. WORCESTER. By the President of the United States, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. And not by the Governor General?

Mr. WORCESTER. And not by the Governor General. If we are to continue to exercise a measurable degree of control over affairs in

the Philippines, it must be through the higher executive officers, and it seems to me most important that we should retain the machinery for the exercise of such control. I do not believe that the Senate of the United States ought to part with the right to exercise a determining influence in appointments of such importance as those of the few men who will continue to represent our authority in the islands. To limit the Senate's power of approval to the Governor General seems to me to be a mistake at this time.

Senator LIPPITT. There is another feature of this bill perhaps you might take up now, if you feel like it—the question of extending the franchise. What are your views about that?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think, sir, that it is a mistake at this time to extend the franchise to persons who have no other qualifications than ability to read and write a native dialect. Tagalog and Visayan and Ilocano have some literature of some little importance. The other dialects have almost none. I know that the statement has been made in the course of these hearings that all of the native dialects are written. I do not think that it is quite true. It is possible to write them all by the use of our letters and a few additional signs of one sort and another; but there are certainly very many of the less important dialects which have no literature whatever, and the ability to write them is theoretical rather than practical.

Now, one of the things that is fundamentally necessary if the complex aggregation of peoples which inhabit the Philippines to-day is to be welded into one people, is that they shall have a common medium of communication, and it is also very necessary that that common medium of communication be such that it will open to them the doors of literature, science, history, and the arts and will make possible foreign travel. There is not one of the native dialects which would be of any conceivable use to a Filipino outside of the Philippine Islands.

With the desire to vote, which is to-day, unfortunately, not as strong as it ought to be, but which will, we hope, grow, the ability to qualify by gaining a speaking and reading knowledge of English or Spanish puts a premium on education. It encourages the study of English and will hasten the day when English will become generally known. In the early days a date was fixed when English should become the official language, and the result was that even men of considerable age attended school. Later, when that date was deferred and deferred again, the interest in the study of English among mature men waned considerably. I note that Senator Shafroth has referred to the fact that men were entering the night schools when he was in the Philippines. That was, of course, true at that time. You would find ever so many mature men in the night schools, because they thought the day was near at hand when English would be not only useful but necessary for them in the practice of their professions as lawyers and in many other ways. It was, perhaps, not practicable to have the law take effect as early as we had hoped, but continual postponements of that day have undoubtedly materially reduced the interest in the study of the English language. I think it is a good plan to put a premium on it, and I think this provision as to native dialects, if allowed to remain in the bill, would admit to the exercise of the franchise a large body of very ignorant people and will lead to endless election contests. There is a very

great deal of trouble now in connection with the elections. All sorts of grounds are found for complicating the results and for appeals from the results, and this would make another fruitful source of trouble. I think it would be wise to leave this whole provision out, so that the one which is in effect at the present time, which is really a very liberal one, may remain in effect.

Your note we included under it old officers, who were called principales, men of social status in the towns where they lived, men who were looked up to and respected, so that it was deemed wise to give them the vote. Also the men of property.

Senator LIPPITT. Take those two classes together, the men of property and those who do not qualify on account of the literacy test they constitute 40,000.

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not remember the number, but it is stated in the evidence taken here. There is a carefully prepared table in the record of the hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the table Gen. MacIntyre put in?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. It is that out of 240,000 there are somewhere in the neighborhood of 140,000 illiterate and under half literate. Is that the way it is?

Mr. WORCESTER. I am not able to tell you, sir; but as the facts are carefully stated here—

Senator LIPPITT. You say you think this would largely increase the electorate. Have you knowledge as to what extent it would increase the electorate?

Mr. WORCESTER. I could not say, sir. I should imagine that it would more than double it, but that is a guess.

Senator LIPPITT. You have no real grounds to go on?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do not believe the grounds exist for an accurate estimate of the increase. At all events, I have no knowledge of such grounds myself.

Senator LIPPITT. How frequent are municipal elections held; annually or biannually?

Mr. WORCESTER. Biannually, I think, at present, are they not Gen. MacIntyre?

Gen. MACINTYRE. Every four years. They have changed to four, so as to make one general election every four.

Mr. WORCESTER. I know the provincial elections have been changed.

Senator LIPPITT. Don't you think when the purpose of our policy there is to fit the people for self-government that an election oftener than once in four years might be of benefit to them?

Mr. WORCESTER. There is so much trouble growing from the elections that I should be inclined to make them rather infrequent myself, and let the people settle down between times.

Senator LIPPITT. That is on the basis they are not fit for self-government, I think.

Mr. WORCESTER. We must try to find a happy medium somewhere. I am in favor of the present municipal system of control now exercised over there. That is good schooling in government, and has worked quite satisfactorily on the whole. The bitterness has seemed to come in connection with elections to the assembly, rather than in

connection with municipal elections which are more or less matters of course in a great many of the towns.

Senator LIPPITT. Of course the title of this bill, as found in the preamble, is "To provide for the speedy accomplishment." If the government of the Philippines is placed in the hands of the Filipinos, as we are proposing to do by giving them a larger participation in the actual government, the only way they can learn how to govern themselves is by exercising it.

Mr. WORCESTER. That is true, sir; the only way one can learn to swim is to go into the water; but that would not afford any excuse for heaving a 10-month-old youngster into a rapidly flowing stream.

Senator LIPPITT. Not at all; but it would afford some excuse for a man exercising his muscles in swimming oftener than once in four years.

Mr. WORCESTER. It would. The thing is to find the happy mean which will give the necessary experience, without too great cost, and loss of time, and disturbance, connected with the elections. I am in favor of making haste rather slowly, sir, in such matters.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Worcester, do you approve of the provision in this bill which reads that no one is eligible to be elected as senator of the Philippines who is not 30 years of age?

Mr. WORCESTER. People mature pretty early in the Tropics.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not that provision at the present time bar a good many of the young men who have been educated in the schools since the American occupation?

Mr. WORCESTER. It would. I think perhaps that age might advantageously be somewhat lowered, in view of the special conditions which exist there at this time.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think that the people educated in those schools are so much abler than the people who are educated in the American schools that a man has to be 30 years of age to be a Senator in this country, but a man will be qualified to run for senator over there at a less age?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is rather a complicated question to answer.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, perhaps I will not press that question. [Laughter.]

Mr. WORCESTER. The thing that I have in mind is this: There is growing up there now an excellent body of young men who have had a training very different from that which their forbears have enjoyed. If that training had been general and long continued, I should be in favor of keeping the age limit up on the theory that a man gains discretion with years, and that we should not be likely to err on the side of making the requirements for senators too high.

Senator LIPPITT. I should like to ask you, in connection with that question of the chairman's, whether you think it would be useful if the requirements for senator did not include a residence within the Province from which he was to be elected, so that anybody might be available, just as here in the House of Representatives a man does not necessarily have to come from his own congressional district, but would have to come merely from his State?

Mr. WORCESTER. I believe that would be wise, to remove the restriction in the matter of residence, so that the best men in the country might be available. What will happen otherwise will be that people who are desirous of becoming candidates will, perhaps, seek to ac-

quire residence in some of these places, or will claim it, when they are not really entitled to it; and with the limited body of men which there is to draw on there-to-day I think myself it will be best to have them all available.

The CHAIRMAN. This bill provides that the present executive officers shall continue until the legislature provided for under this bill makes a change?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please put in the record what the present executive officers are?

Mr. WORCESTER. Do you mean the high executive officers?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I suppose they are intended by that provision.

Mr. WORCESTER. The Governor General, the secretary of the interior, the secretary of commerce and police, the secretary of finance and justice, and the secretary of public instruction.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in your judgment, what changes would the new Philippines Legislature be apt to make in those executive officers—under the Governor General, of course?

Mr. WORCESTER. I really have no idea, Mr. Chairman, whether they would think it desirable to change them or not. I should imagine there might be at least some readjustment of their duties; but I have never really heard an expression of opinion from Filipinos of standing on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the local governments which the Filipinos exercise in the municipalities and in the Provinces are largely under the control of one or the other of these executive officers, are they?

Mr. WORCESTER. The local governments, Mr. Chairman, so far as they are controlled by central executive authority at all, are under the control of the Governor General in the regularly organized Provinces and in what used to be called the "Moro Province." I do not know whether that may now have been modified or not as regards the Moro Province, which has been broken up recently into five or six new Provinces.

In the special government Provinces, populated largely by the more backward people, commonly called "non-Christians," control was exercised by the secretary of the interior, and it was made his duty to visit that territory at least once during each fiscal year and inspect it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the method by which the central or insular government exercises a control over the expenditures of the provincial or municipal governments?

Mr. WORCESTER. We have an insular auditor, with deputy auditors serving under him, who carefully audit the municipal accounts,

The CHAIRMAN. Who appoints the auditor?

Mr. WORCESTER. The auditor is appointed here.

Gen. McINTYRE. He is appointed by the Secretary of War.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; by the Secretary of War.

The CHAIRMAN. What power has he over those expenditures in municipalities and Provinces?

Mr. WORCESTER. The auditor would have no power, I think, Mr. Chairman, except to call attention to any illegal expenditures which might have occurred, so that the proper authorities might act.

The CHAIRMAN. Who has the power to control those expenditures?

Mr. WORCESTER. The municipalities furnish budgets; they outline their anticipated expenses; those budgets go to the provincial treasurer. The provincial treasurer at present has power to disapprove any items which he thinks are illegal, as well as any which he deems to be undesirable.

There is an appeal to the provincial board, as I remember it. I will insert, if I may, in the record here an extract from the law covering that subject. I have it here and will read it to the committee if you wish to have me do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps you had better insert it in the record and not take the time to read it now.

Mr. WORCESTER. All right.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

(f) Such report, when approved, shall be attested by the president and municipal secretary and forwarded to the provincial treasurer for approval. If the provincial treasurer shall, upon consideration, find that the taxes levied are lawful and will produce the estimated revenue and that the actual expenditures provided for in the report will not exceed in the aggregate the estimate thereof, then he shall approve the same and shall forward one of the copies of the report, with his approval indorsed thereon, to the president to serve as a guide to the municipality in the administration of its finances: *Provided*, That the salaries and positions of permanent officials and employees from January first of each year to the date of the receipt by the president of the estimate for that year, duly approved, shall be as fixed in the approved estimate for the preceding year, and no other: *And provided further*, That if the provincial treasurer shall question the legality or advisability of any item or items of expenditure in the annual estimate he shall be authorized, in his discretion, to disapprove the said item or items, but shall approve those items concerning which there is no question. In the event that he shall disapprove any item or items of expenditure on the estimate he shall immediately submit to the municipal council a statement in writing giving his reason for such disapproval. If the municipal council is dissatisfied with the action of the provincial treasurer, an estimate containing only the items disapproved may be submitted to the provincial board with a statement of the reasons for their approval; and the provincial board shall thereupon decide the case, and its decision shall be final. In the event that the appeal is sustained as to one or more items the provincial treasurer shall forthwith approve the estimate as to them; but if it is denied, the item or items in question shall stand disapproved. (Act 82, sec. 47 (f), as amended by act 1791, sec. 8.)

The CHAIRMAN. Well, would it be, in your opinion, a dangerous thing to release or remove that control over those provincial or municipal governments?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it would be a very dangerous thing. Graft was almost universal in the Philippines in the last days of Spanish rule. The misuse of funds was general; taxes were collected on the basis that the tax gatherers must turn in the required amount; and few, if any, persons were asked if the amount collected was in excess of the amount required. The financial administration of our Provinces and municipalities has been extraordinarily clean, in view of those exceptionally bad conditions which existed immediately before the establishment of American rule in the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. What effect would this bill have upon the authority of the auditor?

Mr. WORCESTER. So far as I can see, Mr. Chairman, there is no continuation of a provision requiring appointment from Washington; and I think it is highly important that such a provision should be carried in the bill; the auditor should be appointed by the Sec-

retary of War, as at present, or, probably, preferably by the President of the United States. I agree entirely with the recommendation Gen. McIntyre has already made on that subject.

Senator LIPPITT. I am very much interested in that statement you made a few minutes ago, that you were having so much trouble with the elections that you thought it was wise not to have them any oftener than possible. Of course the whole theory of this bill is that the Filipinos have arrived at such a point of civilization and self-government, and the practice of it, that they are in a position to take hold of these matters for themselves; and it seems to me that if your feeling is that the difficulties of elections are so great that it is wise to have as few of them as possible in the islands, that is rather an intimation that they have not arrived at exactly that point yet?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; that is true, and there is another side to it, which is not without its importance: It has been true in the past that some really very good provincial governors have been elected after preelection procedure on their part, in the nature of promises, and so on, that perhaps was somewhat questionable. But having been elected to office and having grown interested in promoting the interests of their Provinces, they have done a great deal in the matter of assisting in the enforcement of regulations to prevent disease among the people—which is not popular, of course, with the masses; in the matter of insisting on the enforcement of regulations to prevent rinderpest; in the matter of bringing a good deal of pressure to bear in favor of the adoption of the double cedula tax, so that 1 of each 2 pesos paid under that tax might be available for public improvements, and in other ways.

Senator LIPPITT. What double tax is that you mentioned?

Mr. WORCESTER. The double cedula. The cedula tax is a poll tax, and was originally 1 peso; but there was a provision adopted authorizing the Provinces to provide a 2 peso tax, instead of a 1 peso tax, the additional money going for road and bridge construction chiefly.

Now, it has happened that men who were particularly efficient in administering their Provinces have often incurred ill will and lost out on the next elections; and, as a number of provincial officers have put it, formerly, when they were elected for a two-year period they spent the first year in thanking the people for electing them and the second year in getting ready to be elected again. [Laughter.]

If there could be a somewhat longer period in which they were free to perform useful work for the people of the Province before seeking reelection, or if they could have a longer term of office in which they might be able to accomplish something for the islands and then go out of office—because some of them are willing to do that—and leave monuments of work accomplished, I think it would be well.

I understand fully what you have in mind, that if troubles are to be experienced in connection with elections it is a good plan to have them and get them over with and have people accustomed to hold their elections without trouble. The troubles are not in the nature of serious disturbances of public order, and things of that sort; they are in the nature of bickerings and jealousies, which result in the formation of factions and the subsequent opposition by one party to measures which are desirable in themselves just because another party has proposed them.

Senator LIPPITT. We have had just that same thing in connection with practically every election since the Colonial or pre-Federal days.

Mr. WORCESTER. Undoubtedly, to some extent, but not to the same extent as in the case of those people of the Philippines who have not had in their past history any great share in controlling their destinies. We, or rather our ancestors, had had a good deal of experience along this line, even before they came to this country at all. In the case of the Filipinos this is a tremendous advance on anything to which they have been accustomed in the past.

Senator LIPPITT. This morning somebody asked you the question, Mr. Worcester, about when you thought these people would be fitted for independence, and you said at the end of another generation—when the first generation had grown up. Did you mean independence or self-government when you made that statement?

Mr. WORCESTER. I did not intend to say that I thought they would be fit for one or the other at the end of the first generation. What I meant to say was that I thought at that time we should have some basis for a judgment as to whether they might later become fit, from watching the attainments of these young men and young women who are being educated to-day.

Senator LIPPITT. What do you mean by a generation—20 years?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; 20 years, or 30 years, as you like; the time necessary for the boys and girls who started in after our school system was reasonably well developed and took advantage of it, and went through it, and went out into active life, to show what is in them.

Senator LIPPITT. That would be somewhere between 1920 and 1930, I suppose?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think that, under the conditions and limitations of self-government which these people now have, or which they are going to have under this bill, they would be sufficiently trained in self-government at that time to be given their independence?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not at all; I think it would be entirely impracticable at that time. But I think we could then begin to look into the future with more knowledge than we have now, as to what we could hope for when a larger percentage of the people than is possible in this first generation have been trained.

Senator LIPPITT. You did not mean to have any implication drawn from your statement that you thought that in 1920 or 1925 the American people could wisely turn these islands over to the natives for their sole control?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not at all, sir; if there were no other reason than—

Senator LIPPITT (interposing). I thought from the way your statement was put that it did imply such an opinion on your part; and I wanted to know just how you stood upon that subject.

Mr. WORCESTER. I am glad you called my attention to that, so that no doubt as to my position would remain. The economic difficulty would also still exist, and, in my opinion, the Filipinos can not be safely turned loose until they themselves have become sufficiently numerous and their country has become sufficiently rich so that they

can provide their own means of protection; I do not think they could continue to exist separately until that time.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a very large sentiment in this country that, without regard to the welfare of the Philippine Islands, we should get rid of them, as a matter of consideration for our own interests, as it is felt that they are at the present time a danger to us, threatening to involve us in war. Now, you have been over there a long time and have doubtless talked with Army and Navy officers, and informed yourself. What is your judgment and what have you learned on that point?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think, at the outset, that that would be a very selfish point of view. We have entered upon a great work for civilization there; and if we were to abandon it before it was completed because of our fear of trouble with such neighboring countries as Japan, it would leave us in rather an unfortunate attitude before the world, especially if serious troubles were to result in the Philippine Islands in the near future.

So far as being able to prevent, for instance, a possible Japanese occupation of the island, I am frank to say that, viewed from a practical standpoint, it seems to me wholly a question of our fighting force on the sea. It is, of course, idle to deny that the Japanese could promptly land a large army in the Philippines, which have a coast line longer than that of the continental United States; with numerous good harbors; with 10,000 or 12,000 United States soldiers, and perhaps 4,000 constabulary soldiers and 4,000 or 5,000 scouts to depend on, it would be impossible to prevent their landing, and it would probably be impossible to prevent for very long their taking the city of Manila. But with the tremendous fortifications which we have to-day at the mouth of Manila Bay it should be possible for a very long time to prevent their approaching Manila by sea; and the possession of the city would be a somewhat empty honor with the mouth of the bay plugged, and no means of communication with even a fairly good port other than that afforded by a narrow-gauge railway, likely to be upset during the rainy season. Any foreign force landed in the Philippines would require a line of communication for the bringing up of military and other supplies, ammunition, hospital material, and so on, and that line would be vulnerable to attack.

We certainly need at some point in the Far East, in any event, a naval station where, in case of necessity in protecting our citizens or in carrying the war into the country of some foe with whom we might become engaged in hostilities—we need some place where our ships can make repairs and coal, and where an ample ammunition reserve may be kept. It would be much better for ourselves to be keeping a fleet of Japan in far eastern waters, in the event of trouble, than to have the Japanese fleet molesting us on our Pacific coast or in our other island possessions in the Pacific; and it seems to me that if our foreign trade is to be developed—and it certainly must be developed if tariff barriers are to be thrown down and foreigners are to ship into this country goods in the manufacture of which we can not compete, which will necessarily mean the seeking of new markets for goods in the manufacture of which we can compete, if the balance of trade is not to go against us—under those conditions we certainly must have a Navy adequate to protect our trade. A naval force has

the advantage of being a mobile force that can be sent long distances pretty rapidly. With a proper base in the Philippines, repair yards, and a supply depot, I do not believe that Japan or any other country which could not drive us off the seas could maintain an armed force on land there and continue a military occupation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if they were in possession of the mainland would they not be able to render Corregidor untenable?

Mr. WORCESTER. Not for a very long time, Mr. Chairman, in my judgment. Much of Corregidor is some 600 feet above the sea level. From the sea itself it is excessively difficult, if not impossible, to reach the disappearing guns and the mortars set in pits. It might, perhaps, ultimately be possible to reach them by indirect fire from some of the modern very heavy guns if placed on the slopes of Mari-veles Mountain; but they would have to be placed there under the fire of our guns, which are already installed, and, with modern aeroplanes to determine just where such work was being done and to direct the fire of the powerful guns which we already have installed, it is difficult to see how an attack against Corregidor could be pushed home within a very short time. I should think it would be a matter of a year or so, at least, that the fortifications there ought to be able to hold out. Undoubtedly you can secure the testimony of military experts who are familiar with the effect of modern indirect fire and the ranges and distances, who could give you accurate information on that. Of course, by high fire, so that you can get rapidly falling projectiles, it is possible to reach and destroy heavy guns which are concealed, as are those at Corregidor, but in no other way could they be successfully attacked.

The CHAIRMAN. The danger of their belonging to us is that some country interested in doing so could seize them and then leave it up to us to say what we were going to do about it; and we would then fight 8,000 or 10,000 miles away from home.

Mr. WORCESTER. I think the thing for us to do, then, would be to smash their line of communications; and I do not believe the Filipinos themselves would be very friendly to a force of that sort, and it would grow pretty uncomfortable to them in a short time.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not doubt that if we could hold the occupation of the islands with 10,000 or 12,000 men, any modern nation would be able to hold them with a similar force, do you?

Mr. WORCESTER. Hold them against the inhabitants themselves?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; but they would not have a very comfortable time in doing it—in the getting of supplies and that sort of thing.

Senator LIPPITT. I notice that in the majority report that accompanied this bill to the House there is the statement made that if we abandoned the Philippine Islands it would mean the saving of \$15,000,000 a year to this country; I also notice that ex-President Taft, in the report which he made on the Philippines, says that it does not cost us over \$5,000,000 a year to maintain them or to hold them. What does it cost, in your opinion?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think, sir, that it costs, in effect, the difference between maintaining the number of soldiers that we have there in the Philippines and maintaining them in the United States, unless it is believed that our very small available force here ought to be

further reduced if those men are not kept in the Philippines—and I do not think that. Of course, it is materially more expensive to support a soldier in the Philippines than it is to support a soldier here; what the difference is I do not know. But with only 10,000 or 12,000 men involved the total ought not to be very large, and it should be readily determinable.

So far as naval operations are concerned, it has been our policy to have a certain number of vessels in the Far East; and the number is certainly not large, so far as those kept in the Philippines are concerned. Frequently there are no vessels there at all; they are all in other Asiatic ports.

Senator LIPPITT. Are there any expenses, outside of military and naval expenses, that this country assumes? Do we assume some of the expenses for the scouts?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. What expenses?

Mr. WORCESTER. All of the expenses for the scouts must be paid from the United States Army appropriations; and there are about 5,000 of those scouts, I believe; they are enlisted into the Army of the United States.

Senator LIPPITT. Outside of that, are there any other expenses that the United States assume?

Mr. WORCESTER. So far as I am aware, none, except the part the United States is paying of the expense of the Coast and Geodetic Survey work which is now being done in the islands. The cost of that work is divided, approximately equally, between the United States and the Philippine government.

Senator LIPPITT. That is not a very large amount, is it?

Mr. WORCESTER. No; it is a comparatively small amount. We furnished three boats and I think the United States furnished two for the original work, and the operating expenses I think have been quite equally divided. And that is a service that we render to the world at large. The British had previously done some survey work in the Philippines, and it is not an unusual thing for a country to make that general contribution to the safety of sea travel.

Senator LIPPITT. In fact, if we are going to have a large trade with the islands and our ships have to go among the islands, it is necessary for somebody to do that work?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; it is necessary for somebody to do that work.

Senator LIPPITT. And we would have as much to gain by it as anybody, I suppose?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes. And I want to say in passing that while I do not advocate at all the retention of the islands on the ground of that commercial advantage to us, I do think it proper for us to bear in mind the fact that commercial advantage might result, especially as this has so often been denied. The foreign trade of the Philippines has practically quadrupled in a decade and a half of American rule, and it is capable of very rapid and great further extension. The islands purchase from us at least dollar for dollar as much as they sell to us, and, as I have already stated, they purchase our manufactured goods on which we make the largest profits. I think they are capable ultimately of providing the kinds and amount of tropical products that the United States requires.

I should like to say in passing that I am advised that some question has been raised with regard to the facts as to the recent spread of rinderpest, and I request that permission be given me in revising the notes of my remarks to insert in the record the documentary evidence on which I drew largely from memory this morning. I have it in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to have you insert that in the record.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

(Further information concerning the spread of rinderpest in the Philippines and the apparent reasons therefor, furnished by Dean C. Worcester and inserted at his request:)

I hold a memorandum from the bureau of agriculture, which reads as follows:

On October 1, 1913, there were 8 Provinces with 30 municipalities infected with rinderpest. By January 20, 1914, this had been reduced to 4 Provinces and 9 municipalities. Right after this we had to let out three-fourths of our force of inspectors, owing to the new appropriations.

The new order to the governors was issued on February 20, but the majority of them did not take over the work until March 1. On February 28 there were infected 6 Provinces, with 20 towns.

By May 7 the infection had spread to 32 municipalities in 9 Provinces, and a Filipino executive secretary had announced that the situation was "very serious." He urged the governors whose Provinces were infected to exert themselves. On May 14, things having grown steadily worse, the Manila Times published the following editorial:

"By the expenditure of millions of pesos, the utilization of every means at the command of the Government, the neglect of other important matters, and the employment of a considerable number of experts, we were in a fair way to conquer rinderpest, the greatest scourge economically that the islands ever suffered. The herds were on the increase and there was every prospect that rinderpest would be eradicated. Agriculture is the backbone of Philippine prosperity, and agriculture under conditions such as exist here is only possible with an adequate supply of work animals.

"Because a few nearsighted provincials complained of the restrictions which the experts found necessary to use in fighting the disease, and because the politicians want a change for the sake of change, the whole machinery for fighting rinderpest is turned topsy-turvy and the disease is spreading over the islands like a prairie fire.

"It is time for plain speaking and prompt action. We can not afford any experiments with rinderpest. Test the capacity of the provincial and municipal officials in something less vital to the prosperity of the islands."

The warning fell on deaf ears. On May 17, 1914, nothing substantial having been done, the same paper spread the following editorial in large type over an entire page:

"TO THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

"Where only 9 towns in the Philippines were affected with rinderpest at the beginning of 1914, to-day there are at least 36 in which the disease has found a foothold. At this rate another four months will see the scourge as rampant—and perhaps as little checked—as in the days following the insurrection. Without draft animals the land can not be plowed. Unless the land is plowed the crops which are the life of the country will fail. And you gentlemen will be responsible.

"This is no time for taking your ease at Baguio. Your place—each one of you—is where you can most effectively spur the delinquent and the halting to a sense of the danger and their duty. Not delay, but discipline, is needed, and it is needed now.

"In the year 1902 rinderpest killed more than 60,000 cattle and carabao, worth \$50,000,000 as animals and millions more for the crops they might have helped to produce. Are we going back to 1902?

"Gov. Gen. Harrison, Vice Gov. Martin, and all the rest of you take off your coats and pitch in."

On May 2 the chief veterinarian of the bureau of agriculture is said to have reported that his lack of personnel made it impossible even to gather reliable data as to the existence of rinderpest; to have strenuously denied the charge of the governor of Pampanga that the data furnished by the bureau painted an exaggerated picture; and to have added that if the bureau were in possession of all the facts it would be found that the disease was far more prevalent than the public knew.

Gov. Gen. Harrison now took a hand and endeavored to spur on municipal and provincial officials to do their duty, with the usual result in such cases. There was immediate improvement—on paper. Filipino officials are experts in issuing admirably phrased orders and in writing reassuring reports.

The disease continued to spread. The Manila Cablenews-American for June 5 reports bureau of agriculture figures showing an increase of 77 per cent and 118 per cent, respectively, in deaths and new cases during the week ending May 23, with additional towns affected.

The Daily Bulletin sent an agent to make careful investigation into the facts, and as a result specifically charged that the truth as regards the prevalence of the disease had not been reported by the provincial governors; that municipal officials generally had absolutely disregarded the orders given by the provincial boards for the eradication of rinderpest; that justices of the peace had openly defined provincial boards, refusing to inflict the penalties prescribed for violations of quarantine regulations; that there was not then, and had not been for months, an adequate force to prosecute the fight, and that politics were a determining factor in the situation. Abundant facts were cited to justify these charges.

The Governor General announced that the fullest investigation would be made, and added:

"In addition to this I have decided to institute an educational campaign to secure cooperation among the authorities and the people immediately.

"The first step in this direction will be the conference of the members of the provincial boards of those Provinces afflicted with rinderpest and locusts, which will be called next Wednesday morning, and it is my hope later to have one of the Filipino members of the commission visit those Provinces and take an active part in the educational work."

A conference of provincial boards was duly called, and the Governor General announced that there would be no temporizing with the situation. Officials who failed to render their best efforts must suffer the consequence of their acts. Justices of the peace who failed to comply with the law were to be immediately suspended, as were all other delinquent officials, and the suspension of four municipal presidents did promptly follow.

The American press now became unanimous and emphatic in its demand for an end to temporizing, calling attention to the undoubted facts that the experiment of decentralizing and Filipinizing the control of the rinderpest campaign had resulted in failure; that the incompetence of provincial officers to assume the responsibilities conferred on them by the new law had been clearly demonstrated; that the situation was one that struck at the very roots of agriculture; and that the logical remedy was to admit the truth, to restore direct control to the bureau of agriculture, and again laboriously to build up a trained and efficient force to replace the incompetent irresponsible politicians in whose hands work of vital importance to the prosperity of the country had been so foolishly placed.

The Cablenews-American for August 14, 1914, prints the following:

"RINDERPEST IS AGAIN INCREASING—TWO MORE TOWNS SHOW SIGNS OF INFECTION AFTER DECREASE REPORTED A SHORT TIME AGO.

"Rinderpest conditions in the Provinces are getting worse again despite all the efforts to put the pest under control.

"According to the latest bulletin issued by the bureau of agriculture the number of towns infected has increased from 41 to 43. It is to be noted, however, that this increase is the fault of the local authorities in certain municipalities for not enforcing strictly the regulations sent out by the executive secretary. In Pampanga, Tarlac, and Pangasinan the condition is steadily improving and the number of towns previously infected is gradually decreasing. In Rizal Province it seems that the authorities are powerless to free the towns of Mariquina and San Mateo from the dangers of this evil.

"Although a very insignificant part of these towns has been invaded since a week ago, the pest threatens to extend over the Province. In Batangas no improvement has been made so far, while in Cavite the condition remains the same. With the exception of Cavinti, all Laguna Province has been freed. In Cagayan there is not the slightest indication that rinderpest will be eradicated from Enrile, Peñablanca, and Tuguegarao.

"During the week ending August 1, the number of new cases registered is 85, and the deaths 62."

The issue of the same paper for August 16, 1914, contains the following:

RINDERPEST IS BEING CHECKED—NUMBER OF INFECTED TOWNS IS DECREASED FROM 43 TO 38—DECREASE IN DEATHS ALSO.

"Great improvement has been made in checking rinderpest in the Provinces, according to the report of the bureau of agriculture for the week ending August 17. The number of towns infected decreased from 43 to 38. The number of new cases registered on August 8 was 137 and the number of deaths was 85. It is believed, however, that these figures have fallen considerably during the last seven days.

"Although a decided improvement has been made in general, the number of towns infected in Batangas has increased by one, the municipality of Tuy being the latest to be declared under quarantine. Rinderpest conditions in Cagayan have not improved while in Cavite four towns remain infected. In Isabela, Laguna, and Rizal conditions have not changed, but in Pampanga and Tarlac the number of towns previously infected has decreased to 7 and 8, respectively. Of all the Provinces infected with rinderpest Pangasinan has the greatest number of towns put under quarantine."

On September 9, 1914, the same paper printed the following:

NINETY NEW CASES OF RINDERPEST.

"The rinderpest report for the week ended August 29, as issued by the bureau of agriculture, shows 95 new cases and 71 deaths. An increase of five infected towns is noted, distributed over the Provinces of Cagayan, Nueva Vizcaya, and Pangasinan."

The Manila Daily Bulletin of the same date makes this comment:

RINDERPEST SITUATION TAKES TURN FOR WORSE.

"The rinderpest situation in the Provinces has again taken a turn for the worse.

"During the week ending on Monday last, according to figures compiled by the bureau of agriculture officials, seven more towns and one new Province, that of Nueva Vizcaya, have become infected with the disease. On the other hand, but two towns—both in Cagayan, where there are four newly infected municipalities—have been released from quarantine.

"In the other Provinces previously infected the conditions apparently remain unchanged in spite of the efforts of the provincial officials, who are supposed to have been spurred into action by the Governor General and the executive secretary."

In the issue of the Manila Daily Bulletin for September 12, 1914, I find among the printed record of requests made the previous day upon the "emergency board," which disposes of certain insular funds, the following: The bureau of agriculture also presented a request for ₱2,000 to be used in combating the rinderpest, which has again started to increase throughout the Provinces.

"Here, then, we have a practical result of Filipinization in the complete demonstration of the opposition of the populace to measures necessary for their own economic salvation, and of the unwillingness or inability of provincial and municipal officers to enforce such measures. True, an effort was finally made to stem the tide by bringing directly to bear the powerful influence of the Governor General, the vice governor, and other American officials. Should success attend it, which is more than doubtful, the only result will be to demonstrate the fundamental necessity of American control in dealing with this and similar problems."

Senator RANSELL. Speaking of agricultural products of the islands, what do you think about the sugar industry in the islands? How extensively can that profitably be developed?

Mr. WORCESTER. With the present restrictions on the amount of land that can be owned or controlled by a corporation, the sugar industry in the islands can not be developed very rapidly. A modern sugar central ought to control 8,000 or 10,000 acres of sugar lands. Later, when the Filipinos learn more than they know to-day of the benefits of cooperation, it will probably be possible for centrals to make cane-growing contracts with numbers of small owners. Up to the present time this has proved very difficult. The limitations will be limitations of that kind and limitations imposed by the available labor supply and by the danger of attacks from locusts, which is a very real peril in the Philippine Islands at times.

Senator RANSDELL. There is a great deal of land in the islands susceptible of being made to produce cane, is there not?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; a very large quantity which would grow cane, and very considerable tracts of land which would grow it at moderate expense, I think.

Senator RANSDELL. How do conditions for cane production in the Philippine Islands compare with those in Java?

Mr. WORCESTER. I should say they were practically identical with those in Java, as far as concerns climate and soil.

Senator RANSDELL. How about the cost of labor in the islands as compared with Java?

Mr. WORCESTER. I fancy the cost of labor in the Philippines is considerably in excess of that in Java. At present field labor in many regions of the archipelago costs approximately 50 cents a day.

Senator RANSDELL. That is in the Philippines?

Mr. WORCESTER. In the Philippines; $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents is as low a price as any I know of for labor on any considerable scale.

Senator RANSDELL. Are the wages much less than that in Java?

Mr. WORCESTER. I am not informed as to that; but from the general condition of the Javanese people, who have been pretty closely held down by the Dutch, I suspect that wages are a good deal less than that there.

Senator RANSDELL. One of the witnesses who testified before this committee gave the impression that one great difficulty with the development of the sugar industry in the Philippine Islands was that under the land laws these big companies, the centrals, could not acquire large tracts of land, and that the individual owners would not be tempted at all into the sugar business.

Mr. WORCESTER. That is the point I intended to make, sir, when you asked your first question; that is true, of course.

Now, many of the old Philippines mills left 30 or 40 per cent of the sugar in the cane, so that a modern central could mill cane for the people and give them outright as much weight in good centrifugal sugar as the old mills did of the dirty sugar full of molasses; and the modern central could make a handsome profit out of what those people were throwing away. But the Filipinos generally have not reached the stage of development in which they would look with favor on that kind of an arrangement; there would now be a good deal of suspicion on their part.

Senator RANSDELL. Then from your knowledge you would not expect the sugar industry to develop rapidly in the Philippines?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; I should not.

Senator RANSDELL. It has about reached the maximum?

Mr. WORCESTER. Well, the people who bought the large tracts of friar lands in Mindoro have not yet made a financial success of their operations, I understand. They have spent a considerable sum of money there and still have a heavy deficit. The people operating on the Calamba estate attempted to put in 6,000 acres of cane the first year and had just completed the first year's operations when I left, and they had about succeeded in doing what they anticipated. I understand that their cane has since been damaged by locusts.

I do not know the conditions at the central growing up in western Negros; I am not advised as to progress of that mill after I left, but at the time I left there was not a single large central in successful commercial operation in the Philippines.

Senator RANSELL. About what is the annual production of sugar in the Philippines?

Mr. WORCESTER. I can give that to you—or at least the annual exports, which pretty nearly represent the production. For 1913 it was 212,540 metric tons; a metric ton is about 2,200 pounds. For 1912 it was 186,016 metric tons.

Senator CRAWFORD. The production is increasing right along?

Mr. WORCESTER. Well, sir, just confining myself now to the thousands, to save time, I will give you the figures:

In 1904 it was 75,000 tons; in 1905 it was 113,000 tons; in 1906 it was 125,000 tons; in 1907 it was 120,000 tons, there was a little falling off; in 1908 it was 151,000 tons; in 1909 it was 112,000 tons, a material falling off; in 1910 it was 127,000 tons; in 1911 it was 149,000; in 1912, 186,000 tons; in 1913, 212,000 tons.

Senator LIPPITT. Was that later development due to the change in tariff laws between the Philippines and this country?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; undoubtedly, in part; and it also has been dependent upon the cattle available, as the number of work animals has increased.

Senator LIPPITT. I wondered whether it was the result of local conditions, or of tariff changes; you think of both?

Mr. WORCESTER. The tariff changes became effective in 1909, as I remember, and the 112,000 tons of that year then jumped to 120,000 tons, then to 149,000 tons, then to 186,000 tons, and then to 212,000 tons; so that there has been a steady increase since that change was made.

Senator LIPPITT. Well, the two things were so contemporaneous that I wondered if they were also causative?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; I think there was a direct relationship there.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the cause of the advance of the wages of the people in the Philippines?

Mr. WORCESTER. In the first place, the liberality of the Americans, and the feeling that 10 cents a day, which was the wage that prevailed at the close of the Spanish régime, was an unjust wage to pay a man for a day's work. Our Army men who first went out there thought so, and sometimes gave a laborer half a dollar or a dollar a day, as the case may be, if he had done well. Later the rapid development of agriculture has increased the demand for labor; conditions have improved rapidly in many respects out there. It is also due to the generalization of education and the bringing home to the com-

mon man of the fact that his labor is worth a great deal more than he formerly got for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the cost of living advanced in the Philippines?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; the cost of living has advanced there, and people are no longer content to live as they used to live; the style of living has improved.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the cost of living advanced chiefly because of the change in standard of living?

Mr. WORCESTER. In part for that reason, and in part because of the fact that the general upward movement in prices which has been pretty nearly world-wide, I fancy, has reached the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the products of the islands sell at higher prices than formerly?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; very much higher; at least some of them. Copra, or dried coconut meat, which is our second most important export to-day, has greatly increased in price.

Senator LIPPITT. Rice is higher, too, is it not?

Mr. WORCESTER. Rice is higher; but we do not sell rice, we import it.

Senator LIPPITT. But the people have to live on it?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; the people have to live on it.

Senator LIPPITT. The price of rice the world over is higher to-day than it was 10 years ago, is it not?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir. And of course the price of meat is also higher; and the Philippines have to import both beef animals and refrigerated meat to meet their needs at present.

The CHAIRMAN. This bill gives the Filipino Legislature the power to fix the tariffs, or customs duties, from all countries except the United States; have you any idea what action they would take under that power?

Mr. WORCESTER. I really have not, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the present law, is opium admitted to the Philippine Islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is very strictly excluded.

The CHAIRMAN. That is by an act of Congress, is it?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That would still remain in effect, I suppose?

Mr. WORCESTER. I hope so—most sincerely.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that law enforced?

Mr. WORCESTER. As far as it can be. The importation of opium is one of the most difficult things in the world to control, when a determined effort to smuggle it is made; you can get such a large value in such a small space that it is very difficult to prevent the smuggling of opium. There are those who believe that the best way to control the evil is to put on the maximum tariff which will not result in smuggling, and then follow it up when you get it in the country, and penalize its use very heavily. There is a radical difference of opinion among those who are very strongly in favor of preventing its use, as to what are the best practical means for doing so.

I rather incline myself to the theory that we get somewhat less satisfactory results under the flat prohibition, which leads to extensive smuggling operations, than we used to get when we admitted opium with the maximum customs charge and provided for the licensing of

those who sold it, and also for the licensing of confirmed users, and prohibited absolutely the licensing of people who were not confirmed users. But that is a matter of opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has also been asked to recommend the establishment of prohibition in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. WORCESTER. I think the value of an act of that sort depends on two things: (1) the practicability of enforcing it and (2) the popular sentiment behind it—which is very closely connected with the practicability of enforcing. So far as the lowland people are concerned, they will never become victims of alcoholism; they are extremely temperate in their use of alcoholic stimulants. Drunkenness is by no means unknown among them, but it is far from common.

So far as the hill people are concerned, they will get drunk as often as they can and as thoroughly as they can. They differ absolutely from the lowland people in that particular; and we have passed a law making it a crime to give or sell to the hill people the white man's liquor; they get quite sufficient results with the kinds that they make themselves. [Laughter.]

And it has been possible to enforce that law to a large extent because of the few lines of communications which exist between the coast and the hills; we can catch the liquor in transit ordinarily.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that legislation passed?

Mr. WORCESTER. I can not tell you exactly; I should say about 1907.

The CHAIRMAN. By the old commission?

Mr. WORCESTER. By the commission; yes, sir.

Senator RANSELL. They do not manufacture our whisky over there, do they?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir.

Senator RANSELL. What are the intoxicating drinks in which they indulge?

Mr. WORCESTER. Tuba, so called, which is the fermented juice from the blossom stalk of the coconut palm. Then there is basi, so called; that is sugar-cane juice boiled down somewhat, and then allowed to ferment; vino, so called, which is really raw alcohol, usually obtained from distilled fermented juice of the nipa palm, and then perhaps sweetened a little and flavored a little with anise or something of the sort.

Those are the common drinks in the lowlands, and among the hill people, bubud or tapui, a fermented drink made from rice.

Senator CRAWFORD. From rice?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir. And speaking of the hill people, I now come to what I feel is perhaps the most important thing in this bill, with respect to which I feel I can speak to you with some authority, and in connection with which I want to make an earnest appeal to you, and that is the legislation relative to the control of the backward Philippine peoples, commonly known as the "non-Christian tribes." All of these peoples in the Philippines, outside of the Moro Province, were, from the establishment of our government there, up to September, 1913, under my executive control as secretary of the interior.

Beginning with the Negritos, who represent practically the bottom of the human series—they are people on a level with the blacks of Australia and the bushmen—and going on up to the Tingians,

who, in many ways, are as highly civilized as are their Christian neighbors, the Filipinos themselves, we have this remarkable group of some 27 different non-Christian peoples, some of whom are incapable of civilization; some of whom have been utter savages, but are to-day developing with extraordinary rapidity; some of whom always have been pacific agriculturalists, possessed of a pretty well developed civilization of their own and differing from their lowland neighbors chiefly in the character of the clothing they wear and in the fact that they cling to their old religious beliefs.

Now, it is a fact, and I beg you to believe me when I say so, that there has been, and is, very deep bitterness between the wild people and the lowland Filipinos living in proximity to their territory. I ought not to use that word "wild," but I have in mind more especially those tribes that really are wild and have made mischief in the past by thieving from the lowlanders and by murdering them, and making life a burden for them generally. There has been this bitterness. It is useless for us to indulge in charges in connection with it, or attempt to fix the responsibility for it; there has been blame on both sides; the lowland people have imposed on the hill people, and the hill people have taken revenge by bloody violence on the lowland people. Some of the hill people who are not warlike have been very badly treated in the sale of their products, and otherwise harshly dealt with.

There were at the time of the American occupations great regions in Mindanao and Luzon on which the foot of the white man had never been set. We have gone through that country; we have opened it up with our roads and our trails; we have established relations of the utmost friendliness with practically all of those wild tribes, with the single exception of some of the Moros in the district of Mindanao and Sulu. We have done this practically without bloodshed outside of the Moro country. The number of men killed in the suppression of head-hunting is utterly insignificant.

In dealing with people practically identical ethnologically with those who Japan has sought to exterminate in the mountains of northern Formosa we have got on without any considerable amount of bloodshed. The results obtained are incomparably better than those Japan has obtained; and where she has spent millions of dollars in her unsuccessful efforts to control a few of those people we have spent thousands, and I think perhaps I can say hundreds, in an effort to control much larger numbers which has met with very marked success up to the present time.

Now, this success is directly due to the character of the men who have performed the work; the men on the ground who come in personal contact with these people. Success in dealing with primitive tribes—and I now speak whereof I know, gentlemen, because we have had success, and I have watched the work grow, and such success is very largely a matter of the personal equation; the power of human sympathy is the thing that gets results, and such sympathy does not exist between non-Christians and Filipinos. We like those hill people, and they like us; they have learned by experience that the advice that we give them is sound; and they have learned to do the things we ask them to do which seem absurd to them, because

other things which have seemed equally absurd in the past have been done at our request and have worked out well.

The splendid results that we have obtained for civilization are imperiled at the present moment. There is a plan now on foot in the Philippines to destroy the governmental organization which has produced those results in northern Luzon; to break up the Mountain Province, with its centralization of control over 450,000 non-Christians, into a series of little Provinces, and to annex parts of its territory to neighboring Christian Provinces.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that is a provision of this bill?

Mr. WORCESTER. No, sir; I mean that in the Philippines it has been under consideration, and that the matter has been delayed pending consideration of this bill by Congress, and the determination of the powers to be given over to the bureau of non-Christian tribes provided for in the bill, which are as yet fixed only in a very general way. Take a concrete case: It has been proposed to restore the territory of Apayao to the Province of Cagayan, for administrative purposes.

That territory originally belonged to the Province of Cagayan. I sought for several years to get the officials of that Province to give me a little money with which to break through the isolation of the Apayao people, who are head-hunters, and make a start in civilizing them, and they would not give me even money enough to pay regularly the few officials that we already had there, let alone to begin public works for opening up trails. The governor of Cagayan suggested to me that the best way to deal with the people of Apayao was to kill them all, and at that time we believed that there were 52,000 of them; as a matter of fact there were about 25,000. Take a second concrete case. The Ifugaos have been separated by us from the people of Vizcaya, who formerly bought their children for slaves and with whom they used to be constantly at outs in the old days. It is now contemplated to put them back there, by making their territory part of Wurea Vizcaya. These things mean turning back the hands of the clock; they mean destroying the results that men have been laboring for long years, running risks which you gentlemen can not appreciate here; running risks which very few men would be willing to run, and enduring hardships which few men would be able to endure.

They mean that in the Province of Palawan, where four splendid Americans have given their lives for the benefit of the backward people, that they are likely to have a governor elected by the Filipinos of the Province who will not care two straws for the work for the non-Christians.

Now, unless that work is to result in ignominious failure it is necessary that control over it should be kept out of the hands of the Filipinos and exercised by Americans; and there is one way in which it can be done from Washington under your proposed system, and only one, so far as I can see; and that is to have an administrative official in the Philippines—I would call him a lieutenant governor—for the non-Christian tribes, who is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate of the United States. Under his administrative control the work for the non-Christian tribes of the Philippine Islands should be carried on; he would make the appointments pro-

vided for by law in the special government Provinces and exercise practically the functions exercised to-day by the secretary of the interior, outside the old territory of the Moro Province, which, with certain additions, is now called the "Department of Mindanao and Sulu."

The CHAIRMAN. This bill provides, as I remember it, Dr. Worcester, that one senator and nine members of the lower house shall be accredited to the non-Christian tribes and appointed by the Governor General.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was supposed that that element in the legislature would serve to protect their interests.

Mr. WORCESTER. We have two things to consider in connection with that work, the executive functions and the legislative functions. I should like, if I may, to dispose first of the executive functions, concerning which I was speaking.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it is perfectly feasible to do that thing, to provide that office of which I spoke; and the man who does that work will find his time abundantly occupied. He will have to watch over the interests of one-eighth of the population of the Philippines. He will spend at least six months in every year in traveling if he does his work satisfactorily. I had to perform many other duties, but in attempting to look after the non-Christians I spent three or four months in travel, and I did not have to cover the Moro Province, which should be covered in that way. It was under the Governor General.

So far as the legislative end of it is concerned, the truth is that even if the senators and representatives appointed truly represent the interests of these people—and it would be pretty difficult to find men in the islands, perhaps, who could adequately represent these interests who would be available—it would still remain true that the representatives of the non-Christians would be so absolutely in the minority that all they could do would be to say their say, and the practical result of that it not likely to be very great.

But we already have an adequate body of legislation to control the affairs of these backward people, born of much experience; and if the existing laws are only let alone and carried out by men who are in sympathy with the work, and that might be assured by having the appointments made in the way I have indicated, then that work will go on. This can be achieved if it is provided that all legislation for the non-Christian tribes shall be subject to the approval of the President in the same way that you have made legislation with reference to land matters and forest matters subject to his approval.

Now, is not the interest of those backward peoples a more important thing than either of those other matters that I have mentioned; and ought not all such legislation, in view of the undoubted and indisputable fact of the bad feeling which has prevailed and which still prevails between Filipinos and non-Christians—ought not such legislation be brought over here before it is finally passed on? If nothing else ever came of the years that I have devoted to the work for those backward peoples in the Philippines than the bringing of that control here, if this bill is passed, I should feel that all that I

have gone through with out there has been abundantly justified. I want to see that work protected.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course the Governor General has a veto power?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; he has a veto power. But the Governor General will be on the ground, and he will be subjected to very strong political pressure.

I am sure you can not appreciate what the feeling is; it is so extreme that we have twice had bills passed by the lower house intended to make it a criminal offense for any person to take a photograph of those fellows up in the hills. The Filipinos want to conceal the very fact of the existence of such people. The Government photographer who took the pictures that I am now using to illustrate conditions in the Philippines has left his position, under pressure, since I retired; and there has been agitation in favor of the destruction of the whole series of Government negatives showing the customs of the non-Christian people, the conditions which we found among them and the conditions which prevail to-day.

Now, if the feeling is as strong as that, and it is—

Senator LIPPITT (interposing). You say they propose the destruction of the pictures showing the conditions that prevailed when you went there and those showing the conditions to-day?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; the whole series.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean that they do not want the proofs of the improvement to be in existence?

Mr. WORCESTER. They just want the whole series of negatives blotted out, because it shows the fact of the existence of such people there.

Senator CRAWFORD. In other words, they would like to have us in the United States simply consider that class who make the best showing in intelligence and education and forget that there are any others over there except them?

Mr. WORCESTER. Undoubtedly, sir, that is true. It is a perfectly natural attitude on their part; we can not wonder at it at all; but that is the case.

Senator RANSELL. Dr. Worcester, does Mohammedanism prevail among those non-Christian tribes other than the Moros?

Mr. WORCESTER. Absolutely not.

Senator RANSELL. What is the religion of the other tribes?

Mr. WORCESTER. Those who have any religion are practically without any exception Animists, or spirit worshippers. The religion of many of them consists in an attempt to maintain helpful and friendly relations with the spirits of the dead, who are believed to have power for good and evil, and to be able to produce sickness and cause wounds or death, as the case may be, on the one hand, and to protect those whom they favor on the other.

In Mindanao, among the hill people, some tribes believe in spirits of a superior order; they are not the spirits of their dead ancestors, but are supernatural beings, called Busaos, which have the same powers as the spirits already mentioned.

Now, I should be glad to put into the record, if I may, the few and simple regulations which define the powers of the secretary of the interior at this time, which should be continued in an officer exercising control over those people.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I think that ought to be in the record.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

Under the legislative scheme provided in this bill there is grave danger that the interests of the more backward Philippine peoples, commonly grouped under the designation "non-Christian tribes," will be very seriously prejudiced. Heretofore the power to legislate for them has been explicitly limited, by act of Congress, to the Philippine Commission, and executive control over their affairs has been exercised by the Secretary of the Interior, except in the territory of the Moro Province, where it has been exercised by the Governor General.

Section 22 of this bill provides that:

"There shall be established by the Philippine Legislature a bureau, to be known as the bureau of non-Christian tribes, which said bureau shall be embraced in one of the executive departments to be designated by the Governor General, and shall have general supervision over the public affairs of the inhabitants of the territory represented in the legislature by appointive senators and representatives."

The language of this provision is vague, and the powers and duties of the proposed bureau are defined only in very general terms. It is not apparent that such a bureau, operating under the executive control of a head of a department, who was himself appointed by the governor general, subject to the approval of the Philippine senate, could effectively intervene to secure adequate protection for the non-Christian peoples or to promote their social development.

These very important matters should be removed absolutely from the realm of Philippine local politics. However earnestly the two appointive senators and nine appointive representatives may seek to promote the welfare of the non-Christian tribes they will be hopelessly in the minority and powerless to control future legislation; but the adequacy of the existing legislation for the government of non-Christian tribes has been demonstrated by the results which it has brought about, and it should not be modified except after very careful consideration.

I therefore recommend that the clause on page 8, lines 7, 8, 9, and 10 of the bill which now reads "but acts of the Philippine Legislature with reference to land, timber, and mining, hereafter enacted, shall not have the force of law until approved by the President of the United States," be amended so as to read "but acts of the Philippine Legislature with reference to land, timber, mining, and the government of non-Christian tribes, shall not have the force of law until approved by the President of the United States."

In order to provide for adequate administrative control I recommend that the above-mentioned provision of the bill, relative to the establishment of a bureau of non-Christian tribes, be stricken out, and that there be inserted in lieu thereof, the following:

There shall be a lieutenant governor for non-Christian tribes appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate of the United States, who shall hold his office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is chosen and qualified. He shall appoint all provincial officers in the so-called special government Provinces, which are not organized under the provincial government act, and after a hearing may remove any such officer for cause.

He shall exercise, with reference to the members of the non-Christian tribes throughout the Philippines, the powers and shall perform the duties, fixed for the secretary of the interior in section 29 of act 1396 of the Philippine Commission entitled the "Special provincial government act," and in sections 61, 62, 64, 67, and 68 of act 1397 of the Philippine Commission entitled the "Township government act."

The executive authority of the lieutenant governor for non-Christian tribes should, for two reasons, extend to the territory now included in the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, which is at present under the administrative control of the Governor General.

First. The divided control which has hitherto existed over the non-Christian tribes has prevented that unity of policy which is desirable.

Second. The Governor General is overwhelmed by a burden of other work and it is simply impossible for him to visit and properly to inspect the several Provinces of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu.

I believe that the above simple provisions, if enacted into law, would insure the continuance of a work for civilization which has already given very important results.

The appointing officer would be left absolutely free to name Americans or Filipinos, as he saw fit, but could act unhampered by political turmoil in the

islands, as he would continue in office during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

The provisions of existing law above referred to are as follows:

[Act No. 1396.]

SEC. 29. It shall be the duty of the secretary of the interior to visit and inspect each Province organized under the provisions of this act at least once during each fiscal year.

[Act No. 1397.]

SEC. 61. Whereas many of the non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have not progressed sufficiently in civilization to make it practicable to bring them under any form of municipal government, all provincial governors are authorized, subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior, in dealing with such non-Christian tribes, or members thereof, to appoint officers for their settlements, to fix the designations and badges of office of such officers, and to prescribe their powers and duties: *Provided*, That the powers and duties thus prescribed shall not be in excess of the powers conferred upon township officers by this act.

SEC. 62. Subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior first had, the provincial governor of any Province in which non-Christian tribes are found is further authorized, when such a course is deemed necessary in the interest of law and order, to direct members of such tribes to take up their habitation on sites on unoccupied public lands to be selected by him and approved by the provincial board. Members of such tribes who refuse to comply with such direction shall upon conviction be imprisoned for a period not exceeding sixty days.

SEC. 63. The provincial board is hereby empowered, subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior, to prescribe the taxes to be collected in each of the several settlements organized as provided in section sixty-one. Such taxes shall be limited in kind and amount to all or any of the taxes authorized in sections eighteen and nineteen of act numbered thirteen hundred and ninety-six and in sections forty to forty-nine, inclusive, of this act. In the event that a cedula tax is imposed by the provincial board upon the inhabitants of any settlement the provisions of sections one hundred and twenty to one hundred and twenty-five, inclusive, of act numbered eleven hundred and eighty-nine shall govern its collection and disposition.

SEC. 64. The constant aim of provincial governors, provincial boards, and of the secretary of the interior in exercising the powers conferred upon them by this act shall be to aid the people of the several non-Christian tribes to acquire the knowledge and experience necessary for successful local popular self-government, and their supervision and control over such people shall be exercised to this end and to the end that law, order, and individual freedom may be maintained.

SEC. 67. When in the opinion of a provincial board any settlement of members of non-Christian tribes has advanced sufficiently to make such a course practicable and desirable it may, with the approval of the secretary of the interior first had, organize such settlement under the provisions of sections one to sixty, inclusive, of this act, and shall fix the geographical limits of each township thus organized.

SEC. 68. When a provincial board is of the opinion that it is practicable and expedient to effect the political fusion of a non-Christian settlement with an adjacent municipality organized under the provisions of act numbered eighty-two, the municipal code, the provincial board may, with the approval of the secretary of the interior first had, declare the offices, if any, created for such settlement abolished and the settlement fused with the adjacent municipality and its territory added to the territory of such municipality. The inhabitants of such non-Christian settlement shall thereupon be vested with the same political rights as are the residents of such municipality, and the provisions of act numbered eighty-two, the municipal code, and the acts amendatory thereof shall apply to them.

MR. WORCESTER (continuing). And the system I propose is a perfectly simple one—an executive officer with real powers in connection with appointments. And it should be remembered that so far as

provincial officers are concerned, all of them, practically, in these Provinces are appointed. Such an officer named here by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and, if possible, an experienced man who knows the people. Those hill people know nothing of law; they know nothing of policies, but they understand individuals uncommonly well and they pin their faith to individuals, and when those individuals who know them go away the bottom drops out of their universe for the time, and they think that chaos has come. Ultimately they will learn that the men who succeed those whom they have learned to trust will work for their interest, but that takes time. If you were to ask them what they wanted they would say that they did not like to have their apogee changed. Apo is the name for the man in authority over them. If he is also their friend, and when he proves to be the right sort of man they want to tie to him; they do not want to experiment in any such important matter.

Senator RANSELL. I infer from what you have said that you think it is necessary for us to protect those non-Christian tribes from the Christian?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes.

Senator RANSELL. And I infer from what you said some time ago that it would probably become necessary for us to protect the Christians from the Moros, because the Moros are very warlike?

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; we must hold the Moros in check.

Senator RANSELL. So that we are between two fires?

Mr. WORCESTER. You accomplish the two things in the way I have indicated. It is, of course, entirely possible, in dealing with warlike people to use them in maintaining order in their own territory; we have done that with the Bontoc Igorots; we have done that with the Ifuagos, making splendid constabulary soldiers out of them. We have already made some good constabulary soldiers of Moros, but with less success there, because the Moros are harder to deal with; it will come there also in the course of time.

But what I want to see for the present, until things have gone much further, is the maintenance of American control in the territory of the wild people of the Philippine Islands.

Senator RANSELL. By "wild people" do you mean to include the Moros?

Mr. WORCESTER. By "wild people" I mean to include the Moros. I frequently fall into that way of expression, because I usually have especially in mind the Bontoc Igorots, the Kalingas, the Ifuagos (all of whom were head-hunters), and the Moros who are very warlike.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not want you to repeat what you may have said during my absence; I regret that I could not be here all the time. But, leaving out these preambles and declarations that are contained in the bill, it is your opinion that the bill itself goes too far in the way of extending a sort or form of government that enlarges the democracy or the power of the representatives in the islands. Do you think it goes too far in that respect?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it does, sir, in certain particulars.

Senator CRAWFORD. You may have discussed that subject.

Senator LIPPITT. Yes; Dr. Worcester has been over that subject.

Senator CRAWFORD. Well, of course, I can read it in the record; and I do not want you to repeat it on my account.

Senator RANSELL. Dr. Worcester, pursuing a little further the effect on the Christian tribes which the Moros may possibly have if we give them independence, I would like to ask you what would probably be the effect on the Christian of some invasion or taking over the control of the islands by any of the non-Christian nations of Asia?

Mr. WORCESTER. Well, they would meet very different treatment from such people from that which they have received at our hands, beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

Senator KENWON. How would they fare with the Christian nations of Europe who are now engaged in war? There is a little doubt about what constitutes a Christian nation. [Laughter.]

Senator RANSELL. I understood you to say that Spain in very many ways had been very kind to the natives there, and had produced a very great degree of civilization and beneficent results in the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. In the early days of Spanish occupation, and until comparatively modern times, that was unquestionably true. The old conquerors were wonderful people, and the work in the islands was much more largely the work of their church than it was work of their army. They established their authority there and exercised a paternal control over the people; and during a long period of time their work must be regarded as real missionary work. Then, as time went by, the home Government of Spain began to deteriorate; the clergy degenerated in the Philippines; the latter-day friars were a very unpleasant contrast to the heroic missionaries of the old days. Graft permeated the whole service; it was rotten from top to bottom.

When I was there during my second visit to the islands I traveled under a royal order from the Queen of Spain; and I saw things from the inside, and it certainly was not a pleasant sight. Stealing was discussed between the provincial officers just as we might discuss the state of weather. It was a thing that they did not make any effort to conceal. Positions there were political plums; and the appointees were changed with each new Spanish administration. It was by no means unusual for a man who was appointed to an office to take ship for the islands, and on arrival be informed that his successor had been appointed, and have the privilege of paying his own expenses back to Spain.

And the control of the church over the people became correspondingly weak as the results obtained became unsatisfactory.

But it would be a great mistake to judge Spanish rule in the Philippines as a whole by the conditions that prevailed during the last century, and more especially the last half of the century.

Senator RANSELL. What are the conditions, from a religious point of view, in the islands now?

Mr. WORCESTER. A large majority of the people are adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. During the days of the insurrection an Ilocano priest named Agliray got at outs with the ecclesiastical authorities. The trouble became acute; and ultimately he set up a church of his own.

He secured a considerable number of adherents. He calls himself an archbishop to-day. At one time his adherents had possession of not a few of the Catholic places of worship, and held such possession

until finally ousted by the courts. There were a large number of adherents of that movement at one time, but they are falling away and at the present time returning to the Catholic Church, I think.

We have Protestant missions there, and to a considerable extent the Protestant missionaries have pursued the broad policy of avoiding an attempt to reconvert Catholics, directing their endeavors toward the Christianizing of people who really were not adherents of any church, or toward a few of the pagan people in the hills, like the Benguet Igorots and the Bontoc Igorots. That is the situation, as nearly as I can describe it to you in a few words.

Senator RANSELL. You say that the Christian people would not be treated anything like as nicely, in case some Asiatic nation would take charge, as we are treating them?

Mr. WORCESTER. I go further than that and say in case any European nation were to take charge. England has not in the past treated the inhabitants of her oriental tropical possessions or any of her other tropical possessions as we have treated the Filipinos. Germany has certainly not done it, nor has France. It is my opinion that there never has been such a disinterested effort to improve the conditions of a group of subject peoples as we have made in the Philippines. There may have been room for differences of opinion as to the efficacy of the methods which we have employed, but I think no one who has ever been in the islands to observe results will doubt that we were striving to a good end and have achieved it, whatever he may think of the wisdom of the means that we thought it best to adopt.

Senator RANSELL. Is it likely that the religion of these Christian Filipinos would be interfered with in case some Asiatic nation should take possession of the islands?

Mr. WORCESTER. I should doubt it, Senator, at the present time. The Chinese, or the higher class of Chinese, seem reasonably tolerant in the matter of religious beliefs, and so are the Japanese at the present time. The Chinese in the Philippines largely become adherents of the Catholic churches there.

Senator RANSELL. How is it with the Japanese with their possessions? How do they treat the Christians?

Mr. WORCESTER. So far as I know, sir, Christians are not discriminated against either in the possessions of Japan or in Japan itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Worcester, one complaint has been made against the government which we have had over there, and that is the extravagance in the building of public works, particularly in the building of the Benguet Road, with Philippine money.

Mr. WORCESTER. I remember once, sir, when Senator Newlands was staying with me, after he had spent some time in looking around the islands, that he stated that the only objection that he had to our continuing in possession of them was that he thought the men who had accomplished so much with so little money out there ought to be brought back home and put at similar jobs over here. We have made a dollar do the work of five pretty consistently out there. I could take you into the hills and show you where ₱500 had constructed 5 miles of main irrigating ditch, with the cooperation of these half-naked savages up there; where roads and trails have been constructed for very small sums. It is, of course, true in connection with the very extensive public works which we have constructed

there have sometimes been wasteful expenditures, and the most striking illustration of expenditure unexpectedly large and, as it has proved in the end, unnecessary, is in connection with the building of the Benguet Road.

The initial cost of the road was not excessive, in view of the character of the country through which it ran, which presented very grave engineering difficulties; but the cost of maintaining it afterwards has been very great, the reason being that the mountains tower above it for heights anywhere from 2,000 to 6,000 and 7,000 feet; that the valley up which it runs drains a very large rolling tableland on the tops of the mountains; and that we have a rainfall of almost unprecedented volume there at times. There is one case on record in which 45 inches of rainfall occurred in 24 consecutive hours. When such a body of water as that has to find its way down one narrow canyon things are bound to happen. There is another case in which more than 30 inches fell in 24 consecutive hours, and cases in which 15 to 20 inches have fallen have been comparatively frequent. The road has been maintained by the existing administration in the Philippines, but at the same time they have done a thing that I was anxious to have done some years ago. They have converted a trail which we built down to the westward to the seacoast, which follows the crests of the ridges and does not cross any considerable stream until the lowlands are reached, into an automobile road. At the time I left the islands it was already possible to take seven-passenger touring cars over that, although careful driving was necessary. It was not possible to take heavy freight trucks over it. At comparatively small expense it can be converted into a permanent freight road. I should say that every dollar expended in opening up Benguet was justified because of the value of that region to the islands as a health resort, in affording a quick and complete change of climate to people who need it. Experience has shown that there was a better route we might have followed. The reason we did not look seriously at this route at the outset was that we had to connect with the only railroad in the islands, which then ended at Dagapan. Since then the railroad has been extended up the coast. At that time we had no idea it would be so extended. The new point of departure from the coast is almost equally advantageous.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the cost of the Benguet Road?

Mr. WORCESTER. I thought some one would ask me that, so I wrote it down, in order that I might be exact.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been some controversy over that. Some one placed it up into the millions.

Mr. WORCESTER. The cost of the Benguet Road when opened for traffic was \$1,961,847.05.

The CHAIRMAN. How long is that road?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is 28.7 miles long, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And it runs from what point to what point?

Mr. WORCESTER. It runs from the plains of Pangasinan to Baguio. Senator CRAWFORD. Is it out of commission now, or can they keep it up and use it?

Mr. WORCESTER. This last year was a good year. There were few violent storms. At last accounts the road was in commission.

The cost of maintenance of that road to May 1, 1913, was \$792,434, giving a net cost on that date in question of \$2,754,281.05.

That 5 cents is not put there for the sake of making a guess seem accurate. I had those figures carefully prepared in the bureau of public works, and they represent a very close approximation to the actual expenditure, although I do not insist upon the 5 cents or even on the odd dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. That was from money raised by taxation?

Mr. WORCESTER. It was, in part, sir, funds appropriated from the moneys of the insular government, and it was in part from the congressional relief fund.

You perhaps remember that Congress at one time appropriated \$3,000,000 to relieve distress in the Philippines; and our method of relieving distress was not to feed people who were able to work, but to give them an opportunity to labor on public works and to provide food which they could purchase cheaply with their wages, and in that part of Pangasinan it happened that there were a good many needy people at the time, and we used some of the money on the Benguet Road, helping them out. If that had not been done it would have been appropriated from insular government funds.

I will say that when we began that work the engineer in charge obtained from the Volunteer Army, who had been sent over the ground and who made the estimate, told us that a wagon road could be built to Baguio for \$65,000, but that he would ask for \$75,000, so as to be sure to have enough. We were led on from one increase to another until we got in so far that we were determined to go through to the end; and, as a simple matter of fact, we believed then, as I believe now, that it was worth every dollar that it cost to open that country up. It has, of course, been charged that Baguio was an American town, and it was at the outset. Americans were the ones that first saw the necessity for it and were the ones who first derived a maximum benefit from it; but the truth is that it does the Filipino just as much good to get a change of climate and go up into the cold as it does the white man.

The Filipino boys who come to this country when they are young develop better over here than they do at home. They grow to be stronger and more robust than they would at home, and when we first transferred our office force in large measure to the summer capital at Baguio during the hot season we found that there was a general improvement in weight and in other physical conditions of the people who went up there, both white and brown. The time when Baguio was an American town has passed. This last year the government was not transferred to the summer capital and many people thought that the place would die, but it had the busiest season which it has had in its history, I am told, and the people who made the business were very largely the Filipinos themselves, who are now learning the advantages of going up there, and who enjoy going there very much indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the number of people who go there; what proportion of the entire population?

Mr. WORCESTER. My recollection, sir, is that during the last year that we were there the road carried something like 13,000 passengers in and out of that little town. I can have inserted, however, the accurate figures in the record, and will do so.

(In 1913 the government automobiles transported 22,390 passengers, to say nothing of those who came in private vehicles.)

The CHAIRMAN. Coming back once more to this preamble, what interpretation, in your opinion, will the Filipino people put upon it if it should be passed in the form it came from the House?

Mr. WORCESTER. Many interpretations will be put upon it, sir. Some people will think that it means immediate independence and others will think it is dust for their eyes and that we do not mean to give them independence at all. It will depend on the attitude and intelligence of the man who does the interpreting.

The CHAIRMAN. If the bill should pass do you think there would be likely to be within a few years any considerable movement to insist on carrying it out?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think if that clause remains, sir, it will result in constant agitation and constant claim that the time has arrived when independence ought to be granted.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you favor something a little more definite, so as to avoid that doubt?

Mr. WORCESTER. If the time were put sufficiently in advance and were coupled with a provision that our sovereignty would not be withdrawn, except in case of necessity, without the consent of the governed.

The CHAIRMAN. How far in advance would you put it?

Mr. WORCESTER. Well, sir, I should put it two generations away if I had to fix the date and expected to live up to it in the end.

Senator CRAWFORD. Would it not be better to leave this preamble out entirely?

Mr. WORCESTER. It is my opinion that it would be, sir. The suggestion has been made that it would disappoint some people; but in any form in which you can put it, it will disappoint some people, and however much you give, so long as there is more that can be given, the demand for it will be insistent. We have gone far enough to demonstrate conclusively, it seems to me, that the mere granting of concessions does not get us anywhere in dealing with Filipino politicians so long as there is anything more to be conceded.

Senator KENYON. I have not been able to be present, and I would like to ask you how these people compare with the Cuban people.

Mr. WORCESTER. I have never been in Cuba, and I could not express an intelligent opinion.

I have said all that I wish to say, Mr. Chairman, and am at the disposal of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I wondered if you had seen the cablegram which Gov. Gen. Harrison sent urging that the preamble be retained in the bill and that it be passed substantially as it came from the House?

Mr. WORCESTER. I have seen it, sir. I do not agree with that suggestion personally. If it had proven to be the case, sir, in the past that by granting the concessions which we have already extended we had in reality gained the good will and the cooperation of the politicians who do the agitating and make the noise in the Philippine Islands to-day, I should feel very differently about it; but after many years of observation I have come to the conclusion that we are simply feeding a hungry maw, and that after one titbit has gone down that maw opens a little wider than before. The wise thing is to do what is in our own deliberate judgment best for these people, and not fall into this habit of giving them what they say they want, or what somebody tells us they expect. There is no end to that.

Senator CRAWFORD. Do you favor a policy not making any declaration and doing nothing to arouse a hope that may not be realized, yet a policy that steadily seeks to shape conditions and bring forward improvements that may some time make it safe for the United States to say, "You can throw away your crutches; we believe you can walk alone, and you can throw away your cane now and start off by yourselves." Do you not think we ought to have a policy that has that in view at some future time?

Mr. WORCESTER. I do, absolutely, sir. I am in the heartiest accord with it; but I believe that the way to get quick results is to set high standards and make the people come up to them; before we extend new privileges, to insist on a satisfactory exercise of the powers that we have already given them—the reasonably satisfactory exercise, not the sort of thing that we might perhaps demand of our own people here, but reasonably efficient use of those powers before we go on to give them other powers.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is practically saying to them, "It all depends on you when you can have your independence."

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

Senator CRAWFORD. "It depends on you; as fast as you demonstrate your capacity to do it you are just that rapidly traveling in the direction, and it depends on you."

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir.

Senator CRAWFORD. And would they be satisfied with a statement of that kind?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think, sir, that they will be just as well satisfied as they will be with the sort of a statement in the preamble. The politicians will not be satisfied—these men who have never departed from their old idea of being allowed to do as they please in the Philippines and having the Navy of the United States keep other people from interfering. That is their idea of independence. That is what they want. And if even to-day they were squarely confronted with the proposition of the granting of absolute independence and the withdrawal of our power, I believe that those men that now sneak in the brush and refuse to come out and declare themselves openly would come out and say, "Gentlemen, we can not let you go; stand by us"—and the fate of Belgium would go a long way toward influencing them to take that attitude. But now, so long as the thing is set far in the future, they say, "Yes; let us have it as soon as possible." I do not believe they would dare to take the final step to-day, not even those extremists who have so determinedly advocated a rapid extension of their powers.

The CHAIRMAN. We have been trying to get these reports made up in 24 hours, but I think you had some matters in New York that you would like to put in the record.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; I have a little matter there.

The CHAIRMAN. We will ask you to send those down as soon as possible, in order that they may be put in with your remarks.

Mr. WORCESTER. Shall I have the usual opportunity of making corrections in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. You have already received your remarks of yesterday, and your remarks of to-day we can give you to-morrow, or send them to you in New York.

Mr. WORCESTER. I will keep my time entirely free for the correction of the notes, and will return them immediately, sir.

I ought to say to you, gentlemen, who are familiar with the facts, that it is almost impossible for man to get a consecutive shorthand report of a lantern-slide lecture. The slides are made to do so much of the talking that when they are left out the actual remarks become more or less meaningless, and if the record is fragmentary you must blame me for it and not the stenographer.

Senator CRAWFORD. Doctor, before we finally leave this, I want to see if I have a proper conception of that situation; that is, that the real difference over there on these islands, with reference to an independent government is between what you call the political element—an element that is looking with a selfish motive to secure personal power over there—and the gradual, slowly developing process of evolution which must prevail if we finally reach the goal of independence in the Philippine Islands—between those two?

Mr. WORCESTER. And which is operating on the rising generation?

Senator CRAWFORD. Yes.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes, sir; that is it exactly.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is the real difference?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is the difference?

Senator CRAWFORD. You want to shape it and develop it and to have it grow through two or three generations until it blossoms in this fruit of independent self-sustained government, while an element of restless, bright, educated people who are so far in advance of the elements that make up the great majority of the population would like to get the power in their own hands with an ambitious personal ambition involved governing them more than the desire for the gradual, gentle development of all the peoples there?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is exactly my attitude, sir.

Senator CRAWFORD. I wanted to get your idea just in regard to that issue.

Mr. WORCESTER. Without unduly discriminating against those men brought up under the old Spanish régime, who exercised so disastrously authority during the days of the ephemeral Philippine Republic, I would like to see the men who ultimately really control in that country selected from the new generations that we are bringing up.

Senator KENYON. Do you not think, Doctor, that it would be a very wise thing for this committee to postpone the preamble until the committee could go over there and study this question?

Mr. WORCESTER. I think it would be the most fortunate thing in the world if the committee or representatives of the committee could go and see for themselves in the islands before taking final action. That is the thing from which we have suffered—the distance, the lack of detailed knowledge here of what is being done there. It would be a splendid thing if the committee or members of it could go over there with time enough at their disposal to find out about things.

Senator KENYON. This subject is very momentous in its consequences.

Mr. WORCESTER. It is, sir. It is easy to give and almost impossible to take back in matters of this sort.

Senator CRAWFORD. You believe in going in the direction of the bill, but you believe the bill is going too fast?

Mr. WORCESTER. That is it exactly, sir. I should be heartily in favor of the things the bill proposes to do, if it seemed to me that the powers conferred could now be wisely executed and would advance rather than retard the day when the people might stand on their own feet. I beg you to believe that I am in the heartiest sympathy with all practical plans for the betterment of the Filipino peoples. I myself have been the author of many acts which have extended liberties to them. I drafted the municipal code which was a tremendous advance over anything they had preceding it.

I opened in the bureau of lands a practical school for surveyors, where they might learn that work well, I was instrumental in establishing, in connection with the Philippine Hospital, a practical school for training nurses, and I drafted the act which established the College of Medicine and Surgery and turned the administration over to another secretary in order to get his vote for the bill. I did not care a cent for the administration, so long as we got the college. I persisted in this attitude in the face of Mr. Taft's written expression of opinion that the institution ought to be in the Department of the Interior. And I have constantly endeavored to favor every practical means for bettering the condition of the Filipino peoples and for developing them. I am thoroughly and heartily in favor of the policy outlined by Senator Crawford, but I am not in favor of giving them things just because they cry for them. The question of just how fast it is best to go is, of course, a question of judgment, and I can only express my opinion for what it is worth, but I do it with the heartiest sympathy with the purposes had in mind by the gentlemen who have put this bill in its present form, and if I differ from them as to the means which may best be employed to secure the ends we all have in view, I can only say that the recommendations I have made represent my deliberate judgment after more than 18 years' residence in the islands. I may be wrong.

Senator CRAWFORD. I should think that five-year periods ought to show a few rungs in a ladder, with some progress between them that would be marked.

Mr. WORCESTER. Yes; I think so, sir. Progress has been very rapid. I think it safe to say that the people as a whole have advanced further in 15 years under American rule than in any single century under Spanish domination.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless some member of the committee would like to do it, I think we had better not have any session to-morrow, and I will call a meeting for 10 o'clock on Saturday morning to hear former President Taft. We will have a session in room 226 of the Senate Office Building, where there is a little more room, and where we can accommodate more people than we can here.

Mr. Worcester, we are very much indebted to you.

Senator CRAWFORD. I am sure that every member of the committee appreciates the value of the suggestions of Dr. Worcester.

Mr. WORCESTER. I am greatly indebted to you for the very full opportunity you have given me to present my views.

(Thereupon, at 4.15 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned to 10 o'clock a. m., Saturday, January 2, 1915.)

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES UNITED STATES SENATE

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 18459

AN ACT TO DECLARE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND TO PROVIDE A MORE AUTONOMOUS
GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLANDS

JANUARY 2, 1915

PART 5



COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES.

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HARRY LANE, Oregon.

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WILLIAM S. KENYON, Iowa.

JOHN W. WEEKS, Massachusetts.

WILLARD D. EARIN, *Clerk.*

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 2, 1915.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington D. C.

The committee assembled at 10 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Reed, Lane, Saulsbury, Ransdell, Bristow, Crawford, McLean, Lippitt, Kenyon, and Weeks.

STATEMENT OF HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taft, would you prefer to begin the hearing by a statement in some formal way, or would you like to have it introduced by queries from the committee?

Mr. TAFT. I think perhaps, Mr. Chairman, it would be better for me first to give a connected statement of what I understand I am here for, and then to invite such questions as the committee may think it worth while to ask me.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be very glad to have you pursue that plan.

Mr. TAFT. If it is not objectionable to the committee, I will do so.

I want to say, first, that my being here is due to a kindly invitation from the chairman of the committee (Senator Hitchcock) to come and say something about my view with respect to the proposed bill which, I believe, has passed the House, and which is now pending before this committee and the Senate. I would not have volunteered my opinion, because I knew, of course, that there were many other sources available for information; more than that, I hesitate to do so, because in this discussion it is impossible to avoid reference to partisan politics in this country. Politics in this country have had a great influence on the questions that arise in the discussion of this bill. It is quite difficult to understand the situation in the islands unless you keep in mind the attitude of the two parties—

Senator LIPPITT (interposing). The two American parties, do you mean?

Mr. TAFT. The two American parties; as to what should be done with the Philippines, and what it was understood by the Filipinos that each party in America thought ought to be done with the islands.

The discussion of the bill and its policy and its provisions involves a statement of the purpose of our being in the islands at all.

Now, what is our purpose? Well, there are perhaps three views. The first purpose of being in there is to get out. [Laughter.] I had this feeling myself, when Mr. McKinley invited me to go to the islands. I stated to him that I did not want to go there to get out; and he said, "Oh, we have got the bear by the tail, and we have got to stay and hold it; and I want you to go out and do what you can."

Now, the feeling that we ought not to go there, that we ought not to be there, and that we ought to get out as soon as we can, has suggested reasons for it. The first is, or was, that it was unconstitutional for us to be there and conduct a practical government; and that was the issue in the insular cases known in the colloquial phrase of the day, Does the Constitution follow the flag or not? The second reason was that the Philippines were entirely ready for self-government.

This first view was the Democratic view, and was also the view of certain Republicans, constituting a small party of anti-imperialists that was much more prominent than it was numerous.

Then there was a second party in the Republican Party, and I am not at all sure that there were not some Democrats who had the Anglo-Saxon view that when we get our feet on land and territory we ought to keep them there, because with our confidence in our own power of doing good we are certain that it will help the world on the one hand, and are not oblivious to the fact that it may help us in trade, and the control of trade on the other. That was what was called the "exploiting" party, and it was prominent in the Republican councils.

They said the Filipinos never would be fit for self-government, and that we must stay there for all time. That was the ordinary understanding of Europeans as to what our attitude would be, and that we would stay there, because it was important that we should stay in the Pacific and retain control of the trade and build up something that would be profitable to us. That was the view of the American merchants in the Philippines who were out there. The view that the Filipinos could never be fit for self-government was what would be called at that time (I do not know whether that is so now) the Army view. This grew out of the character of warfare that the Filipinos carried on against the Army, which naturally engendered a hostility toward them and a contempt for them that produced that idea. It was almost like the opinion the Army had of the Indian in the old days. It, of course, was modified as time went on.

Then there was the third view, namely, that the Philippines were for the Filipinos, and that it was the duty of the United States, being a custodian and trustee upon whom had been thrust the fate of these people, to treat the subject as one which would be determined solely with a view to the benefit of the Filipinos. And that led to certain subordinate views: First, that they were not then fit for self-government, but that with actual training in partial self-government and with an education which should give them the knowledge of the language of free institutions they were a people quick enough, a people of ideals enough, to constitute, after a time—and as to what time I shall speak later—a self-governing people, with an independent government.

Of course, fitness for self-government is not an exact standard. I do not mean to say that they might ever become as fitted for self-

government as the Puritans were when they came over, or as the American people were when they founded this Government and established the Constitution, because we had been trained by a thousand years in self-government.

But it was thought that by pursuing a certain course with the people and giving them training and giving them education they might then set up a government for themselves; a government which would look reasonable after the rights of the poor and the humble, and the men who did not know what their rights were—the great mass of the Filipino people.

And it was thought that if we gave them good government as an object lesson, and spread this education, and enlarged the economic opportunities of the people of the islands, then the time would come when we could leave them to say whether they wanted to separate themselves entirely from us or wanted to continue a bond that would, in a sense, be a protection to them—like that between England and Australia or England and Canada. That was, of course, for the far future, but the purpose of the policy was to do everything we could to fit them for self-government.

In this, as I say, we had to fight the military and we had to fight the American merchants. On the other hand, at that time, because we had to fight the military, because we came as a civil government—I say “we,” the commission appointed by Mr. McKinley and instructed by Mr. Root—because we came there in that attitude and offered to change from the necessary severity of the military government; and because we proclaimed the doctrine that we were there for the benefit of the Filipinos we were able to secure a friendly welcome after a time, after they found out what we were really there for.

Now, you can not very well go on with a discussion of this subject unless you find out what you mean by self-government; and that certainly has been stated with more force, with more clearness, by no one than by President Wilson in his work on Constitutional Government. And in order to explain my meaning I would like to read what President Wilson said on that subject, and what, therefore, we meant when we went out to the islands and told them that we were struggling to give them self-government. May I read this into the record, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; certainly.

Mr. TAFT (reading):

Self-government is not a mere form of institutions, to be had when desired, if only proper pains be taken; it is a form of character. It follows upon the long discipline which gives the people self-possession, self-mastery; the habit of order and business and common counsel, and reverence for law which alone follow when they themselves become the makers of law; the steadiness, the self-control of political maturity—and these things can not be had without long discipline.

The distinction is of vital concern to us in respect to practical choices of policy which we must make, and make very soon. We have dependencies to deal with, and must deal with them in the true spirit of our own institutions. We can give the Filipinos constitutional government, a government which they may count upon to be just—a government based upon some clear and equitable understanding, intended for their good and not for our aggrandizement—but we must ourselves for the present supply that government. It would, it is true, be an unprecedented operation, reversing the process of Ruynymede, but America has before this shown the world enlightened policies of politics that

were without precedence. It would have been within the choice of King John to summon his barons to Runnymede of his own initiative and enter into a constitutional understanding with them, and it is within our choice to do a similar thing, at once and wise and generous in the government of the Philippine Islands.

But we can not give them self-government. Self-government is not a thing that can be given to any people, because it is a form of character and not a form of constitution. No people can be given the self-control of maturity. Only the long apprenticeship of competence can secure them the precious possession—a thing no more to be bought than given. They can not be presented with the character of a community; but it can be confidently hoped that they will become a community under the wholesome operation of just laws and a sympathetic administration; that they will, after a while, understand and master themselves, if in the meantime they are understood and served in good conscience by those set over them in authority.

We, of all people in the world, should know these fundamental things and should act upon them, if only to illustrate the mastery in politics which belongs to us of hereditary right. To ignore them would be not only to fail and fail miserably but to fail ridiculously, and to belie ourselves. Having ourselves gained self-government by a definite process which can have no substitute, let us put the peoples dependent upon us in the right way to gain it also.

Now, that states exactly what we have in mind and it states exactly what I think to-day with respect to the policy to be pursued in the islands.

As the President says, one way of acquiring self-government is by hard knocks, as the Anglo-Saxons had acquired it through a thousand years of struggle with despotism and tyranny.

What we attempted to do in the islands, and what I hope we may still do—at least, that is what we were doing when the new era dawned out there under Gov. Gen. Harrison—was to retain control and guidance and give a good constitutional government as an object lesson; to have the government participated in but not controlled by the natives; to give them book and economic education and another view of political institutions by a knowledge of the language of free institutions.

You can not make one generation over. Certainly you can not make over a generation of adults 90 per cent of whom are woefully ignorant, utterly out of touch with any modern civilization. You can not make them over; it is not possible. You can talk about it, but you know in your hearts you can not do it. Gentlemen, I am in a situation where I can tell you just what I think, and I am going to do it. [Laughter.]

I did not come here until you asked me to, and you have got to hear just what I think. Other people will differ; but the pleasure of being in an apple tree where you can call out just what you think—this pleasure I have not known before. [Laughter.]

Therefore, when you ask me what time I would put on the question of producing self-government out there and making those people over so that they can know self-government and understand the object lesson that they are having, I put the time as that will give to those people an opportunity to learn English, so that they may become an English-speaking people; and that will certainly take more than one generation, and probably two, if you count a generation as 30 years.

You are not educating all the people in the islands to-day; you can not do so, because the island government has not money enough to furnish the schools for the whole school population. I suggested

in one of my reports that if the United States wanted to get rid of the islands, the United States Government might properly appropriate enough so that the educational system out there would cover all the school population in the islands. It does not now by a very considerable percentage.

But you have got to spread that education and make it universal and keep it up until the generation that is in power and is to derive political knowledge from the experience of self-government partially extended to them shall be a literate people, i. e., with general primary education.

Our difficulties out there were very many. The military difficulty seemed to be a difficulty, but it really was an advantage, as I said, because it commended us to the Philippine people as coming to give them the benefits of peace. And thus they organized the Federal Party, which was really a peace party. The party had some theory of becoming a part of the American Union, though we never encouraged them in that; and then after political power came to be extended, and the power of the shibboleth of independence became so great, they disappeared as a political party.

There were three parties out there when they came to elect the assembly. The Federal Party changed its name into "El Partido Independista Progresista." And then the old Nationalist Party became "El Partido Independista Inmediatista." But that was not enough. A group was organized as—my Spanish is not accurate, but I give you the sense of it—the second radical group was called El Partido Independista Urgentissima, meaning most urgent. And even that was not enough for a small redder group, for they adopted the name "El Partido Independista Explosivista," which indicates the value attached to names in politics out there. [Laughter.]

Of course, our first difficulty was in 1900, when we were attempting to bring peace, the opposition of Mr. Bryan and the Democratic Party to our policy, and the promises of immediate independence that were contained in that platform. The effect on the islands of that agitation was shown with great emphasis just the minute that Mr. Bryan was defeated. From that time on the insurrection in the mountains and elsewhere became practically nil, and the number of guns that were surrendered ran up into the thousands in the few months that followed the defeat of Mr. Bryan in 1900, and then we went out to organize the Provinces.

And then the Federal Party became a power, and the Federal Party leaders went around with us, as we organized the Provinces and promised them peace, and they were a great influence in producing a peaceful condition in the islands.

SENATOR LIPPITT. Why did the defeat of Mr. Bryan have any effect on the insurrection?

MR. TAFT. Because they were maintaining the insurrection with the idea that if Mr. Bryan were elected, they would be in a position to show that they were a party of force and could take at once the country which Mr. Bryan and the party at that time proposed to turn over to them.

And that is really—I have got to say so—the Democratic promise of independence has been the great obstruction to the carrying out of our plans ever since; and it is what is now returning to plague the

party itself when it is in power, in this, that the Filipinos look back to those promises, and their politicians are very quick to call the attention of the Filipinos to them.

This revolution—or so-called revolution—does not amount to anything, so far as the suppression of it is concerned. This man Ricarti is one of the few that have come down from my time. He was a bugaboo when I was out there. He belongs to the class of professional revolutionists and maintains his position in Hongkong; and every little while he seizes an opportunity to send over collectors to get the money that he lives on in Hongkong. In order to justify the collections, he has to make a showing; and now he is making a showing on the ground—I assume from what I have seen and what I have heard—that now the Democratic Party has come in; that there was promised independence; that a bill was introduced fixing a time for independence; and now that bill has been changed; and he is ringing these changes with those poor devils that do not know any better, and are willing to contribute. The disturbances are in the same old places where we had just the same trouble before. The names, of course, slip away from me; but Navotes and Calcucan and Cavite, all of them are the centers that are revenue producing, to the leader on the one hand and insurrection producing on the other. Both are due to the power of their little local caciques to stir them to action.

Are the Filipinos fit for self-government? Well, that depends upon what you mean by self-government. I had a committee which came to see me when I was governor of the islands—it was the time when many of their people were in the field—and they said they wished to organize a party for independence by peaceable means; and I said to them: “Gentlemen, you need not come to me. You have that power under the law.” But they said, “We are used to Spanish methods and we wish to get the approval of the governor in the organization of this party.” I said, “But I can not give you that approval. The fact is, I advise you not to form the party, because there are men just 10 miles out of Manila shooting American soldiers and stirring up insurrection; and the minute you organize that kind of party, you will come under the surveillance of the military, and their special agents and secret agents, to see whether you are furnishing the means by which that insurrection is being carried on. Therefore I advise you to wait.” “But,” they said, “we wish to prove to you that we are fit for independence.” “Well,” I said, “you can not. I know something about the people here. I am very fond of them, but I think I know what their capacity is.” Well, they said, they wanted to file a brief with me; and they did so—and these were leading educated Filipinos. In that brief they went on to enumerate the number of offices that there were in the municipalities and the Provinces and the central government; and then they gave statistics of the *Ilustrados*, the educated people in the island; and they proved that the *Ilustrados* were more than twice as many as the offices to be filled; and they said that with two shifts that would give a competent government, and self-government. [Laughter.] Well, I explained to them that it was not the capacity to fill offices that gave a capacity for self-government to a people, it was public opinion, and that if they did not have broad popular public opinion to control people in office, they were not fit for self-government.

I took a committee of Senators and Representatives out to the Philippines when I was Secretary of War, in 1905, and Fisk Warren, an anti-imperialist from Boston, visited the islands at the same time, because he thought that with my prejudice and my bitterness of feeling I could not be relied on to show the party the real capacity of the Filipino people for government; and so he demanded, in the name of the Filipino people, that I give the Filipino people an opportunity to be heard.

And after I had taken the party all around the islands and we came back to Manila I sent word to Mr. Warren that he might produce any committee that the Filipinos wished to send and present what they thought as to their own power of self-government.

And so they presented a petition August 28, 1905. I can not read it all. It says:

In spite of the unquestionable political capacity of the Filipino people, the result of their present degree of culture and civilization, that they are in a condition for self-government is denied in varying degrees and forms, though precisely the contrary is demonstrated by facts, experience, and considerations, among which the following deserve mention:

First. It is an irrefutable fact that the Filipino people are governable; the period of Spanish dominion and of the present American sovereignty bear out this assertion. The political condition of a country principally depends upon the degree of governableness of its people; the more governable the popular classes are the better the political condition of the country.

When a people such as the Filipinos give signal evidence of their capacity to obey during a period of over 300 years, free from disturbance or deep political commotions, it must be granted, considering that all things tend to progress, that they possess the art of government; all the more so because, among other powers, they possess that of assimilation in a marked degree, an assimilativeness which distinguishes them from other people of the Far East.

Second. If the masses of the people are governable, a part must necessarily be denominated the directing class, for as in the march of progress, moral or material, nations do not advance at the same rate, some going forward while others fall behind, so it is with the inhabitants of a country, as observation will prove.

Third. If the Philippine Archipelago has a popular governable mass called upon to obey and a directing class charged with the duty of governing, it is in a condition to govern itself.

These factors, not counting incidental ones, are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country—an entity that knows how to govern, the directing class, and an entity that knows how to obey, the popular masses.

Dominador Gomez, who signed the petition, who was the great labor and popular leader, was in favor of admitting the Chinese. He said to the committee:

However, we understand that, morally and intellectually, Chinese immigration can not produce good morals and good customs in the islands.

The Chinaman even in his physical ailments is worse than the man of any other race; his diseases are extrapathological; that is to say, there is not found in any pathological work the diseases with which the Chinaman suffers, nor do we find the same diseases having as great a severity among other peoples as they have among the Chinamen. We here in the Philippines do not desire the Chinaman as a mechanic or as a teacher; we desire him—and this I will say, though it may be an offensive phrase to them—we desire the Chinese here merely and purely as work animals for the cultivation of our fields.

Dominador Gomez was alone responsible for that statement about the Chinese. The names signed to that petition are those of many of the leading Filipinos of the Nationalist Party at that time. It was signed by Dr. Simeon A. Villa; Baldomero Aguinaldo, farmer;

Dr. Justo Lukban; Jose Ma. de la Vina, physician; M. Cuyugan, property owner; G. Apacible, physician; Vicente Illustre, lawyer and property owner; Miguel Saragosa, professor of painting; Alberto Barretto, lawyer; Pablo Ocampo, manufacturer, who was a Delegate here; Antonio E. Escamilla, professor of languages; Enrique Mendiola, licentiate in jurisprudence and property owner—well, there were some 25 of them altogether; among them was the Vicente Lukban, who was one of the great revolutionary leaders.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. TAFT. 1905.

Now, that makes the point that I wish to emphasize here, that not only were the 90 per cent of the people out there not fit for self-government, but the 10 per cent of educated Filipinos do not understand self-government and are not really in favor of it in the sense in which we use the term; they have been educated and have been trained in an aristocratic country. They have the class distinctions, and believe in them in their hearts. These they inherit and take over from 300 years of Spanish life. And therefore, if they have independence now, if they can ever get a government at all which shall be stable, it will utterly ignore the rights of the 90 per cent.

Senator McLEAN. They are non-Republicans; they do not understand those principles?

Mr. TAFT. They do not understand Republican government in that sense. The great trouble that we had in the islands when I was there was not in giving them constitutional rights; that was easy enough; you can spread it on your statute books; but it was to make a man understand what his rights were. If he was so steeped in ignorance and so subject to the cacique in the neighborhood that he would go and commit murder without the slightest compunction, relying as a justification on the order of his cacique, what could you expect from him in asserting his own rights?

One day, while I was governor in the Philippines, a man named Felipe Calderon, one of the leading lawyers in the Philippines, the man who introduced the constitution into the convention at Malolos, came to see me. While he was there a poor old Tagalog, who could not speak Spanish, presented a petition to me. My Spanish would make your heart bleed to hear it, even when I was out there [laughter], and now it has gone entirely. The petition was in Spanish, and so far as I could figure it out, it contained a recital that his son had been six years in Bilibid Prison; that he had never been tried; and the old man wanted to know what I could do. He had heard that the commission had come there to help out the Filipinos; and he wanted to know if we could not help him.

Well, I turned to Calderon, and said to him, "The writ of habeas corpus is in force here. If you will just present a petition for the writ in any of the courts in Manila you can get this man out, if what he says is true."

"Well," said Calderon, "What is a petition for a writ of habeas corpus?"

He had copied the Mexican Constitution and the Federal Constitution and had helped to make up the constitution of Malolos, but he did not have any practical knowledge of those processes which are the Anglo-Saxon palladium of individual right and liberty.

And so I drafted for him the form of a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, and he took it into court and he got his man out. And when he got over there he found that not only was this man in there without any right to hold him, but some 60 or 70 or, perhaps, 80 others were in there from the time of Spanish rule and had had no trial and there was no warrant for holding them. And he then filed a petition in each case, and after he got them all out they met together and concluded that they would come out to see me and present their thanks to me for my interest in the matter.

But I had just a slight fear that, while they might have been put in there and kept there without due process of law, there might have been some reason in point of fact for their being there. [Laughter.] So I suggested that they might submit their thanks in writing, and they sent me what is characteristic in the Philippines, they are a most generous people, and most responsive, and they sent me what was at the time quite a frequent table ornament there—they are very deft with their fingers—and they cut toothpicks with flowers beautifully carved at one end and the pick at the other end. They made one into an ornament for the center of the table with the flowers carved in wood—sent it to me. [Laughter.]

That old man had no idea of his rights. And the great body of the people can not assert their rights, because they have not education enough to understand them.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time have they not advanced a great deal in law? Do they not at the present time control all their lower courts as well as the supreme court?

Mr. TAFT. How do you mean—control them?

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that the judges upon the bench were mostly Filipinos.

Mr. TAFT. The judges are divided equally among the Americans and the Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. Not in the lower courts, are they?

Mr. TAFT. Well, they were in my day; I do not know how it is now.

The CHAIRMAN. I was told that the Filipinos administered justice in all of their lower courts and that even in the supreme court they have a majority of the judges?

Mr. TAFT. They have a majority now; they have 4 Filipinos and 3 Americans on the supreme court bench now; in my day it was 4 Americans and 3 Filipinos. And they had 14 to 16 in the lower courts; and I suppose now they have 17 or 18 Filipinos to 12 or 13 Americans—I do not know exactly. But I am speaking now of the men who are not the educated men; I am speaking now of the men whose rights it is important to preserve; I mean the poor men; the humble men; the men who are subject to oppression.

Now, as to the existence of this caciquism and subserviency and ignorance. The truth is that, as I come back here and read the evidence that you have had here, it seems to me that a generation has arisen that "knows not Joseph"—with reference to the character of these people.

The CHAIRMAN. Has not Joseph changed a good deal?

Mr. TAFT. Well, I do not know; I do not think so; I do not think you can change a people in 10 years. If you can, it will be something new in history.

If you will look into—it is a painful examination—but if you will look into the history of the insurrection, you will see the iron hold that caciquism has upon these people—leading to murder, and burying alive, and all that sort of thing—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Will you explain to the committee, please, Mr. Taft, exactly what caciquism is?

Mr. TAFT. It is a local bossism; it grows out of a patriarchal system. It covers and conceals a system of peonage. The Filipinos are most hospitable; they look after all their relations, their "parientes."

When I first went to the islands, Mrs. Taft insisted that we should have a neat stable and employ a coachman who was not married. So we did—or at least, I thought we did; he said he was not married. And in a little while there began to appear little children and women; and strange faces were seen going in and out of the stable. And then I found that there were 10 or 15 people in there. He was not married, but he had a family; and just as soon as he got a place that was comfortable, why he felt the bond of family relationship, and he just invited them all in there—and that was the custom of the country which we had subsequently to recognize. Out of this patriarchal system has grown up caciquism. The leader may be a mayor, the rich man in the neighborhood, or the man with education. He controls absolutely—or he did when I was there—all the people about him. And his word was law. In the insurrection, if a Filipino Tao became loyal to the Americans and opposed the cacique's plans, he was buried alive by his fellows. Now, I do not say that to attack the people, because I am fond of the Filipino people; I believe they have in them the power for development. They are a courteous, hospitable, artistic people; and they are quick to learn, if you will give them the opportunity. Taos, who are utterly ignorant, are most anxious to have their children educated. But I am speaking of the condition of 90 per cent of the people out there now; and I am pointing that out in order to show that we have got to go slow in the matter of extending self-government and coming to independence, short of the time when that generation shall have passed away and another generation differently prepared shall have come on to meet the responsibilities of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taft, do you think this bill, as far as its legislative features go, makes any very momentous change in their form of government?

Mr. TAFT. Well, if you will permit me, Mr. Chairman, I will come to that later; there are one or two other general statements I want to make.

Senator KENYON. Mr. Taft, before you leave that question you were just elucidating, what, in your judgment, would be the practical effect of giving these people self-government? What would happen?

Mr. TAFT. Well, two Filipinos, in whose judgment I have the utmost confidence, whom I came to know very well, indeed, answered that question to me when I asked them. One of them said to me, "Your steamers would not go beyond Corregidor Island before the throat cutting would begin."

And I verily believe that to be true. Now, we have found it in Mexico that the man who loses a political fight gives his head for a forfeit. It was so in the Philippines. Emilio Aguinaldo conspired

to kill his opponent, his military rival, Tuna, and did so. He admitted it himself to Gen. Funston, and Mabini, his closest confidant, came out and stated the same thing. If you bring about a condition in which they have independence and political opportunities of that sort, you will run the risk of producing the same conditions.

I do not care a cent about the Government of the United States having power out in the Philippines. I would be glad to get out of the Philippines myself. But what I am concerned about is those poor people out there. They do not like me out there because I have told them the truth. But that is the difficulty with a great many people—they do not like to hear the truth. And that is the truth as to what will happen out there. Mark my prediction: If they give them independence by the year 1920, for instance, you will find just such a condition as you have to-day in Mexico. That is my answer to that question.

Senator CRAWFORD. Well, that means that this educated class that would rule the obedient masses do not themselves possess that spirit of compromise and sacrifice and self-control that would enable them to act harmoniously together in controlling the ignorant people?

Mr. TAFT. They do not.

Senator CRAWFORD. They would break up into feuds and factions and jealousies?

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Worcester told me this, and I give him as the authority: That a secret-service agent went into a meeting called by Aguinaldo and other generals at the time when it was announced after the election of 1912 that independence was to be given out there; and those gentlemen had been in the war of the insurrection, and felt that if there was to be independence they wanted to share in it; and they sent word to this younger generation in the assembly that if that came about they intended to have a part, and they would. They objected to a Visayan leader.

The Visayans, the Ilocanos, and the Tagalogs are three different—I dislike to call them tribes, but they are usually so called.

The word "tribe" gives an erroneous impression. There is no tribal relation among them. There is a racial solidarity among the Filipino people, undoubtedly. They are homogeneous. I can not tell the difference between an Ilocano and a Tagalog, or a Visayan. The Ilocanos, it would seem to me, have something of an admixture of the Japanese blood; the Tagalogs have rather more of the Chinese; and it seems to me that the Visayans had still more. But to me all the Filipinos were alike. They spoke different dialects. And there is a difference between them, so that one of the so-called tribes is jealous of the prominence of the leaders of another tribe. Controversies would arise between them if complete independence were given them, and tribal divisions would occur.

When Aguinaldo had control for six or seven months the conditions were simply awful, and insurrections were starting up everywhere. Insurrections are easily started in such a country. A local leader or cacique, at the suggestion of some one higher up, can stir up a small insurrection every time that the higher boss thinks it is to his advantage. And until a broad primary education is widespread and the people who know their rights and refuse that kind of subordination, revolutions will continue.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a form of feudalism?

Mr. TAFT. Well, I can not say that it is feudalism, in the sense that it comes down from an ancient tribal government, but it is just as I have stated. You can say it is something like feudalism, but it did not have the history of feudalism.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, Japan grew out of a form of feudal government itself.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; but that was something different, because there was a definitely formulated tribe; I have forgotten the names, but they had definite factions.

Senator LANE. Do you think, Mr. Taft, that the Filipinos would be more cruel or would kill one another off more rapidly than the most Christian nations of Europe are now killing one another? [Laughter.]

Mr. TAFT. Well, that is the cruelty of war; but they are not always at war in Europe; and they do know in Europe how to maintain a government and preserve the rights of the individual at home. And that is the thing the Filipinos would not know.

Now, it is said they all want independence. I think most of them do. I mean most of the 90 per cent of ignorant Filipinos do desire independence. One thing that we can not teach the Filipinos, i. e., the politicians, is skill in manipulation of the people under them, and the power to influence them. They are masters of the art.

Senator WEEKS. I had obtained the impression from the testimony of those who were friendly to this legislation that the 90 per cent to whom you refer were not particularly solicitous for any change in government; in fact, that they were pretty well satisfied; but that the agitation came from 10 per cent of educated people.

Mr. TAFT. Well, I do not think that is quite a fair statement of it. Among the 10 per cent, the men of property, the sober men, who want peace and reasonable society, there are quite a number that look forward to the coming of independence with great fear; but they are also very much afraid to express that opinion.

Senator RANDELL. What percentage of that 10 per cent would that be, Mr. Taft—about what per cent?

Mr. TAFT. That would be a mere guess on my part.

Senator LIPPITT. Why are they afraid, Mr. Taft?

Mr. TAFT. Why, because at various intervals in the 14 years since we have been there they believed they were to have independence right away. Well, if so, they knew as well as I do that if they appeared to be active in resisting the coming independence not only would their property certainly be in danger, but their lives also would be in danger. That is the reason.

Senator WALSH. Would that include church properties over there?

Mr. TAFT. Well, when Aguinaldo was in they nationalized—that is what they called it—all the friar lands.

And then when I was there I had difficulty in maintaining peace with reference to the church property, the title to which stood in the name of the Roman Catholic Church, but which various congregations who had gone over to Aglipay claimed as their property. If an issue of that sort was raised, and it would be likely to be raised, I think probably a good deal of church property would be taken over.

Senator LIPPITT. There was quite a period, as you have said, between the surrender of Manila and the ratification of the treaty of peace—I think from August on to February—when Aguinaldo had practically supreme control, was there not?

Mr. TAFT. Yes. It lasted longer than that, because, as you know, Aguinaldo continued the fight after that.

Senator LIPPITT. You said that the conditions under Aguinaldo were very bad?

Mr. TAFT. They were dreadful—that is what they were. Aguinaldo organized a convention at Malolas, in which he appointed a large majority of the members from his supporters in Manila, and among a number of very respectable men. Chief Justice Arellano was among them. The best men subsequently abandoned Aguinaldo. I got my information as to actual conditions under Aguinaldo from Chief Justice Arellano. In the memory of those who went through them they were a nightmare, and far worse than in the Spanish domination.

Senator LIPPITT. They had a pretty fair opportunity during that period to show their capacity for self-government, did they not?

Mr. TAFT. I want to be fair about that. Of course, it was a military government, but they established the constitution in order to show that they were fit for popular self-government; and then Aguinaldo ruled outside of the constitution, which he certainly had to do, because he could not rule in any other way. They had delegates to the convention, ostensibly representing all parts of the islands. Most of them were from Manila, appointed by Aguinaldo. Felipe Calderon, the lawyer I spoke of, whose home was in Batangas and who lived in Manila, was appointed to represent Zamboanga in Mindanao.

Senator McLEAN. That constitution was a rather high-class article, was it not?

Mr. TAFT. Oh, yes; it was selected from the Mexican constitution and our own.

Senator LIPPITT. That was the one Mabini helped Aguinaldo to draft?

Mr. TAFT. Yes. I do not know how much Mabini had to do with the drafting of it, but he was in that convention, and he was advising Aguinaldo all the time. He was his closest advisor.

Senator LIPPITT. Is it your idea that they would revert to practically the same conditions if they had their independence?

Mr. TAFT. I think they would in the end.

Senator LIPPITT. And that is, the present generation?

Mr. TAFT. They would. Either they would have a Diaz, who would subject everybody to his rule and maintain a despotic government and an aristocratic government, or they would get into the condition that now prevails in Mexico. Probably Mexico is worse than the Philippines. I think their percentage of illiteracy—I am not sure about that—is a little greater than that of the Filipinos.

The CHAIRMAN. During the last 10 or 12 years, Mr. Taft, there must have been many thousands more or less educated Filipinos added to the class of people that would control the government.

Mr. TAFT. The education was not begun very early. You see, we began a system of education with 50,000, I think, back in 1900. We began in 1900, but the school system was not extensive until

1902, and that, of course, in 10 or 12 years we have added to the literate classes.

The CHAIRMAN. Every year we must be adding thousands and tens of thousands to the educated class.

Mr. TAFT. Oh, yes; but, of course, it takes some time to give a boy an education. It takes three or four years at least.

The CHAIRMAN. They naturally would be very influential because they speak English, which is the only universal language there.

Mr. TAFT. There is no universal language there. There are more who speak English now than who speak Spanish, but that would only mean 10 per cent.

The CHAIRMAN. English is being taught in all the schools, is it not?

Mr. TAFT. It is, and you hear English among the children and among the younger of the young men and the young women. Oh, I believe we are making progress there, but what I wish to avoid—of course it does not make any difference what I wish—but what I would like to avoid is the breaking up of what I regard as one of the grandest works that the United States has ever undertaken. We went out there without any experience in colonial government, and we brought about a condition in 12 years that redounds greatly to the credit of the United States. We were attacked and criticized and made fun of by the English colonists because we extended greater freedom to the Filipinos, but by retaining the hold that we had and by expanding that, we went on to make a very fine government, and after you have labored 13 years, as I did, to make that government a useful one, it grates on you to have it “hit with an ax.”

The CHAIRMAN. Some time during your hearing we would like to hear your views upon the possible danger to the United States which the control of the Philippine Islands constitutes.

Mr. TAFT. Well, I have been Secretary of War, but I am not a military expert. I can answer that now.

I presume that our fidelity to the Filipinos (for we ought to be faithful to them), if we had a war and a foreign nation or hostile enemy were to attack us in the Philippines, would demand that we rush to their defense, and that is an additional responsibility and a source of weakness. On the other hand, I think there are some nations in the present controversy that would not regard Corregidor with its very strong fortifications, and a place to coal a navy, as a weakness. I do not know. I assume that it would increase our obligations in time of war—

Senator LIPPITT. As a weakness to them or to us, do you mean?

Mr. TAFT. I mean if one of the European nations had the Philippines with a strong fortress there, and it was a place where their vessels might coal, I think it might be regarded as a source of strength and not of weakness for naval purposes. But I am not disposed to contend that it does not add to the responsibility for defense of the United States. Probably the greatest item of cost that there is in carrying on the Filipino Government by the United States is that necessity for building fortifications and for preparing to defend it should war arise, as I hope it may not. I agree that this is an argument in favor of giving up the islands; but I do not think it is an argument sufficiently strong to justify our giving up the experiment that thus far we have carried on successfully.

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from the cost of maintaining it in case of war, is it not likely to invite war.

Mr. TAFT. No; I do not think so. I do not see why it should. The only power that would be likely to regard it as a desirable place for itself and as a reason for beginning hostilities, I do not think wants it at all. I mean Japan. I was twice in Japan and had conferences with the authorities there on that very subject. They have had quite enough to satisfy any sentiment of that sort in the difficulties they have had in arranging matters in Formosa. They are pushing into Korea and Manchuria.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been suggested, for instance, that if the nation you refer to became very indignant over the treatment of their people in California they might try to seize the Philippine Islands and ask us what we were going to do about it.

Mr. TAFT. That may be if there was some other cause for war. In that event we would be exposed to that danger; that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Whereas if we did not have the Philippines there would not be that objection to our treatment of the Japanese.

Mr. TAFT. I guess they would object just the same.

The CHAIRMAN. They might object, but not take any steps.

Mr. TAFT. That is quite true. That would be a place far off from us that they might attack.

Senator LANE. Would it not be possible, in the event we had a war, that we would have to also defend ourselves against the Filipinos on account of insurrection?

Mr. TAFT. That depends on what the war would be. Of course there have been insurrections and conspiracies that were traced to Japanese sources in newspapers, and there has been a good deal of excitement in the Philippines on that account, but I myself had very little confidence in the report.

Senator LANE. Do you not think the Filipinos would turn upon us if they found another nation was fighting against us?

Mr. TAFT. I am not sure what the Filipinos would do. If they did and got the Japanese or Germans as their rulers, they would learn a few things about self-government. [Laughter.]

Senator LANE. If they could learn more from the Japanese or Germans about self-government than we are teaching them, might it not be better for them?

Mr. TAFT. What they would learn about self-government would be like what St. Patrick found about snakes in Ireland—there were not any. They would be troubled with self-government.

There is one thing I would like to correct in going on. I have been reading this evidence, and I find a gentleman named Lang has elucidated some things about the Philippines; among others, about the Benguet Road, concerning which he ventures the statement that it cost \$9,000,000. He is not quite certain as to whether it was seven million or nine million. He also says that the \$3,000,000 that came from Congress was put into that road. Now, I am responsible for that road, and I do not hesitate to take the responsibility, and I would like to make a statement as to just what it was.

I do not think Mr. Lang attempted to quote records. The present government have been investigating out there, and about the only thing they can point to with commendable glee is the Benguet Road.

When I left the White House almost the last thing that Mr. McKinley said to me, and Mr. Root, was that I must look into the question of whether there was not a part of the Philippine Islands in which there was a temperate climate, so that there might be a hill station out there and a place where there might be recuperation for the Army and for the Filipino people and for that part of the Orient, because they had understood that the Spaniards had discovered such a place. And so I looked into the matter. We had an engineer who was in the Army, a man named Meade, who, after times grew a little more peaceful, made a survey, and he went up the canyon of the Bued River that leads directly up and is the shortest way to Benguet, 5,600 feet up, and reported that it was possible to build the road for from \$75,000 to \$100,000, so we told him to go ahead. And he began to build. He built down the canyon. The canyon seemed to be a rock as deceptive as that rock that we have found at the Panama Canal, a rock that if you cut into it would seem to hold. As a matter of fact, it proved to be friable and involved the excavating back so that before we got through it cost us \$100,000 a mile or more instead of \$100,000 for the whole 20 miles, and that is what we spent—something more than \$2,000,000.

We were working on it just about the time that there was a famine in the Philippine Islands, and I went to Congress and induced Congress to give us \$3,000,000 to restore, so far as we might, the loss that the rinderpest had brought about in the cattle, which had produced the famine, to help along those people who were not able, because of the presence of the rinderpest, to support themselves, and therefore, as the law provided I might, I took out of that \$3,000,000 for construction of the Benguet Road I do not think to exceed \$400,000. We put it under Col. Kennon, an Army officer, who put it through. But it was a work that I do not think we would have undertaken if we had known what the expense would be. The road is a beautiful road, but one of the things we found was that the flow of waters in a month in Benguet from the heavens is about equal to what it is for six months in the rest of the islands. Their wet season is a short one up there, but it is a merry one, and that Bued River went up 40 or 50 feet, and it just took away the road and carried away the bridges and everything else, so that during construction the cost was increased and after completion the cost of keeping it up or repairing is very heavy. But it has opened up a part of the islands that is a great benefit to all the inhabitants of the islands, and it should be kept open.

I know for political purposes in the islands they have attacked the idea of spending any money on the road. It is a place where the temperature ranges from about 80 to 40. For climate it is a perfect heaven. They have the pines like the Japanese pines, and a grass that makes the rolling country on the top of it like an English park, and all the churches and all the schools and all the charitable institutions that have the means have established retreats up there, and the government itself has since my time built government buildings there. When I was governor I went up there to recover from an illness, and had to live in practically a shack. But we planned to make a city up there, and we did. Burnham, of Chicago, went there and without cost to us, because he was interested in the work, laid out a city, and it is going to be one of the best things that we

did in the islands. Now, that road cost more than \$2,000,000 to build and it has cost a very considerable sum to keep it in repair, and I am responsible for it. There was not any graft connected with it, and when Mr. Lang comes here and says it cost \$9,000,000 and that we spent \$3,000,000 that we got from Congress he is—well, inaccurate. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taft, Mr. Lang's estimate of the cost was offhand.

Mr. TAFT. It was very offhand, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. It was in response to a question which was asked him and not brought in voluntarily, and I think he included the very high cost of maintenance in recent years.

Mr. TAFT. Well, they found another and more satisfactory approach and are building a road that will not be so difficult to maintain. It would have been better, doubtless, in the beginning to have gone around the longer way, by San Fernando Union, which, I believe, is 25 miles beyond the point where one begins the ascent on this Beud River Road. We were very anxious to induce capitalists to build a railroad up there. They can probably build a cog-railroad. When it is easily reached it will become a source of a great deal of income for the island, because it will be the place in the Orient to which people from Hongkong and Singapore and southeast Asia will go for recuperation. Many of the wealthy Filipinos in my day went to Japan. Now they can go up there. It is a wonderful place. I understand Gov. Gen. Harrison, when he went up there, said that they would not thereafter spend any money on Benguet, and the Government civil servants have not been permitted to go as they did under Mr. Forks. I think that is a mistake. I observe the higher officials still go up there. It is a place that you can visit and recuperate; and the Filipinos need recuperation. The truth is, gentlemen, that possibilities of healthy life in tropical countries develops a future growth of them, the extent of which we do not realize. It will be the result of our knowledge of hygiene and methods of treating tropical diseases. The Filipinos are not a well-developed race; they are not nearly so well developed physically.

On the Isthmus of Panama we found, after an examination, that 70 per cent of the natives had in their blood malaria. Now, it did not manifest itself in acute disease, but it did manifest itself in a deterioration and lowering of vitality. The Filipinos, in the same way, while they think they are immune and do not have acute diseases, if you will make the examinations that medicine has now found possible, you will find in their constitutions the seeds of disease that smolder and that produce a loss of vitality that with a change of treatment under a different kind of hygiene will disappear and make them a very much stronger race. That same knowledge enables white men to go there and to live in that country in which it was supposed a white man could not live without losing his health and strength. If now Filipinos and white men can go to such a place as Baguio, near at hand, and have two weeks or a month of recuperation in a different climate it will be most health giving. That is the benefit of Baguio, and that is the reason why we went up there, and I have no doubt that if anybody visits those islands 50 years hence, and the Government continues to look after the people, it will be a flourishing city and one of the gems in all of the oriental cities.

Senator WEEKS. I got the impression from your statement that the \$2,000,000 spent in building that road was spent during a time of great distress.

Mr. TAFT. Well, it was.

Senator WEEKS. And that it provided means by which the people might live who otherwise would have been in distress and might have needed governmental assistance to keep from starving.

Mr. TAFT. Well, it did. It was an instrumentality by which we could accomplish that; and that, if I may use the expression, was a by-product. I do not want to avoid the responsibility of building the road, because I think I was the moving spirit in it, and I wanted it done, and wanted it carried through. Of course, when we got half through we were in a situation where we did not know whether to go ahead or stay back, but I urged that we go on, and we did go on.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that finished, approximately?

Mr. TAFT. Well, it was finished after I left, I think. I went up there, but I went up the other trail.

Senator LIPPITT. There is a very elaborate account of it given in Mr. Worcester's book.

Mr. TAFT. I can not give you the details and I can not remember dates very well, but I went up there, and it was building at the time I was there. Worcester and some other more venturesome people went over the uncompleted road at that time; I did not. It is not that I can not, but I do not like to climb over precipices [laughter], and so I did not go that way.

The CHAIRMAN. What year did you leave there?

Mr. TAFT. I left in January, 1904.

Senator WALSH. You said, Mr. Taft, that the expenditure had been attacked for political purposes.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; that is what I said.

Senator WALSH. Will you explain about that? Was that in the islands?

Mr. TAFT. On the floor of the House Mr. Jones or Mr. Fitzgerald said—if I may speak critically of it without violating their constitutional privilege—that he did not wonder that the Filipinos were not pleased with the expenditure of that \$2,000,000, and that it was enough to justify insurrection. I think that was a political attack.

Senator WALSH. I was simply desirous of inquiring of you whether it was made a local issue in the Philippines.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; it was made a local issue just as soon as they had an assembly.

Senator WALSH. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. TAFT. I mean it was made the subject of an attack on the American Government—that \$2,000,000 had been spent.

Senator LIPPITT. That was on the ground that we had spent their money to build a watering place for ourselves.

Mr. TAFT. That is it exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the assembly pass any resolution on the subject?

Mr. TAFT. They went up and spent some time enjoying themselves in Benguet. I am not familiar with what formal action was taken by them.

Senator LIPPITT. That was after you left?

Mr. TAFT. Yes, sir. I only got that from Mr. Forbes and from Mr. Worcester, because I do not take the newspapers over there as Worcester does, and I got into other business when I came here. [Laughter.]

Now, gentlemen, to come to this bill. It is—

An act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous government for those islands.

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the United States, in order that by the use and exercise of popular franchise—

And so on. Now, I do not think that a recital could be framed better calculated to stir up trouble in the Philippines than that recital. It is bad enough to say "When the Philippines shall be fitted for self-government." That is a trouble-making, indefinite statement enough, but to say "and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein" is much worse. How are you going to establish it, and how are you going to find out whether it is stable or not? The indefiniteness of the promise, it seems to me, is a dangerous thing, first; and, second, I deny that it states accurately what the purpose of the people of the United States is or was. Of course, what the people of the United States think we sometimes make a mistake about, I agree. But we must judge what they mean by the statement of those who represent them at the time. I see in the record quotations as to what we promised, representing the United States, in the islands—what Mr. McKinley promised, what Mr. Roosevelt promised, what I promised, what governors after me promised. I would like, if I may, to ask the committee, in order that the record may show just what I did say out there, to have printed in the record—I think you do that in the Senate—just what I said on three important occasions that have generally been quoted. I made a speech, which I sent for to Gen. McIntyre and got from the War Department this morning. I did not have a copy of them myself.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you mean that you would like to read it in yourself, Mr. Taft, or would you like to have the opportunity to put it in later as a part of your testimony? I think there would be no objection to that.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; to have it put in the record. However, that is, of course, for the committee to decide.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to have you enter into the record anything that you desire.

Mr. TAFT. Then I will turn over to the stenographer, if I may, copies of three speeches. They are not as long as my speeches ordinarily are, so that I hope they will not lumber the record.

Senator WALSH. Is it your understanding that those are the speeches in which it is charged that—

Mr. TAFT (interposing). That I make promises to the Philippines.

Senator WALSH. Yes.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; that is what I understand.

Senator LIPPITT. Those are the speeches in which it is charged you made promises, are they not, and not the speeches in which you did make promises, but the speeches which show exactly what you did say in the Philippines. They are your speeches, are they not?

Mr. TAFT. Yes; they are my speeches and nobody else's. I remember delivering this one at 2 o'clock in the morning. I tell you, when they have toasts out there in the Philippines they always prolong them, and the man that comes last comes late. [Laughter.]

The honorary commission were received with a hospitality and treatment that I know they all valued most highly.

That commission was the commission of Filipinos that came here. We brought here a commission of the Filipinos, and they went around the country and met various commercial bodies, and banquets were given them.

They were made much of, because of the friendly interest that the American people generally have in the Filipino people, and because of the opportunity which their presence offered for the American people to manifest in a pleasant way this very great interest; but if they construed the action of those who received and entertained them as an indication that the American people as a whole desire to give them independence at once, if so requested, they have made a great mistake and have misconstrued courtesy and kindly feeling as expressions of a political opinion which, in fact, does not exist.

The American people are divided upon the question I am discussing into three parties. There are a considerable number who have the real imperialistic idea of extending the influence of America by purchase and conquest into the Orient, enlarging the power of the American Government for the purpose of controlling the Pacific and securing as large a share as possible of the oriental trade yet to be developed during the next 100 years.

There is a party, and this much the largest, which regarded our taking over the islands from Spain after the Spanish War with the greatest reluctance, and who would have been gratified in the extreme if the assumption of this burden could have been avoided. The subject matter has been under consideration by this party, and, indeed, by the whole American people, during two presidential campaigns and in the intermediate elections, and the attitude of mind which they now hold with respect to the Philippine Islands may be stated with some accuracy. They have come to the conclusion that however reluctant they were to accept that which fate has thrown upon them, it is their duty to meet the responsibility thus imposed with promptness, courage, and hope. They believe that they have become the trustees and protectors of the whole Filipino people; not alone of the 8 or 10 per cent who speak Spanish, not alone of the smaller percentage who may be described as the educated part of the people, but of the whole Christian Filipino people and of the whole non-Christian people, and that they can not discharge this trust without a due regard to the rights of all their wards, and that they must be especially careful to observe and protect the rights of the uneducated and the poor of their wards, who, by reason of circumstances, are unable to speak for or protect themselves. Enjoying, as they do, a Government of free institutions, a Government of liberty regulated by law, a republican form of government, resting, in its last analysis, upon an intelligent public opinion, they do not think that their duty to the whole Filipino people can be discharged without preparing that people to maintain a stable, popular government, in which shall be secured the civil liberty of all. They do not conceive that they have the right to relieve themselves of the burden of wardship or guardianship of this whole people by attempting to assign the burden of government to a small party thereof, claiming to be the educated element of that people, however competent that educated element may be of its ability to carry on a government for the Philippine people.

The American people have examined into, as far as may be, the capacity of the Filipino people to be developed into a self-governing nation; and while they admit that the proposition to make them a self-governing people is an experiment never before tried with a tropical Malay or oriental people, they believe the circumstances to be such that if the high national purpose of treating them as sacred wards of the United States and of dealing with them in every way for their benefit, for their own elevation, and for their own education shall be pursued, free from a desire for selfish exploitation or gain, that the experiment will be a success.

Now, there is a third party in the United States which is in favor of giving to these islands immediate independence. This party may be divided into two classes having different motives. The first class is anxious to rid the United States of the burden of governing the Filipino people—for the benefit of the United States. The second class is anxious to rid the Philippines of the Government of the United States on the ground that the Filipinos can better make their own government. This third party has been twice defeated in national elections on this exact issue, and I do not think it a too strong statement to make to say that some of them are now accepting the popular decision and are content to abide the experiment which the second party, now in control of the Government, has entered upon.

The second party has for its chief exponent the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. He believes that it is the duty of the United States to prepare the Filipinos for self-government, and he proposes, so far as his administration is concerned and so far as he may control the policy of the administration, and in this respect the majorities in both Houses of Congress do not differ from him, to maintain the supremacy of the United States in these islands and to conduct the government for the benefit of the Filipino people, and with the sole purpose of elevating them as a whole to self-governing people.

Senator WALSH. Do you understand that is Mr. Roosevelt's present attitude, Mr. Taft?

Mr. TAFT. Yes. At least I saw it so stated in a reported interview with him yesterday. That was in an interview reported in an English paper, in which he said that the other report you have in mind of him was incorrect. He said, as I understood him, that we either ought to do this or else we ought to let them go now. And I agree with him in that, as I shall hope to elaborate.

Understand, I am not now in confidential communication with Mr. Roosevelt. [Laughter.] I only give you what I have seen reported in the public press.

I continue to quote from my speech:

He believes, as I believe and as do most Americans who have had great familiarity with the facts, that it is absolutely impossible to hope that the lessons which it is the duty of the United States to teach the whole Filipino people can be learned by them as a body in less than a generation, and that the probability is that it will take a longer period in which to render them capable of establishing and maintaining a stable independent government. He believes—and so do those who support him believe—that it is absolutely impossible to say just what form of self-government the American people and the Filipino people will agree upon for the Philippines when they have reached the condition in which they shall be competent to determine what form of government is best for them. Whether they shall become an independent nation or whether they shall prefer by reason of mutual benefit to maintain the bond between the two peoples, as is done between the United States and Cuba and between England and Canada, England and Australia, or what the form autonomy may take may well be left to the future and to the circumstances and to the individuals who shall be in control of the two nations at that time. All that can be asserted is that the policy which has several times been authoritatively stated, that this Filipino Government shall be carried on solely for the benefit of the Filipino people and that self-government shall be extended to the Filipino people as rapidly as they show themselves fitted to assume and exercise it, must be pursued persistently by the people of the United States or else they shall forfeit their honor.

Now, in another speech in Iloilo I said the same thing, or practically the same thing, when I opened the assembly in 1907, and I do not remember ever having said anything different from that, always basing our obligation to give them independence of whatever government they should choose upon their fitness for self-government.

Senator WEEKS. Do you recall any statement made by any governor or by the President at any time different from that?

Mr. TAFT. No; I do not. Therefore, I think, to fix attainment of stable government as our purpose of remaining in the islands is to depart altogether from the promise made in this limited way by those who represented the United States during Mr. McKinley's administration, during Mr. Roosevelt's administration, and during my own. Now comes the question of making any promise at all, and especially a promise of this character. I have heard sermons, and I thought they were good ones, that were preached to deprecate other-worldliness; that idea of living in this life for the purpose of getting a nice place in Heaven and ignoring everything in this world with the idea of having something beyond in that bourne that Tom Reed said we always speak of with affection but which we apparently never hurry to voluntarily. [Laughter.]

The difficulty about training the Filipinos to self-government under the plan outlined in that statement of mine, and that I have outlined before the committee, is that making such a promise as that you utterly rob your experiment and your giving them partial self-government of any illuminating or any real valuable education, because they always take such a statement as meaning immediate independence, and we would not be two years out there with this statement before you would have a row on and an agitation on the ground that they were ready for government then and could make a stable government, and therefore you were violating your promise. In other words, they are constantly thinking of the government to come and not of the government that you are using for the purpose of fitting them for self-government. Just because the Democratic Party has made a promise in its platform in 1900, which it has modified from time to time until we have the milder one of 1912, is not sufficient reason why they should take a step like this unless they want to give the islands over right away. And I agree with Mr. Roosevelt in that regard, as I understand him, that if we are not going to pursue a consistent policy here and really give the opportunity to the Filipinos to learn self-government by participation in a government to which they will direct their present attention, then it is just as well to let them try to establish a stable government at once, because by passing this bill with its recital you are going to fall between two stools and after a while we will retrace our steps. Some ways of stating what the Filipinos want, though seriously pressed, have just an element of humor in them. They want us to establish a protectorate and have our Army and Navy ready, first, to compel all other Governments to make treaties that the neutrality of these islands will never be interfered with; and, second, if they are interfered with, to end such interference by use of our Army and Navy while they go on experimenting with government without any opportunity on our part to control what they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they not be satisfied with some such relationship as now exists between the United States and Cuba?

Mr. TAFT. Yes; I think perhaps they would. I have no doubt they would.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they not as capable of maintaining a government among themselves as the Cubans are?

Mr. TAFT. I hesitate to answer that. I have been in Cuba and I do not want to say anything that would give any concern about Cuba. [Laughter.] Now, do I answer your question? [Laughter.]

Senator LIPPITT. You may remember, Mr. Taft, it was not many years ago that people used to talk of Mexico as an example of stable government.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; I remember that. They used to talk about Mexico as illustrating the beauties of free silver. [Laughter.]

You will excuse me for my humorous vein, but I am where humor makes up a large part of my enjoyment now. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Could you not go further, Mr. Taft, and say that they are better equipped for self government than the Cubans?

Mr. TAFT. Yes. Now, let me explain why I think so.

The difficulty in Cuba is this: We were bound, in Cuba, to give them what we have given them, and we could not do otherwise. Our course was marked out for us. If we had not made the self-denying ordinance that we did, a different policy would have been wiser, but we were bound in honor to do what we did. I have been down in Cuba; I know what conditions exist in Cuba. The trouble about Cuba is that all their shopkeepers are Spaniards who will not be naturalized and do not take any part in the Government. Their capitalists are either aliens or nonresident capitalists who take no part in politics. The rest of the people are mostly embraced in two classes, the *politicos* and the proletariat, who work for six months in the sugar fields, or a little longer, and then rest the other six months. They have no yeoman or small-farmer class, and no shopkeeper class to make the backbone of a conservative electorate. This creates an opportunity for disturbance and for the levying of oppressive measures on the capitalists who own plants and crops that can be destroyed in a night, a condition most fruitful of insurrections by disappointed *politicos*. I sincerely hope and pray that I am too pessimistic about Cuba. The Lord knows I do not want to have anything happen to Cuba which will require another intervention, but you put the question to me and I have got to answer it just as truly as I can. These elements I have described make it difficult to prophesy about Cuba. Cuba is nearer us; Cuba is nearer our steadying influence, and we have that Platt amendment that in a way has a restraining effect, and of course such a provision would help in the Philippines if we left them independent, although they are so far away that after we got out of there it would not be so useful as in Cuba. Intervention, too, in the Philippines from the United States—6,000 miles away—would be much more burdensome and difficult.

In the Philippines the ultimate prospect for self-government is better than in Cuba for the reason that, ignorant as those people are, the economic conditions are better adapted to building up an intelligent middle class because there is a much greater division of land among the people.

The Spaniards had a monopoly in Cagayan of tobacco, and then they gave it up and divided up the tobacco land into small proprietor-

ships; and so all over the island. There is very little large ownership in the islands. I do not mean to say there are not some large estates. There are down in Negros some large sugar estates, but they are not burdensome in their size. Perhaps in a certain respect it would be better that there should be some, so that they might introduce economical methods in sugar making and teach the rest of the people how sugar can be produced in a profitable way. But, on the whole, the islands have a class of small farmers that, when you educate them, will become the straw out of which you can make the bricks of a popular government.

That is the reason, together with the Filipino interest in education, that I have had so much confidence, if we take the time, if we do not think we can accomplish everything the next morning for breakfast, that we can make this experiment a success out there, so that the people will rise up then, and not until then, to call the United States blessed.

Senator RANDELL. What do you say, Mr. Taft, as to the racial conditions in Cuba probably making things more difficult than in the Philippines?

Mr. TAFT. That is an element that is dangerous in Cuba on account of the black race. It is not so in the Philippines, except with reference to the Moros and the non-Christian tribes, and they are probably of the same race, but they form a different people now.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that at the present time the Filipinos think they have been promised independence by the United States?

Mr. TAFT. They do; a great many of them do.

The CHAIRMAN. And is it not a fact that they regard the declaration of the Baltimore convention as practically assuring them their independence or giving them a more definite assurance of independence and a larger degree of self-government, and if Congress fails to make good with legislation will not the result be a widespread feeling among the Filipinos that the United States has not kept its word?

Mr. TAFT. I think probably there would be a feeling of that sort. That is the embarrassment of having you Democrats come in. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. That being the fact, would it not be better for Congress to make some specific statement of its intentions?

Mr. TAFT. No, Senator; I do not think so, in spite of the inconsistency that there may be. If you will read the plank in the Democratic platform of 1912 you will find it has been shaded off a great deal as the responsibility became a little more proximate [laughter], and you will find it is not at all as strong as it was in the first declaration, in 1900. But I agree that you are bound to meet that view; but you do not get away from it by passing any such bill as this. You will have it up again in a year.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean in such a preamble?

Mr. TAFT. Yes; in such a preamble as this. You will have it up in a year. And what I think you should do now is to defeat this bill and have them understand that we are going ahead with a consistent policy, and be firm with them. Then you will make them happy, because you will take away this other worldliness that I have commented on, which is what disturbs the people out there. You say

that the Filipino people believe they are to have independence. I have no doubt they do, 90 per cent of them, because the politicians have told them so, and they have not left out superlatives in telling them, either. Their idea of independence is an idea that is formed by suggestions as to happiness, comfort, a life without work, and all that sort of thing. They do not fully understand what it involves in its responsibilities—I mean the ignorant people—and they are all in favor of independence, because it has been held up to them as a great boon.

The CHAIRMAN. In your address which you have read into the record you assured them that the policy of the United States was not to give independence, because at the time the Republican Party was in power, and that was made an issue in the campaign, it indicated the intention of the American people?

Mr. TAFT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Since that time the Democratic Party, with an entirely different policy, has triumphed, and have they not the same right to now assume that the American people have changed in their attitude toward Philippine independence?

Mr. TAFT. If you think that adherence to party platform is absolutely essential, whether it hurts the country or not—if you think that has been the policy consistently pursued by the party that made the Baltimore platform, why, I agree. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking this question not so much as to its relation with respect to the United States as the Philippines.

Mr. TAFT. I am not either; but I am asking whether it is necessary to be consistent and still do something that will hurt the Filipino people and really put the United States in a position where it will find great difficulty in making its stay in the Philippines useful to the Filipinos. That is what I mean. I am not discussing politics in this country, but you put to me the question whether the statement in the platform did not require the Democratic Party to go on and do that. I do not think it does. If they find now, from a different light and with a sense of responsibility, that it was a mistake in their platform, as they have with respect to other planks, and as the Republican Party has, too, I doubt the wisdom of legislation consistent with the platform. You know that statement that men differ but husbands are all alike. So it is with respect to parties. [Laughter.]

I am not attacking the Democratic Party at all for that, but I do think that the mere fact that the Filipino people to-day will take your failure to pass this bill as a failure to keep up the promise made in the platform in Baltimore is not a reason for taking this step, because they may well say, even if you take the step, "You have broken the promise that you made in 1900, which was a promise of immediate independence." You have changed the bill from a definite promise of independence in six years to an indefinite one, and you have broken your promise in this. So that I do not see that you are going to—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). No; in that case the promise of 1900 was repudiated by the American people; but the promise made in the Baltimore platform was indorsed by the American people, and will it not be possible for the Filipinos to say that we have

exercised bad faith; that we are not carrying out the will of the American people?

Mr. TAFT. Well, you are the same party, and if you have changed by reason of your experience heretofore, I do not see why your experience in the Philippines themselves might not teach you that that particular plank was a mistake.

Senator KENYON. Do you think the plank was much of an issue?

Mr. TAFT. No; I think the plank was not discussed, and was put in without inviting much attention. I know how planks are put into a platform. I have heard it explained in this way, and it is doubtless a true explanation.

Senator BRISTOW. Mr. Taft, do you think the Filipinos appreciate the different shades of meaning in the various platforms?

Mr. TAFT. I have no doubt that the politicians selected the strongest part of the record of the Democratic Party in explaining what a triumph the election was. That is one trouble. That is probably what makes this symptom of insurrection in Cavite and under Ricardo. It gives him opportunity, and if you pass this bill you will have your plank used to explain this bill, and the question of when they are ready for a stable government will become more and more pressing.

The truth is, gentlemen, I am in favor of gradually extending self-government to those islands. But we have done it. Let us wait and see; let us try the experiment of waiting. The difficulty is that when you give them one thing at once they want another. That is characteristic, it is natural, and I am not complaining of it, nor am I complaining of the fact that they wish independence, and if their wishing independence ought to secure it to them, then they ought to have it now; but the very basis upon which we pursue any policy such as I have described is that they are not competent to judge what is good for them in a governmental way, and that we are. Now, you say that is an assumption of superiority. Well, it is. I am not afraid to meet that issue. It is. It is the statement of Mr. Wilson in his reference to this same policy, and I agree exactly with him in regard to it. You say it is a departure from the Declaration of Independence. Well, if the Declaration of Independence is to be so construed, it is, I agree, and if that is inconsistent with a declaration that we must necessarily follow, then we are inconsistent.

Senator LIPPITT. Before you leave that subject, Mr. Taft, you said that the Filipino people believed that we had promised them independence.

Mr. TAFT. Well, I did not say that we had promised them independence.

Senator LIPPITT. You said that the Filipino people believed that we had.

Mr. TAFT. I was interrogated as to whether the Democratic Party had promised them independence, and I think they have.

Senator LIPPITT. That was the form of one question, but the form of the question I have reference to was whether the Filipino people believed we had promised them independence. You said you thought the Filipino people did believe we had promised them independence.

Mr. TAFT. When I said that I meant the Democratic Party had promised them independence.

Senator LIPPITT. You were asked in reference to the belief of the people. I wanted to ask you whether any official utterance or statement of which you have knowledge did promise them at some time independence. I have seen a number of official statements of former Governors General and messages of President Roosevelt and of President McKinley and your own statements, of which it has been said by people in responsible office that the policy of this country was to train them for self-government. I have not seen any official statement that promised them independence, and I wondered whether you had cognizance of such statements.

Mr. TAFT. I have read what the statement is.

Senator LIPPITT. You have read that particular statement which is in one of your speeches which has not been published.

Mr. TAFT. And then there was another speech. I thought I had it here. This is one I made at the opening of the Philippines Assembly.

Senator LIPPITT. You can put that in the record.

Mr. TAFT. I think there is something in here about it. I am not sure. I do not find any statement about it in this speech.

The CHAIRMAN. What I intended to ask Mr. Taft, Senator Lippitt, is this: Is it not a fact that the history of the American treatment of the Filipinos and the results of the last election based upon the Baltimore platform had led them to believe that it was the intention of the American people to give them independence?

Senator LIPPITT. Well, Mr. Chairman, from the information that has come to me during this investigation I believe that the Filipino people have been taught from a great many sources that the American people intended for them to have independence. Their representative in Congress—he is not here now—Mr. Quezon, in his speeches which he made before the House of Representatives, stated positively that the American people had promised the islands independence. I have failed myself to find any such promise, and I would like to ask Mr. Taft whether he could point out one.

Mr. TAFT. This [indicating] is the speech I delivered to the assembly when I went out to open it in 1907.

Senator LIPPITT. I will say, on the contrary, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Dickinson, the Secretary of War, who went out to report to the President, distinctly states in his report that he laid emphasis on the fact that the United States Government was simply preparing the islands for self-government, and that he did not refer to independence in any way.

Mr. TAFT. I said:

The policy to be pursued with respect to them—

That is, the islands—

is, therefore, ultimately for Congress to determine.

Then I praised the treatment of the islands, and show that the instructions of Mr. McKinley were embodied in the statute afterwards, and then I go on:

This close adherence of Congress to the views of the Executive in respect to the islands in the past gives ground for ascribing to Congress approval of the Philippine policy, as often declared by President McKinley and President

Roosevelt. Still, I have no authority to speak for Congress with respect to the ultimate disposition of the islands. I can only express an opinion as one familiar with the circumstances likely to affect Congress, in the light of its previous statutory action.

The avowed policy of the national administration under these two Presidents has been and is to govern the islands, having regard to the interest and welfare of the Filipino people, and by the spread of general primary and industrial education and by practice in partial political control to fit the people themselves to maintain a stable and well-ordered government affording equality of right and opportunity to all citizens. The policy looks to the improvement of the people, both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As this policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and the Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantage to the islands in their foreign relations that the bond shall not be completely severed.

That is the statement.

Senator LIPPITT. That is a long way from promising them independence. However, the statement stands for itself.

Mr. TAFT. Well, there it is, as I said.

Senator WALSH. In the course of your address which you have read to us you told the people there that the opinions of the people of the United States were to be gathered with reference to the subject of independence from the results of the elections in 1900, as well as 1904.

Mr. TAFT. Yes.

Senator WALSH. And that the idea that independence was to come to them was not the view of the American people pursuant to the result of that election. Now, regardless of anything else, would they not, by reason of the result of the election in 1912, reach the conclusion from the idea then conveyed that the American people have changed their idea about the matter?

Mr. TAFT. I think they have. I answered that in the affirmative before.

Senator LIPPITT. Mr. Taft, what do you think they would infer from the result of the election in 1914? Perhaps they would think that the American people had changed their mind again.

Mr. TAFT. I do not like to refer to the election of 1914. [Laughter.] I am struggling to become reconciled.

Senator WALSH. Just one more question, Mr. Taft. What is your present opinion about the matter, if your opinion then was that the results of those elections demonstrated that the American people did not want to extend independence to them? Is it your idea that, judging from the results of the election of 1912, they would think that the opinion of the American people had changed, and that they should have independence?

Mr. TAFT. No. I could go on and say why.

Senator WALSH. I think it would be very valuable to do it. My own view about the matter is that the results of the election in 1900 and 1904 did not in any way reflect the views of the American people on that question, but you seem to take a different view about it.

Mr. TAFT. I do.

Senator WALSH. I think it would be valuable now to explain to the Filipino people how it is that the results of those two elections reflected the views of the American people, but that the result of the election of 1912 did not. I think that is due them.

Mr. TAFT. I will be very glad to do it.

In the election of 1900 Mr. Bryan declared that the issue as to letting the Philippines go and having independence out there was the paramount issue, and it was discussed with acrimony that pleased anti-imperialists in Boston; and I can not state it more strongly. [Laughter.]

Then in 1904, when Mr. Parker ran, the issue was made a most emphatic one. Mr. Parker had a man come back from the islands to tell the dreadful conditions that existed out there, and that issue was made. If it was discussed in the election of 1912—I did not have much part in the election of 1912, but I was “thar or tharabouts” [laughter]—I did not hear it. It was a three-cornered fight, and to say that the American people strongly decided any such issue is, it seems to me, to ignore what led to the result in that election, that is all. You asked me that; I did not venture it; but that is my judgment.

Now, with reference to the first section of this bill, it merely defines the Philippine Islands.

With respect to the next section, as to the naturalization, I do not see any objection to that. It seems to me it is a good thing. I have not the time to examine the law particularly, but it gives, as I understand it, the power to the Philippine Legislature, whatever that may be, of passing proper naturalization laws for the people who come there and wish to become citizens of the Philippine Islands, within certain defined classes.

The third is the constitutional guaranties. There is one section there that I think ought to be carefully considered. You state it as a constitutional restriction that the rule of taxation shall be uniform. They have peculiar forms of taxation in the Philippines, according to custom, and one of the things in governing a country is not to make any breaches of a custom that you can avoid. Of course uniformity of taxation is an iridescent dream, and you can not accomplish it, and the Supreme Court has said so. If it is a mere declaration not to be enforced, it is all right to have it there with the hope that the taxation may be as uniform and just as it can be. But in the nature of things taxation can not be uniform upon all people; and if you limit the power to levy a tax here and not there on a subject matter, you are going to produce great embarrassment in the matter of taxation.

As to the other constitutional guaranties, I think they merely repeat what is in the present Philippine act, with possibly one or two additions as to the method of passing acts.

Section 4 provides that the expenses of the government shall be paid by Philippine taxation. Well, I suppose Congress can depart from its own rule if it chooses; so that is a declaration of policy that the Philippines shall be self-sustaining, which is all right, though I think Congress ought sometimes to help them, and it would not be to the detriment, either, of the United States.

Section 5. Statutory laws not to apply to the Philippines except when provided in this act or when specifically provided. Well, that is a matter to secure certainty of statutory construction and is all right.

Section 6. Laws in force to continue until repealed by legislative authority herein created or by Congress. This has the same purpose.

Section 7. The legislative authority extends to repeals, amendments, etc., of all existing laws and of revenue laws, except the qualification as to the tariff, for which the President has the direct veto power.

I do not know that there is any objection to that. The tariff is important, of course, but it ought to be carefully examined, and if it is referred to the President I have no doubt it would be.

Section 8. General legislative power, except as otherwise herein provided, is hereby granted to the Philippine Legislature, authorized by this act. No comment is needed.

Section 9. All lands under the control of the legislature except those reserved for the use of the United States, which latter may be turned back by order of the President. And the laws affecting the land, timber, and mineral are to be approved by the President.

Now, doubtless you have considered it, but I think you ought to look into the question whether this does not lift the restriction as to 2,500 acres; I mean the restriction with reference to the acquisition of 2,500 acres in the sense that it gives the Philippine Legislature complete control over that limitation. I do not know that there is any particular danger in that. The truth is I think it would be a very good thing to let the Philippine Legislature pass on the question of policy in that regard. I think Congress has been much too restrictive in that way, both as to land and as to minerals, and I rather think that after you have given them this power for two or three years you would find that they would exercise it, and exercise it with more discretion than Congress has.

Section 10 is as to the tariff law that I have already referred to and as to the currency and coinage laws. That is a very good exception, because the importance of the currency and the coinage laws is very great, and you can not be certain that in the Philippine Legislature they would have all the knowledge they ought to have in making such a change, and the reference of it to the President would be a conservative one.

You have no export duties. I think you recently abolished export duties. I think that is going to return to plague you. I think you might as well have export duties. We are trained, constitutionally, in these matters not to have export duties, but that was put in not with any hostility to export duties as an economic proposition, but it was put there because the States were afraid export duties might affect particular products and sections unequally, and therefore because it would interfere with the equality of treatment of States in national legislation.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is there any protest out there in the Philippine Islands against an export duty among the people?

Mr. TAFT. We had such a duty in my day. I will not say that there was not a protest, but none comes to my mind. I think probably there was. But I think such a view is a mistake. It is an easy way to raise revenue, and it does not affect the price of the goods enough to affect their sale. It is paid by the exporter. An exporter is the man who furnishes the capital. It is paid by those export houses that send out from the islands hemp, copra, sugar, and tobacco. It does not affect the price in the Philippines. In hemp they have a monopoly, and it would not affect the sale of hemp in the markets of the world appreciably.

Senator CRAWFORD. I inferred from something I saw in Dean Worcester's book that the export and import tax was acquiesced in without any friction, particularly, while the personal property tax created more or less friction.

Mr. TAFT. Of course you are dealing there with customs. The thing that creates the most trouble in the Philippines is the collection of a land tax, although land is the chief asset of value, and the smallest kind of a land tax we had great difficulty in collecting, whereas a tax on the woman who sold bananas at the corner was according to the custom of the country, and it did not seem to arouse so much difficulty. We changed that, but it was not due to complaint on that score. The export tax has been handed down from the Spanish times, and it was one that was acquiesced in; it was one that produced ordinarily a very substantial part of the income, and I venture to say that with your cutting off that tax you are going to find difficulty in making both ends meet in the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that exists now. It appears to be a part of the organic act.

Mr. TAFT. Not of the organic act.

The CHAIRMAN. The act that has been in force a great many years.

Mr. TAFT. It was passed by Congress, but was a separate act.

The CHAIRMAN. The copy I have here is annotated, and indicates that this section down to the first part of the section is existing law and has been for a great many years.

Mr. TAFT. You may be right about that, but I was in the islands before that organic act passed. We collected, I think, about \$2,000,000. I think you are wrong about its being in the organic act.

Gen. MACINTYRE. That is in the Underwood Tariff Act of last year. They abolished section 15 of the old tariff act imposing export duties.

Mr. TAFT. That is it, then.

I can remember that there were people in Congress who thought it was necessary to put an exception with respect to export duties on goods that were imported directly to the United States, and they got a drawback. I think Massachusetts was interested in that. That is my recollection.

Senator RANDELL. Mr. Taft, regardless of the effect of the custom of the people themselves in their willingness to pay the various kinds of taxes that might be imposed, is it your personal opinion that export duties might perhaps be wiser in raising revenue to carry on the Philippine government than taxes of some other kind?

Mr. TAFT. I think that is an easier tax to collect. I think, psychologically, it is less burdensome. Prof. Sumner, in Yale, used to teach us that export taxes were theoretically one of the most justifiable and sound forms of taxes, "more so," he said, "a good deal than import taxes—specially protective taxes." You and I, Senator Ransdell, have heterodox views on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Not on sugar.

Mr. TAFT. Well, I mean on sugar. [Laughter.]

Now, with reference to the complete jurisdiction given to the Philippines over Moros and non-Christian, gentlemen, that is a dreadful departure from good policy. If there is anything that the Filipinos are shown not to be fit for government in—and I mean the educated class—it is in their failure to meet responsibility when

they are in control of other peoples. The great difficulty we found in giving the Filipinos authority over other people was that they had very little sense of self-restraint in dealing with people under them, and this was apparent when the Filipino came into contact with the non-Christian tribes. It is a most unwise provision. There will be no trouble about their dealing with the Moros—the Moros can take care of themselves—and the job of the Filipino governor of a Moro Province after the experience of the first incumbent will not be sought thereafter. [Laughter.] But these hill tribes, that is, these tribes that are not so warlike as the Moros, are persons that ought to be subject to a different control until the whole Filipino people are capable of self-government, which means self-restraint in the exercise of power. That even the best of them have not as yet attained.

Senator RANDELL. Will you not elaborate that a little and tell us what you think the Christian tribes would do to those hill tribes who are non-Christians?

Mr. TAFT. Wherever they come in contact with them they would abuse them; they would restrict them; they would tax them heavily.

I do not know whether I have time to tell a story or not.

Senator RANDELL. Let us have it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will extend the time.

Mr. TAFT. My brother Worcester you have heard. There never was a more loyal, able, earnest, hard-working public-spirited servant of the Filipino people than he. But, as Luke Wright used to say about him, he said when Blackstone wrote his fourth book on crimes and said therein that you could not commit assault with words alone, he had not known Worcester. [Laughter.] Now, Worcester had these non-Christian tribes under his guidance, and the work that he has done for them, the benefits that he has conferred upon them, can not be overestimated. He has exposed his life time and time and time again. Not only that, but I think he has exposed the life of Mrs. Worcester, too, because he inspired that charming and delightful lady to go with him clear through those mountains in order to see the various tribes and bring them from their nakedness and head hunting into constabulary uniforms and baseball. He has worked a wonderful change with them.

Well, we had a governor named Juan Villamor, who was governor of the Province of Abra, which is the Province just east of Ilocos Sur. It is an Ilocan Province, but it is not on the sea. In Abra was one of these non-Christian tribes. Worcester knows their names; I never can remember them. Juan had been pretty severe with some of them. He had them arrested and had treated them in a way that they did not think was right, so they sent down to Manila what they called their "talking man." We have those men. I am one of them myself. But we call them here by a different name. [Laughter.] And he went to Manila and saw Worcester, and Worcester explained to him that Juan did not have any right to do this and that they were independent of Juan, and that they must get their government directly from Manila. So the talking man walked all the way back—it is about 200 miles—and when he got among his people he expressed his view of their rights, and made some remarks that reflected a bit on Juan Villamor's authority as governor. It was sufficient to awaken Juan's resentment that he

intimated that Juan did not have as much power as he thought he had. Juan sent out and had an information filed against this man for sedition, and committed him to jail. The fiscal, the prosecuting attorney, signed the information, and this poor fellow was in jail for I do not know how long, for a week or more, and Worcester heard of it. The other people of the tribe sent word down. So Worcester went up to see Juan, 200 miles. That was a short trip for him to make in the interest of his non-Christian tribes.

When he got there there was a judge—Judge Wizlizenus, a judge from St. Louis—who had been elected to the four courts of that city on a reform plank, and had laid down the rule that in St. Louis he would not permit any private communications as to court matters, because there had been too much whispering behind the bench, and he was a reformer. So, having these very clear and distinct views of his duty, when Worcester came in to tell him he had seen Gov. Juan and he had seen the prosecuting attorney, and they said, "We will let this man go—we do not care—if you will see the judge." So Worcester went in to see the judge. He said, "Judge, this man has been put in here for sedition—really nothing but lese majeste toward Juan—and we want to get him out." Wizlizenus said, "Sir, is this not a matter that will come before me judicially?" Worcester said, "What I want to get into your head is that everybody wants to let this man out." "Sir, is this not something that will come before me as the judge?" Wizlizenus wrote me of this in a way that showed he did not have any sense of humor, and did not see it. He said, "Four times Mr. Worcester said to me, 'What I want to get into your head,' intimating, so it seemed to me, something that was disrespectful; that it was difficult to get something into my head." [Laughter.]

Well, I believe they got him out, but Wizlizenus lodged a complaint against the commissioner on the idea that he was trying to bulldoze the court.

But the action of Gov. Villamor is an example of what would go on with the neighboring tribes if they are all put under the Filipinos and Filipino governors; and whatever you do, I urge you from the bottom of my heart to retain control over these people. Whatever you do with the Filipinos, retain control over those people and let them go on in the great progress they are now making, because some of them—the Igorrots—are very amenable to civilization. They go about with gee strings, and they are determined anti-Christians up to this time, but they respond under education, and they are quiet, even though they have been head-hunters. They have given up that delectable custom. There are numbers of them that are quiet and as peaceable as possible. They are beautifully built; they are a much stronger race, because of their mountain living, than the Filipinos. When they mount a peak they do not go around by an easy grade; they go right up over the peak and down on the other side. The consequence is when they get on the level land they can not walk far, because they are used to using the muscles that are involved in going up and down hill. But you put them under the Filipinos and you will have trouble.

Senator RANDELL. What have you to say of the danger of the Moros mistreating the Christians? Mr. Worcester seemed to think

there was danger of that. He agreed absolutely with you as to these other tribes than the Moros.

Mr. TAFT. Of course, there are only about 400,000 Moros, and there are 7,000,000 Filipinos. But a Moro sleeps on his kriss, and he is a man that does not know any other life than that by sword. They have disarmed them now, but there are means in the lower islands of getting arms from Borneo and other places, and if you attempted to introduce Filipino control over the Moros you would have constant difficulty. We have had difficulty ourselves and the Filipinos would have a great deal more.

Senator RANSELL. There would be constant civil war in that event?

Mr. TAFT. I am quite sure there would be. I do not think they could control them at all, and they resent the suggestion that the Filipinos are to be put over them; and this appointment of a senator and six or seven representatives will not amount to anything. They will not play any part in the assembly. And, of course, the Moros have sense enough to know that. It is all right to have your representative body from a people that are homogenous, as the Filipino Christians are, but to have four or five appointed representatives by the governor to represent the Moros would be a farce, so far as representation is concerned, on the one hand, or so far as settling the emotions of the Moros on the other.

Next, to come to the senate feature of this bill. I am very much opposed to an elective senate. You have an elective assembly. In five years, with the use of the elective assembly, they have not received all the lessons that they might well learn before they are given additional power in a legislative way. Now, I observe you repeat in this act what was put into the act through Mr. Root and myself, in the fundamental act, and that is, if appropriations are not made for one year the same appropriations shall continue for the next year, and that has happened a number of times in the experience of this assembly since it was established. Now, why do you do that? Why did we do it? And why do you leave it here? It is because the man who drafted that law knew that if you were to give to that assembly, that senate and that house, power to withhold appropriations in order to accomplish some political purpose, they would withhold them. It is because they have not the sense of responsibility in respect to the continuation of the Government that you put that in there, and that in itself shows that you ought not to extend the legislative power by creating another elective body. Retain your control over the commission. You have given the Filipinos a majority in the commission. Let that remain as it is. Then if you find that the Filipinos are not doing right, remove one of your Filipinos and put in an American. You can do that by an executive appointment, but if you have to go through the agitation of coming back to Congress and having the constitutional structure changed, you are going to produce great trouble. Why not retain control and give the Filipinos a majority in both legislative assemblies, but have it where the executive, who, after all, is going to be your responsible man in running these islands—I mean the President here and the Governor General there—give him the power to make that an American assembly or commission if it turns out that they are not properly using the power that you have thus extended to them.

The CHAIRMAN. The Governor General has the veto under this bill which the commission heretofore had.

Mr. TAFT. Yes; I know he has. Well, the Secretary of War has it now under the law, but that is not the power I am speaking of. I am speaking of the power to initiate legislation, and discussing it, and meeting in conference with the Philippine Assembly. That is a great power. I need not say to this Senate how much is done in committees or in conference. To turn over the entire control of the legislative assembly and make it representative in both branches, it seems to me, is an extension that your experience with the assembly to date does not warrant, and I can not have any more significant proof of it than the fact that you retain what is very essential—this control of the appropriations. It is an affirmation that you need to protect appropriations by making the previous law continue in its effect.

I do not think there is anything else about the bill that needs to come from me.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you wanted to take up the senate first. Is there something else?

Mr. TAFT. Oh, yes.

To use a colloquial phrase, the politicians in the Philippine Islands can give cards and spades with reference to Philippine politics to any man that you send out there, whether he has experience there or not. Now, you propose to give them the leverage of saying, in order to accomplish their selfish political ends, "No; you shall not put in this American, and you shall not put in that American," when Americans are necessary, and thus force their Filipino political henchmen into the responsible offices that need in those who fill them the initiative that no Filipino has. You are giving them a power that will be very dangerous in the conduct of the government of the islands. They have not shown in anything that they have done up to this time that they have improved so in self-restraint that you may do so safely.

Now, gentlemen, I have said all I want to say and I am ready to answer questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the power of the executive to appoint, if we judge by our own experience, give you a very important influence over the legislation of the senate?

Mr. TAFT. Well, he has that anyhow. He has always had it, and he has not controlled legislation as it ought to have been controlled.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you suggest, supposing this preamble goes further than you think it ought to, any modification of the preamble, if it remains a part of the bill, which would still hold out to the Filipinos the idea of ultimate independence without misleading them as to the immediate prospects?

Mr. TAFT. I do not like to refer you to authority that I am the author of, but if you will take the language from my speech, I think you will be safe in the sense of expressing what the policy was under those administrations. I am opposed to making any promise at all, because it will be misunderstood. But, if you do make a promise, I would certainly make it turn on self-government and not on a stable government—I mean fitness for self-government—because that was contained in every promise that I am familiar with.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose it were made specifically here that they should have independence when a certain evidence had been produced, judged by certain authorities, say a commission or the Governor General or some one else?

Mr. TAFT. Well, I do not think that would help particularly. It would give some definiteness. That is what you want to satisfy them—definiteness—and that is just what they ought not to have. They ought to know, and every politician who influences those people ought to know, that in their generation they can not expect to have independence, and then they will devote their attention to this world and not to other worlds—to this Government and not to another.

The CHAIRMAN. Would not some prospect of ultimate independence, based upon merit and good government, tend to improve conditions there?

Mr. TAFT. Not if you leave it so indefinite that they can begin the minute you pass the bill to argue that the condition you have stated has been fulfilled.

Senator RANSELL. Mr. Taft, do I understand that this bill would be unobjectionable from your viewpoint if the preamble were left out and the changes which you have suggested were made?

Mr. TAFT. I think so; yes. I think it needs possibly a closer examination with reference to the existing statutes, to see whether you have repealed all you ought to have repealed and whether there would be some lapses. Of course I did not have time to examine the existing statutes and compare them with the bill, and therefore in giving that answer I would like to make that qualification.

Senator BRISTOW. The idea which Senator Ransdell suggested is in my mind. If we struck out the preamble and made the changes you suggested and then passed the bill, would it be in harmony with that development that you feel is so essential, and would it have the tendency to promote—

Mr. TAFT (interposing). Well, I do not think, if you struck out what I have already objected to and struck out the preamble, that you would have much left but what was formal.

Senator BRISTOW. Well, do you not think that would be a good thing?

Mr. TAFT. Yes; I do. [Laughter.]

Senator BRISTOW. Well, Mr. Taft, there is one thing that has been in my mind, and that is that there are some Americans who seem to think that we are in danger of war because of the Philippines, or that if we should have a war they would be a source of military weakness. Is there not a theory that is in harmony with the development of a commercial nation, at least, that a strong base in that part of the world for the United States is necessary if we ever expect to defend our world-wide commerce and protect it from an enemy?

Mr. TAFT. Well, Senator Bristow, I have not really given the attention to that subject which would make my answer to that question of any particular moment or weight. I am not an imperialist. I would be quite content to keep our activities within the oceans. While I do believe that England and those other colonizing countries have greatly improved their trade by their colonization, I think we have a large enough country without that; and I do not think that that would furnish a motive—or it would not for me—

to stay in the Philippines; I will be quite willing to let them go without regard to that.

Senator BRISTOW. Well, I was not speaking of territorial acquisition at all.

Mr. TAFT. No; but in point of trade—

Senator BRISTOW. Yes; in point of trade.

Mr. TAFT. I think we could establish trade without the necessity of establishing governments elsewhere.

Senator BRISTOW. And establish naval bases that we would have to defend?

Mr. TAFT. Yes.

Senator BRISTOW. Do you think that the Philippines would become strong enough and wealthy enough to develop their resources until they could themselves maintain at their own expense fortifications and a constabulary that would protect them against the encroachments of other nations. In other words, become in time as strong a nation as the Japanese Empire, for example.

Mr. TAFT. Well, I doubt it, Senator. Of course, they have made great development under their American guardianship. Their trade increased from \$28,000,000 in, I think it was, 1899 to \$110,000,000—I mean their foreign trade, imports and exports—and that is a very considerable increase. And the increase of trade with the United States was from about \$4,000,000 to \$50,000,000. Giving them free trade extended their domestic commerce—which you can judge from the result of the taxes on the business sales—in four years, after 1909, from \$196,000,000 to over \$386,000,000. I am not sure of the exact figures, but it about doubled the domestic business. Am I not right, Gen. McIntyre?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAFT. The consequence is that there is every indication that they can expand; and they will expand; and they will get a prosperity that will help them all, if you will only keep out for a time and give them a show to work out a government that shall be firm, and to which they shall give their attention, rather than spending all their time in politics. That is a thing that I think this bill will only continue. That is what I am afraid of.

Senator RANDELL. Mr. Taft, if I understand you correctly, your position is that from a purely selfish viewpoint it would be wise for this country to get out, turn loose at once; but if we are going to perform our duties as a Christian Nation and do what is right to our fellow people—

Mr. TAFT (interposing). And fulfill the trust thrown upon us.

Senator RANDELL. Yes; and fulfill a trust thrown upon us, we must stay there a good while longer; is that correct?

Mr. TAFT. That is my judgment. And here you have in this bill a policy of betwixt and between that is going to land you into still greater embarrassment; that is my judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Taft, for coming here and making your statement to the committee.

Mr. TAFT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I must apologize for what must seem to you to be a partisan view. I admit that I am intensely interested in this question. As to domestic policies, of course we have all been in political controversies, and we give and take, and we

understand. But when we get into a foreign policy like this—for it is a foreign policy in the sense that we are standing before the world as to the success of our colonial policy—and I feel that it is too bad if we depart from a successful beginning that has called for the admiration of men and nations who know what the difficulties of colonial government are. And we have struck out in a pioneer way there to develop these people and to train them and to give them the opportunity for self-government, and if you hasten the matter beyond what you ought, then you will make your effort a failure. Either do one thing or the other—fish or cut bait; get out of the islands and let them fight as they are fighting in Mexico or maintain a firm hand and give them the opportunity to learn self-restraint; and then, as I said before, they will rise up and call the United States “blessed.”

Gentlemen, I thank you. [Applause.]

(The following was submitted by Mr. Taft and ordered printed as part of his remarks:)

SPEECH OF SECRETARY TAFT ON FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST 11, 1905. AT THE HOTEL METROPOLE AT A DINNER GIVEN BY THE FILIPINOS.

Secretary of War Taft said:

My dear Filipino brethren: It is due to you that, if I do nothing else to-night, I shall make clear to you the views of the administration upon the present and future of these islands. I am advised that during the last year, and especially since the return of the so-called honorary commission from the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the feeling in favor of the immediate independence of these islands has widely spread, and that this feeling can be directly traceable to the influence of a number of the members of the honorary commission. If this be true, it arises probably from an impression received by some of the members of the honorary commission that the American people desire and are willing to give immediate independence if the Filipino people shall express a desire for it.

DID THEY MAKE A MISTAKE?

The honorary commission were received with a hospitality and treatment that I know they all valued most highly. They were made much of because of the friendly interest that the American people generally have in the Filipino people and because of the opportunity which their presence offered for the American people to manifest in a pleasant way this very great interest; but if they construed the action of those who received and entertained them as an indication that the American people as a whole desire to give them independence at once, if so requested, they have made a great mistake and have misconstrued courtesy and kindly feeling as expressions of a political opinion which in fact does not exist.

The American people are divided upon the question I am discussing into three parties. There are a considerable number who have the real imperialistic idea of extending the influence of America by purchase and conquest into the Orient, enlarging the power of the American Government for the purpose of controlling the Pacific and securing as large a share as possible of the oriental trade yet to be developed during the next 100 years.

ISLANDS TO BE RETAINED.

There is a party, and this much the largest, which regarded our taking over the islands from Spain after the Spanish War with the gravest reluctance, and who would have been gratified in the extreme if the assumption of this burden could have been avoided. The subject matter has been under consideration by this party, and, indeed, by the whole American people, during two presidential campaigns and in the intermediate elections; and the attitude of mind which they now hold with respect to the Philippine Islands may be stated with some accuracy. They have come to the conclusion that, however reluctant they were to accept that which fate has thrown upon them, it is their

duty to meet the responsibilities thus imposed with promptness, courage, and hope. They believe that they have become the trustees and protectors of the whole Filipino people; not alone of the 8 or 10 per cent who speak Spanish, not alone of the smaller percentage who may be described as the educated part of the people, but of the whole Christian Filipino people and of the whole non-Christian Filipino people; and that they can not discharge this trust without a due regard to the rights of all their wards; and that they must be especially careful to observe and protect the rights of the uneducated and the poor of their wards, who by reason of circumstances are unable to speak for or protect themselves. Enjoying as they do a government of free institutions, a government of liberty regulated by law, a republican form of government, resting in its last analysis upon an intelligent public opinion, they do not think that their duty to the whole Filipino people can be discharged without preparing that people to maintain a stable, popular government, in which shall be secured the civil liberty of all. They do not conceive that they have the right to relieve themselves of the burden of wardship or guardianship of this whole people by attempting to assign the burden of government to a small party thereof claiming to be the educated element of that people, however confident that educated element may be of its ability to carry on a government for the Filipino people. The American people have examined into, as far as may be, the capacity of the Filipino people to be developed into a self-governing nation; and while they admit that the proposition to make them a self-governing people is an experiment never before tried with a tropical Malay or oriental people, they believe the circumstances to be such that if the high national purpose of treating them as sacred wards of the United States and of dealing with them in every way for their benefit, for their own elevation, and for their own education shall be pursued, free from a desire for selfish exploitation or gain, that the experiment will be a success.

THE PARTY OF RETIRAL.

Now, there is a third party in the United States which is in favor of giving to these islands immediate independence. This party may be divided into two classes, having different motives. The first class is anxious to rid the United States of the burden of governing the Filipino people for the benefit of the United States. The second class is anxious to rid the Philippines of the Government of the United States, on the ground that the Filipinos can better make their own government. This third party has been twice defeated in national elections on this exact issue, and I do not think it a too strong statement to make to say that some of them are now accepting the popular decision and are content to abide the experiment which the second party, now in control of the Government, has entered upon.

The second party has for its chief exponent the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. He believes that it is the duty of the United States to prepare the Filipinos for self-government, and he purposes, so far as his administration is concerned and so far as he may control the policy of his administration, and in this respect the majorities in both of the Houses of Congress do not differ from him, to maintain the supremacy of the United States in these islands, and to conduct the government for the benefit of the Filipino people, and with the sole purpose of elevating them as a whole to a self-governing people. He believes, as I believe, and as do most Americans who have had great familiarity with the facts, that it is absolutely impossible to hope that the lessons which it is the duty of the United States to teach the whole Filipino people can be learned by them, as a body, in less than a generation, and that the probability is that it will take a longer period in which to render them capable of establishing and maintaining a stable independent government. He believes, and so do those who support him believe, that it is absolutely impossible to say just what form of self-government the American people and the Filipino people will agree upon for the Philippines when they have reached the condition in which they shall be competent to determine what form of government is best for them. Whether they shall become an independent nation or whether they shall prefer by reason of mutual benefit to maintain the bond between the two peoples, as is done between the United States and Cuba, or between England and Canada, England and Australia, or what the form autonomy may take may well be left to the future and to the circumstances and to the individuals who shall be in control of the two nations at that time. All that can be asserted is that the policy which has several times

been authoritatively stated, that this Filipino government shall be carried on solely for the benefit of the Filipino people, and that self-government shall be extended to the Filipino people as rapidly as they show themselves fitted to assume and exercise it, must be pursued consistently by the people of the United States or else they shall forfeit their honor.

FILIPINOS SHOULD SUPPORT.

It follows that the President of the United States (and he has himself desired me to say this to the Filipino people) feels charged with the duty of proceeding with the policy of maintaining here the sovereignty of the United States as the instrument for the gradual education and elevation of the whole Filipino people into a self-governing community, and that he intends, so far as in him lies, to continue this policy, however insistent may be the demands for immediate independence by those among the Filipinos who deem that they are fit for self-government to-day.

With deference to those who have a different opinion, it seems to me therefore that the educated Filipinos who wish to do the best for their country should devote their attention to the present government and to its support. I do not at all mean that they should fail to criticize this government where it needs criticism; that they should fail to record complaints against it where abuses arise; or they should cease to seek changes in the government where those changes are necessary to accomplish the general purpose of the elevation and prosperity of the Philippine people; but I do say with all the sincerity of which I am capable that the constant agitation of the question of immediate independence by peaceable or other means can do no good for the Philippine people, can not assist in their preparations for self-government, and is simply an obstacle to the main purpose of the American Government in these islands. The policy of President McKinley and of President Roosevelt has been in favor of a thorough primary education of the people; second, of the instilling in them, so far as is possible, the moral forces of providence, industry, and thrift; and, third, of instructing them in their political civil rights under the charter which Congress has given them, by which in the pursuit of happiness they may enjoy complete civil liberty.

I need not dwell upon the actual condition of the people. I need not say in a company that knows the fact to be as well as I do that nine-tenths of the people of the Philippine Islands are to-day utterly incapable of exercising intelligently self-government and that any government which would be established to-day by the Filipinos themselves must be a government of the few, a government of the wealthy, and a government of the local caciques with which the country is infested from one end to the other.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The last speaker referred to the institution of private schools as indicating the desire on the part of the people to get away from American education. In the face of the increase from 100,000 to 521,000 in the enrollment of the public schools, such a statement will bear very careful examination. Now, I have already had occasion to express this sentiment before, but there is no harm in repeating it—I am strongly in favor of all the schools we can have in these islands, but on this evening, when we have come together, heart to heart, to tell the truth, I wish to inquire whether the reason which lies behind the institution of these public schools does not lurk in the want of a democratic feeling on the part of the fathers and mothers of the children who are sent to these private institutions, who are afraid to let them associate with the sons and daughters of the poor, who go to the public schools. [Loud and prolonged applause from the Americans present.]

The people who wish to rule this country—and rule it as a self-governed, popularly governed country—must learn the first principles of democracy before they can invite us to transfer the trust which has been thrust upon us to make here out of chaos a self-governing, popular democracy. [Renewed applause from Americans.]

And now I would like to ask with reference to the imposition of taxation and the expenditure of money, what an independent Filipino government could do in the negotiation of loans and the making of concessions and the exploiting of these islands if it were not for the assistance of the United States in the maintenance of the credit and safety of these islands here to-day? [Loud applause.]

If you come down to the practical fact you could not induce capital to come into these islands to help them into the prosperity which your people deserve—you could not induce capital to come here at all unless you managed it in a way which would put you in the hands of the corporations with whom you would put your grants. [Loud applause and a voice: "There is the plain truth for them." More applause.]

INDUSTRY MOST NEEDFUL.

Only by primary education, by adopting habits of greater industry and thrift, by living healthier and more comfortable lives, can the uneducated nine-tenths be created into an intelligent political force securing the administration of the government for the equal benefit of all. And not until then will the credit be given. What, therefore, the young patriotic Filipino should be doing is to institute movements to encourage industry among the people, to encourage the learning of trades by manual training schools, and to teach the people the immense opportunity for production and wealth which these islands afford, if only they will lose the inertia and the lack of motive for labor which now makes them such poor laborers, and will use the wonderful capability for manual dexterity that God has conferred upon them in the midst of a possible plenty that few peoples enjoy. In point of industry 29,000,000 of people support themselves on the island of Java, slightly larger than the island of Luzon; in this archipelago there are but 8,000,000 of people, and in a number of Provinces it is with the greatest difficulty that the people are enabled to avoid starvation. Now, certainly this is not due to the soil, nor is it due alone to untoward and unfavorable agricultural conditions. All those could be easily overcome by the industry which is manifested each year in Java or Japan. The foundation of a great nation like Japan is in the industry and intelligence of its people. Those things which make for the increase of both make for the increase of political capacity, and when industry and education are united with a constant and growing practice in the exercise of political power, we may be sure of making a people capable of maintaining a stable government and asserting a national self-respect throughout the world; but industry and the motive for it will both be absent as long as the government can not assure to each man, however humble, the certainty that that which he earns he may use. Therefore the primary duty of the American Government in these islands is to support peace and to suppress lawlessness and other forms of robbery, and it must be the purpose of the United States, as eloquently stated last night by Mr. Cochran, to bring about and maintain peace in these islands, no matter at what cost, because that condition is absolutely indispensable to doing the work which the United States is to do.

QUESTION FOR FUTURE.

The present act of Congress under which this government is carried on is called "An act to provide for the temporary government of the Philippine Islands and for other purposes," but in the very provision for the temporary government were added others for the development of that government into a form more or less like the Territorial governments of all the Territories of the United States, and the expression "temporary" used in the title of the act is no more to be regarded as indicating the possibility of an immediate change from control by this Government of these islands to absolute independence than would be a similar provision with respect to Territories which have since become States.

I have thus frankly outlined the views of the administration which have the full concurrence of President Roosevelt, in order to remove, if possible, from political discussion in these islands any uncertainty on this head. I shall be very sorry if these remarks do not meet the approval of a number of my Filipino friends whose good will is exceedingly dear to me, but the policy of the United States in these islands, and I hope of all those who have represented the United States here, has been to tell the exact truth, even though it hurt the feelings of their auditors at the time, with a view of inviting that confidence of the people in the assurances of the Government, without which progress would be difficult. The statement that I have now made is exactly consistent with the statement which I made before the congressional committee while I was governor of these islands in 1902, and they represent exactly the policy of President McKinley, and the same which President Roosevelt has announced

since he has been at the head of the Government. I come now to certain complaints that I have heard with respect to the existing government.

In the first place, it has been intimated that the United States was not sincere in providing in the fundamental act for the Philippines for the institution of a popular assembly.

THE ASSEMBLY ASSURED.

The provision for the popular assembly was inserted in the fundamental act upon my earnest recommendation, and it was carried through both Houses of Congress upon the earnest argument and persistence, and I might almost say obstinacy, of Mr. Chairman Cooper, of the Committee on Insular Affairs. As a compromise and in order that it might go through at all, it was postponed until two years after the taking of a census. As soon as it was possible after the law was enacted, the census was ordered to be taken, although that order under the law was dependent upon existing tranquility in the islands. At the time the order was made there was ladronism in a number of the Provinces, but it was not regarded as so extensive as to prevent the certificate of the commission to the President that a state of substantial tranquility had been reached which justified the assurance under the statute. Now it is suggested, by a suspicion, I fear, born of hostility to the government and a lack of sympathy with its purposes, that we propose to avail ourselves of some local disturbances in some Provinces due to ladronism or otherwise to postpone the coming of the assembly. Nothing could be further from the facts. We were greatly disappointed that this census was not published in October, 1904, as had been promised by the Census Office of the United States, but the truth is that its publication and the tabulation of the results involved a much longer time than it was at first supposed they would occupy, and hence the Census Office was delayed until the first of April of this year before the English publication was made. This was construed to be a sufficient compliance with the statute. Just as certain as the sun rises and sets in these islands, if there be no real insurrection in the islands, when April, 1907, comes the mandate for the popular assembly will be issued by the commission under the direction of the President, and the popular assembly will be established here. The suggestion that some unjust pretext will be seized for the postponement of the assembly is unworthy of those who make it.

TO TEACH LEGISLATORS.

I favor the assembly strongly on two grounds: First, because I deem it of importance to adopt some method of securing an expression of the opinion of those who will form the electorate under the assembly law for the purpose of legislation and otherwise; and second, because there could be no better means of educating those who are likely to be elected to the assembly in politics and the responsibilities of government than the experience that they will have as members in that legislative body. They may take their hand in remedying abuses of the government and in restraining legislation which they deem to be harmful in passing methods for further elevation of the people.

Again, it is contended that there have been a great many abuses by the constabulary in the suppression of an extensive campaign of ladronism in Cavite and Batangas as well as in Samar. Now, I can not affirm or deny from personal knowledge or personal investigation that abuses have not existed in the Provinces referred to. In all probability a number of the charges made are true. The truth is that Cavite is the mother of ladrones and has always been so, and that the people of that Province are so permeated with the spirit of ladronism that the Province is not fit for local self-government.

MURDERERS SECURE IMMUNITY.

Two desperate murderers and robbers have secured their immunity in that Province for five years, due to a maudlin sentiment growing out of the traditions of the Province in favor of supporting and concealing leading ladrones. The atrocities and the cruelties of which these ladrones have been confessedly guilty—in the cutting off of lips and in other cruel tortures—ought to have set the whole Province afire with indignation at the persons committing such offenses. But instead of that there seems to have arisen in the Provinces a protest, not against the authors of these horrible atrocities but a protest against

abuses by the constabulary engaged in attempting to secure the capture of the persons guilty of such atrocities. Now, that condition of affairs, which is so wholly inconsistent with peace and tranquillity, so wholly at odds with any condition in society which favors industry and thrift, must be stamped out. It is absolutely impossible to expect, however, that it shall be stamped out through ordinary men employed as members of the constabulary, whether they are natives or Americans, without the existence of abuses against innocent persons by some members of the constabulary in their attempt to find the guilty ones. Abuses are incident to such general disturbance of the peace and are greatly to be deplored. They must not be encouraged; they must be punished whenever evidence of them is brought to the attention of the superior officer.

COMPLAINTS SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED.

Every complaint made against every member of the constabulary should be investigated, and if the constabulary officers or men are found to be guilty, they should be severely punished—more severely punished than the ordinary "tao," because the responsibility of the office is greater. But it must be understood that those responsible for the government have a most delicate task in determining the truth of the charges made against the members of the constabulary, because the ladrones and the friends of the ladrones are past masters in the art of misrepresentation. It is said that the constabulary ought to be reorganized. Possibly reforms are needed, and doubtless if they are needed they will be effected, but meantime the most important consideration is whether lawlessness, murder, and robbery shall be suppressed in the Province of Cavite and the men who are responsible therefor shall be driven to bay and captured or shot.

CONFLICTING AUTHORITY.

It seems impossible for the present to dispense with a dual and sometimes conflicting authority in the Province between the governor elected by the people and the senior inspector of constabulary appointed by the central government. I attempted, while a member of the commission, to draft a law which should reduce this conflict as much as possible and which should prevent the inspector of constabulary from treating the governor with disrespect and from taking measures in the Province without a proper conference with the governor, who is primarily responsible for the keeping of the peace. I fear that in a number of instances, chiefly because of the failure of senior inspectors to understand the absolute necessity for harmony with the governor, this law has been disregarded, and I hope and believe that an investigation will be made resulting in a much more rigorous obedience to the law than has obtained since its enactment. The necessity for the employment of a large number of constabulary in suppressing the present disturbance in Cavite has, of course, interfered with movements to reform the constabulary, which otherwise might have been instituted, for it is most unwise to change horses while crossing a stream.

THE REMOVAL OF JUDGES.

Now, I have heard complaints against the administration of justice. It is said that the trials in the courts of first instance are too much a matter of executive regulation and that the defendants do not receive justice. No cases are cited; no instances are given upon which such a charge may be based. But reference is made to the fact that the executive has the power to assign different judges to different cases, and that the removal of judges is within the control of the executive. This was exactly the case when I was here, and the government in my time was not free from charges of similar interference. Speaking of my personal and of intimate acquaintance derived from close investigation, I am able to say that I think no case can be successfully established in which there was an undue interference on the part of the executive. That there is, however, under the present system an opportunity for such interference can not, I think, be denied, and I am therefore strongly in favor of an amendment of the fundamental act by which the removal of judges of the courts of first instance shall be placed in the hands of the President and be made subject to cause, and by which the assignment of judges of the courts of first instance to particular districts other than their own shall be left to the Supreme

Court in banc rather than to the executive. By this means will be removed all ground for the slightest suspicion that the executive is interfering unduly in the administration of justice by selecting judges for particular cases.

REFORMS OF JUSTICES.

Another reform that ought to be instituted, in my judgment, is the abolition of the present system of justices of the peace and a provision of law by which in each Province there shall be a much smaller number of justices than now, and by which they shall be paid a certain annual stipend, which will certainly make the office more desirable and secure more desirable incumbents. The justices of the peace are the judges for the common people, and the attractions of the office ought to be increased so as to secure men worthy to exercise this important function.

I am greatly distressed to learn that in some of the Provinces of this archipelago hunger stalks, and delighted to know that the crops promise to be so good that such a result may in the future be avoided. In November I hope we may be able to contract for the construction of a thousand miles of railway, and that during the five years of its construction the capital which comes into the islands may inure to the benefit of the people. I am glad to be able to testify to the wonderful improvement in the city of Manila since I left here in December, 1903. During the period of my absence from the islands I have labored in season and out of season to secure needed legislation from Congress to assist the Philippine people. In certain respects I have been successful and in others I have been defeated, but I have not been discouraged, because I believe that the American people on the whole are most anxious to do full and exact justice to the Filipino people, and that, though delayed, legislation will be enacted covering all the points which any friend of the islands could desire.

LEGISLATION FOR PROSPERITY.

There are many other matters I should like to discuss, but the hour forbids. During five years of American government we have had no aid from prosperity to help us along in our problem. I think it will not much longer be withheld from us. The institution of free trade between the islands and the United States which I verily believe to be near at hand, the opening of this country by railroads, the training of the common people to more steady and organized labor, their gradual enfranchisement from debt, slavery, and caciquism, the introduction of new methods in agriculture, the very great increase in skilled labor from the founding of manual-training schools in each Province, and, above and over all, the maintenance of peace will produce a different state of living, a far greater producing capacity, a much larger fund for expenditure and consumption, and also a larger fund of savings, and the great body of the common people will be well on their way to self-government.

TRUTH MUST BE TOLD.

My dear Filipino friends, I can not say to you how glad I am to shake your hands and to look into your bright eyes and smiling faces. It thrills me with joy to meet you again. I have been nearly two years absent, and have been much engaged in matters not concerning these islands, but always in my heart the Philippine Islands have had the first place. I am sorry to have to say things which may seem harsh to some of my Filipino friends, for I value their friendship as one of my greatest pleasures.

I love the noble Filipino people; I respect to the full their many virtues; I acknowledge their kindness, their hospitality, their love of home and friends. I admire their courage as a warlike people, and least of all do I underestimate their aspirations to become a self-governing people and a nation. Indeed, upon that spirit I predicate much of my hope that the aim of the American Government in these islands will be realized; but I should be blind to my duty and wholly inconsistent with my course heretofore toward the Philippine people if I did not tell them the truth as I understand it and did not point out to them the course which I believe to be necessary for their future elevation and prosperity. Neither President Roosevelt nor anyone charged with the responsibility of government in the United States can permit his sympathy with their courage and high ideals to blind him to the necessity of ignoring their wishes in best shaping the future of the Filipino people and

in realizing the great end to which the Government of the United States has devoted its energies, its treasure, and so many of its people in these islands.

PRaises Gov. Wright.

The policy which I had the honor to formulate and declare in these islands—"the Philippines for the Filipinos"—continues to be the policy of this administration, and anyone who does not subscribe to it ought not to continue in its employ. My dear friend, Gov. Gen. Wright, has, I understand, come under the suspicion of some extremists as not subscribing to this doctrine. This is not true and does him much injustice. His desire to elevate the Filipino people and operate this government for their benefit is as single as my own. It is inevitable that when hard times require the enactment of new tax laws or the lawlessness of a Province requires for the benefit of the body politic severe measures those whose duty it is to institute and enforce such measures shall suffer in popular estimation and lose popular sympathy, but as time wears on and as the public benefit from the enforcement of the unpopular policy becomes apparent, justice is done by the people and the deserving official wins again their affection. It is the earnest hope and wish of Gov. Wright to abolish, or at least to suspend for three years, the land tax, and I think the commission will unite with him in his purpose. In another place I have pointed out the correctness in principle of the new internal-revenue tax. The question whether in its amount or other details it ought to be amended has been reserved until the arguments in behalf of the business interests who believe themselves to be aggrieved by certain features thereof and who have prepared a brief on the subject can be considered.

IF UNSYMPATHETIC, GET OUT.

To assure success in our work in these islands we must have as representatives of the American Government men sacredly charged with the duty of aiding Filipinos. A man who comes here without sympathy with the Filipinos is misplaced and should return. The Government should have no agents who do not love the Filipinos, who do not welcome association with them, social and official, and who do not make their welfare the chief aim.

Now, it is not always easy to maintain this standard in selecting the personnel of a government, and oftentimes we fail through a subordinate who does not know or care for the nature of our mission in these islands. But you can be sure that though from time to time there seems to be, due to misunderstanding or otherwise, a drawing away from Filipino sympathy and association, that this is but very temporary and due to causes or appearances that will not last. No officer whose heart does not respond to the cry of the Philippines for the Filipinos can hope to win the approval of the Government at Washington or to remain in the islands as one of its representatives.

REMARKS OF SECRETARY TAFT AT A BANQUET GIVEN BY THE PEOPLE OF ILOILO ON
AUGUST 15, 1905.

Governor Mellizia, ladies, and gentlemen, I appreciate to the full the self-sacrifice of my friend, Gen. Wright, in giving up an opportunity to state what he ought to do about the present government. I have had so little speaking to do in the last two weeks that I seize this opportunity to make another. In the first place, as this is the last word which we shall have the pleasure of hearing to the people of Iloilo, I wish to repeat and emphasize our gratitude to them for this manifestation of their good will and hospitality. I have been asked to respond to the toast of "The United States and its relation to this archipelago." Those relations are fixed as definitely as may be by the two rules of action that have been laid down by our Presidents for the government of the United States in its relation to the Philippine Islands. The first is "The Philippines for the Filipinos," and the second is that "We shall extend to the Filipinos self-government as rapidly as the people show themselves fit for it." Now, we established municipal governments with autonomy in those governments; we established municipal governments with elective governors; we established a central government with three Filipino representatives, and we promised that in two years we should give you a popular assembly. Now, what

do these promises mean? Are they promises without limitation? Are they promises without qualification? Are they promises in the making of which we do not have to regard anything that the Filipino people do with regard to the government? Those promises are made on the theory that the Filipino people as a whole are not qualified for self-government now, and that they must go through a process of fitting them for self-government. Now, let us take a practical issue and a practical illustration. We gave to the Province of Samar a municipal autonomous government; we gave to that Province an elective governor. Now, what was the result of that experiment? We found that the municipal presidentes that were elected by the people were unfit to discharge the trust placed upon them; that, in other words, they exercised the power of caciques, and required that the poor people who were selling hemp at a price much too low in order that the presidentes might reap the profit of selling it to the exporting houses. And what was the result? It was that these poor people, who could not get the price that they were entitled to for their hemp, were driven into the mountains to become *insurrectos*, *pulajanes*, and *ladrones*. Now, then, that result shows that the people of Samar were not fit to exercise the power of autonomy in the selection of their municipal officers. A similar result has been found in Isabela, another Province. In the Province of Cavite there is not sufficient public opinion to stamp out *ladronism*, because there is too much sympathy with it. Now, I only use these illustrations to show that when we say that we propose to extend government—municipal, provincial, and central—autonomy in that government, as rapidly as the people of the Philippine Islands show themselves competent to dispose of it. It is a practical question, and not a question of theory, that the orators may dispose of by saying the people are fit for it. We are here to prepare the people for self-government. It is the people—all the people. The trust which we have accepted is a trust with respect to the humblest *tao* as well as the most wealthy man in the Philippine Islands, and therefore it is not for us to assign that trust and relieve ourselves from its obligation by transferring it to a government of the few. We must have a self-governing people before we can turn this government over to them. Now, what makes a self-governing people? It is not the intelligence and the wealth of the few, but it is a body of public opinion of all the people that may control and restrain those who hold office and do the ruling in the government; and therefore, in carrying out the problem that we have in these islands, we begin where? Not at the top, but at the bottom—by the education of the lowest and the humblest. And now, what education do the poorest and the humblest need? They first must have a primary education. They must know how to read and write and figure in arithmetic. Secondly, they must appreciate the dignity of labor. They must know that it is honorable to earn their living by their hands. And, third, they must know their rights, their civil rights, and assert them against the powerful and the rich. Now, the experiment that we are attempting of fitting an oriental and a Malay people for self-government is an experiment never attempted before; but we may know from past example that this will never be a success unless we make the people intelligent, self-respecting, and self-supporting by their own labor. Now, we have heard this evening a very eloquent address on the subject of the aspirations of the Filipinos for independence, for solidarity as a nation, and I accept that as one of the evidences that our experiment may result in success. It is significant if it indicates the pride of the Filipino people in the Filipino people; but if that pride is limited to mere aspiration on the subject, and does not carry those who have it to the assistance of the commonest people to learn how to work, how to live, and how to exercise political privileges, it might as well not exist; and therefore, my dear Filipino friends, you will pardon me for saying that mere discussion, mere political phrases in favor of independence placed some time in the future, are—if I may call them so—mere useless dreams, unless you accompany them with an earnest effort to make your people worthy of independence. I confidently believe that it is possible to teach the great body of the Filipino people that it is honorable to work and that they should work. The Lord has endowed them with a manual dexterity that few people possess. He has given them a country in which the use of that dexterity can produce riches that few people can aspire to. Now, then, that being the case, is it not plainly the duty of all the educated Filipinos, all those who have enjoyed the benefit of wealth, to go down among their people and stir them up to make them a self-governing people and worthy of it, and for a time postpone the dream while you work for real progress?

Now, I might go on and discuss the subject matter which my friend who last spoke considered at great length and in many respects with great force. As Gov. Wright said in Manila the other night, "It is all very well to discuss political institutions; but if you would make a people satisfied, you must fill their stomachs." Now, the American Nation, in discharging what it has regarded as its duty in these islands, has had to meet great obstacles, obstacles which thus far have prevented a prosperity that might have made the American Government much more popular; but it is a long lane that has no turning, and I am very sure that the prosperity is at hand; and I strongly hope that the visit of the congressional delegation to these islands may properly form the basis for a hope that that prosperity will at their hands begin within the next year, for I know that they are men of intelligence and of the deepest sympathy with the Filipino people, and they can not come here and see the condition in which Philippine agriculture is without having their feelings stirred with sympathy and generosity toward these people over whom we have assumed to discharge guardianship.

One of your speakers to-night was kind enough to refer to me as a friend of the Filipino people. I could aspire to no higher title. There is no title which wrings my heart with more joy than that; but the function of a real friend is to tell the truth as he knows it, and, even if its harshness may turn his friends from him for the time, he must act honestly, with the hope that when the truth shall be realized he may again claim the honor of being a friend.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, SECRETARY OF WAR OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 16, 1907.

Gentlemen of the assembly, President Roosevelt has sent me to convey to you and the Filipino people his congratulations upon another step in the enlargement of popular self-government in these islands. I have the greatest personal pleasure in being the bearer of this message. It is intended for each and every member of the assembly, no matter what his views upon the issues which were presented in the late electoral campaign. It assumes that he is loyal to the government in which he now proposes, under oath of allegiance, to take part. It does not assume that he may not have a wish to bring about, either soon or in the far future, by peaceable means, a transfer of sovereignty; but it does assume that while the present government endures he will loyally do all he lawfully can to uphold its authority and to make it useful to the Filipino people.

I am aware that, in view of the issues discussed at the election of this assembly, I am expected to say something regarding the policy of the United States toward these islands. Before attempting any such task it is well to make clear the fact that I can not speak with the authority of one who may control that policy.

The Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United States, and by the Constitution the branch of that Government vested with the power and charged with the duty of making rules and regulations for their government is Congress. The policy to be pursued with respect to them is, therefore, ultimately for Congress to determine. Of course, in the act establishing a government for the Philippine Islands passed by Congress July 1, 1902, wide discretion has been vested in the President to shape affairs in the islands, within the limitations of the act, through the appointment of the governor and the commission, and the power of the Secretary of War to supervise their work and to veto proposed legislation; but not only is the transfer of sovereignty to an independent government of the Filipino people wholly within the jurisdiction of Congress, but so also is the extension of any popular political control in the present government beyond that conferred in the organic act. It is embarrassing, therefore, for me, though I am charged with direct supervision of the islands under the President, to deal in any way with issues relating to their ultimate disposition. It is true that the peculiar development of the government of the islands under American sovereignty has given to the attitude of the President upon such issues rather more significance than in most matters of exclusively congressional cognizance. After the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Paris in April of 1899, and until the organic act of July 1, 1902, Congress acquiesced in the government of the islands by the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy without interference, and when it

passed the organic act it not only confirmed in every respect the anomalous quasi civil government which he had created, but it also made his instructions to the Secretary of War part of its statute, and followed therein his recommendation as to future extension of popular political control. This close adherence of Congress to the views of the Executive in respect to the islands in the past gives ground for ascribing to Congress approval of the Philippine policy, as often declared by President McKinley and President Roosevelt. Still I have no authority to speak for Congress in respect to the ultimate disposition of the islands. I can only express an opinion as one familiar with the circumstances likely to affect Congress, in the light of its previous statutory action.

The avowed policy of the national administration under these two Presidents has been and is to govern the islands, having regard to the interest and welfare of the Filipino people, and by the spread of general primary and industrial education and by practice in partial political control to fit the people themselves to maintain a stable and well-ordered government affording equality of right and opportunity to all citizens. The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As this policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and the Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantage to the islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed.

How long this process of political preparation of the Filipino people is likely to be is a question which no one can certainly answer. When I was in the Islands the last time I ventured the opinion that it would take considerably longer than a generation. I have not changed my view upon this point, but the issue is one upon which opinions differ. However this may be, I believe that the policy of the administration as outlined above is as definite as the policy of any government in a matter of this kind can safely be made. We are engaged in working out a great experiment. No other nation has attempted it, and for us to fix a certain number of years in which the experiment must become a success and be completely realized would be, in my judgment, unwise. As I promised, however, this is a question for settlement by the Congress of the United States.

Our Philippine policy has been subjected to the severest condemnation by critics who occupy points of view as widely apart as the two poles. There are those who say that we have gone too fast, that we have counted on the capacity of the Filipino for political development with a foolish confidence leading to what they regard as the disastrous result of this election. There are others who assert that we have denied the Filipino that which is every man's birth-right—to govern himself—and have been guilty of tyranny and a violation of American principles in not turning the Government over to the people of the islands at once.

With your permission I propose to consider our policy in the light of the events of the six years during which it has been pursued, to array the difficulties of the situation which we have had to meet, and to mention in some detail what has been accomplished.

The civil government was inaugurated in 1901 before the close of a war between the forces of the United States and the controlling elements of the Philippine people. It had sufficient popular support to overawe many of those whose disposition was friendly to the Americans. In various Provinces the war was continued intermittently for a year after the appointment of a civil governor in July, 1901. This was not an auspicious beginning for the organization of a people into a peaceful community acknowledging allegiance to an alien power.

Secondly, there was in the United States a strong minority party that lost no opportunity to denounce the policy of the Government and to express sympathy with those arrayed in arms against it and declared in party platform and in other ways its intention should it come into power to turn the islands over to an independent government of their people. This not only prolonged the war, but when peace finally came it encouraged a sullenness on the part of many Filipinos and a lack of interest in the progress and development of the existing government that were discouraging. It offered the hope of immediate independence at the coming of every national election by the defeat of the administration at the polls. This was not of assistance in carrying out a policy that depended for its working on the political education of the people by their cordial participation, first, in the new municipal and provincial governments, and finally in the election of a national assembly. The result has been

that during the educational process there has been a continuing controversy as to the political capacity of the Filipino people. It has naturally been easy to induce a majority of the electorate to believe that they are now capable of maintaining a stable government. All this has tended to divert the people's attention from the existing government, although their useful participation in that must measure their progress toward fitness for complete autonomy.

The impatience of the popular majority for further power may be somewhat mitigated as the extent of the political control which is placed in the hands of the people increases and as they become more familiar with the responsibilities and the difficulties of actual power. The difference between the attitude of an irresponsible critic who has behind him the easily aroused prejudices of a people against an alien government and that of one who attempts to formulate legislation which shall accomplish a definite purpose for the good of his own people is a healthful lesson for the ambitious statesman to learn.

Other formidable political obstacles had to be overcome. There still remained present in the situation in 1901 the smoldering ashes of the issues which had led the people to rebel against the power of Spain; I mean the prospective continuance of the influence of the regular religious orders in the parochial administration of the Roman Catholic Church in the islands and their ownership of most valuable and extensive agricultural lands in the most populous Provinces. The change of sovereignty to a government which could exercise no control over the church in its selection of its agents made the new régime powerless by act or decree to prevent the return of the friars to the parishes, and yet the people were disposed to hold the Government responsible whenever this was proposed. It would have been fraught with great danger of political disturbance. It was also essential that the religious orders should cease to be agricultural landlords in order to eliminate the agrarian question arising between them and 60,000 tenants which had played so large a part in the previous insurrections against Spain. These results were to be attained without offending or infringing upon the rights of the Roman Catholic Church, the influence of which for good in the islands could not be denied. Other political difficulties attending the transfer of a sovereignty from a government in which the interests of the state and the church were inextricably united to one in which they must be absolutely separated I need not stop to elaborate. The religious and property controversies arising out of the Aglipayan schism and the disturbances caused added much to the burden of the Government.

The novelty of the task for the United States and her people, the lack of the existence of a trained body of colonial administrators and civil servants, the dependence for a time upon men as Government agents who had come out in a spirit of adventure to the islands and some of whom proved not to be fitted either by character or experience for the discharge of responsible public duties, gave additional cause for discouragement.

Another great difficulty in working out our policy in these islands has been the reluctance of capitalists to invest money here. Political privileges, if unaccompanied by opportunities to better their condition, are not likely to produce permanent contentment among a people. Hence the political importance of developing the resources of these islands for the benefit of its inhabitants. This can only be done by attracting capital. Capital must have the prospect of security in the investment and a certain return of profit before it will become available. The constant agitation for independence in the islands, apparently supported by the minority party in the United States, and the well-founded fear that an independent Philippine government now established would not be permanent and stable have made capitalists chary of attempting to develop the natural resources of the islands. The capital which has come has only come reluctantly and on terms less favorable to the public than would have been exacted under other conditions.

Another difficulty of the same character as the last in preventing material progress has been the failure of Congress to open the markets of the United States to the free admission of Philippine sugar and tobacco. In every other way Congress has shown its entire and generous sympathy with the policy of the administration, and in this matter the popular branch of that body passed the requisite bill for the purpose by a large majority. Certain tobacco and sugar interests of the United States, however, succeeded in strangling the measure in the Senate committee. I have good reason for hope that in the next Congress we may be able to secure a compromise measure which shall restore the sugar and tobacco agriculture of the islands to its former prosperity and

at the same time, by limitations upon the amounts of importation, allay the fears of injury on the part of the opponents of the measure. Still, the delay in this much-needed relief has greatly retarded the coming of prosperous times and has much discouraged supporters of our policy in America who have thought this indicated a lack of national purpose to make the present altruistic policy a success.

But the one thing that interfered with material progress in the islands more than all other causes put together was the rinderpest, which carried away from 75 to 80 per cent of the cattle that were absolutely indispensable in cultivating, reaping, and disposing of the agricultural products upon which the islands are wholly dependent. The extent of this terrible disaster can not be exaggerated, and the islands have not yet recovered from it. Attempts to remedy the evil by the importation of cattle from other countries have proved futile, and the islands can not be made whole in this respect except by the natural reproduction of the small fraction of the animals that escaped destruction. This is not a matter of a year, or of two years, or of three years, but a matter of a decade. Then, too, there were in these years surra, locusts, drought, destructive typhoons, cholera, bubonic plague, and smallpox, ladronism and pulajanism. The long period of disturbance, of guerrilla warfare, and unrest which interfered for years with the carrying on of the peaceful arts of agriculture and made it so easy for those who had been used to work in the fields to assume the wild and loose life of predatory bands, claiming to be liberating armies, all made a burden for the community that it was almost impossible for it to bear.

When I consider all these difficulties, which I have rehearsed at too great length, and then take account of the present conditions in the islands it seems to me that they present an occasion for profound satisfaction and that they fully vindicate the policy which has been pursued.

How have we met the difficulties? In the first place, we have carried out with entire fidelity the promises of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt in respect to the gradual extension of political control in the government as the people should show themselves fit. In 1901 the commission adopted the Municipal Code, which vested complete autonomy in the adult male citizens of every municipality in the islands except that of Manila, which, for special reasons, like those which have prevailed with respect to the government of the city of Washington, was preserved for control by the central government. The electorate was limited to those who could speak English or Spanish, or who paid a tax of ₱15 a year, or who had filled municipal office under the Spanish régime, and did not exceed 20 per cent of the total adult males of the population. Very shortly after this a form of provincial government was established in which the legislative and executive control of the Province was largely vested in a provincial board consisting of a governor and treasurer and supervisor. Provision was made for the election of a governor and the appointment under civil-service rules of a treasurer and supervisor. Subsequently it was found that the government was too expensive and the office of supervisor was finally abolished, and after some four years the board was made to consist of a governor and treasurer, and a third member elected as the governor was, thus effecting popular autonomy in the provincial governments. And now comes the assembly.

It is said by one set of critics, to whom I have already referred, that the franchise is the last privilege that ought to be granted in the development of a people into a self-governing community, and that we have put this into the hands of the Filipinos before they have shown themselves to be industrially and in other ways capable of exercising the self-restraint and conservatism of action which are essential to political stability. I can not agree with this view. The best political education is practice in the exercise of political power, unless the subject is so ignorant as to be wholly blind to his own interests. Hence the exercise of a franchise which is conferred only on those who have qualifications of education or property that prove intelligence and substance is likely to teach the electorate useful political lessons. The electorate under the Philippine law are sufficiently alive to their own interests to make the exercise of political power a useful training for them, while the power to be exercised is subject to such limitation as not to be dangerous to the community. More than this, the granting of the franchise was most useful in producing tranquility among the people. The policy has been vindicated by the fact.

The importance of the agency of the Army of the United States in suppressing insurrection I would not minimize in the least; but all who remember clearly the succession of events from 1901 to 1903 will admit that the return to peace and the acquiescence of the Filipino people in American sovereignty were

greatly influenced and aided by the prospect held out to the Filipinos of participation in the government of the islands and a gradual extension of popular self-control. Without this and the confidence of the Filipino people in the good purposes of the United States and the patience with which they endured their many burdens that fate seemed to increase the progress which has been achieved would have been impossible.

Let us consider in some detail what progress has been made:

First. To repeat what I have said, the islands are in a state of tranquillity. On this very day of the opening of the National Assembly, there has never been a time in the history of the islands when peace and good order have prevailed more generally. The difficulties presented by the controversies arising with and concerning the Roman Catholic Church have either been completely settled or are in process of satisfactory adjustment on a basis of justice and equity.

Second. Most noteworthy progress has been made in the spread of general education. One of the obstacles to the development of this people, speaking half a dozen or more different native dialects, was a lack of a common language which would furnish a medium of sympathetic touch with modern thought and civilization. The dense ignorance of a very large proportion of the people emphasized the necessity for a general educational system. English was the language of the sovereign power, English was the business language of the Orient, English was the language in which was thought and written the history of free institutions and popular government, and English was the language to which the common people turned with eagerness to learn. A system of education was built up, and to-day upward of half a million children are being taught to read, write, and recite English. It is not an exaggeration to assert that now more native Filipinos speak English than Spanish, although Spanish was the language of the ruling race in these islands for more than 250 years. English is not so beautiful as the Spanish language, but it is more likely to prove of use to the Filipinos for the reasons I have given. The strongest basis for our confidence in the future of the Filipino people is the eagerness with which the opportunities extended for education in English have been seized by the poor and ignorant parents of these islands for their children. It is alike pathetic and encouraging.

I am not one of those who believe that much of the public money should be expended here for university or advanced education. Perhaps one institution merely to form a type of higher education may be established at Manila or at some other suitable place in the islands, and special schools to develop needed scientific professions may be useful, but the great part of the public funds expended for education should be used in the spread of primary education and of industrial education—that education which shall fit young men to be good farmers, good mechanics, good skilled laborers, and shall teach them the dignity of labor and that it is no disgrace for the son of a good family to learn his trade and earn his livelihood by it. The higher education is well for those who can use it to advantage, but it too often fits a man to do things for which there is no demand, and unfits him for work which there are too few to do. The enlargement of opportunity for higher education may well await private beneficence or be postponed to a period when the calls upon the island treasury for other more important improvements have ceased. We have laid the foundation of a primary and industrial educational system here which, if the same spirit continues in the Government, will prove to be the most lasting benefit which has been conferred on these islands by Americans.

Third. We have introduced here a health department which is gradually teaching the people the necessity for sanitation. In the years to come, when the great discoveries of the world are recited, that which will appear to have played as large a part as any in the world's progress in the current hundred years will be the discovery of proper sanitary methods for avoiding disease in the Tropics. The introduction of such methods, the gradual teaching of the people the simple facts affecting hygiene, unpopular and difficult as the process of education has been, will prove to be another one of the great benefits given by Americans to this people.

The efforts of the Government have not been confined to preserving the health of the human inhabitants of these islands, but have been properly extended to doing what can be done in the matter of the health of the domestic animals which is so indispensable to the material progress of the islands. The destruction by rinderpest, by surra, and by other diseases to which cattle and horses are subject, I have already dwelt upon. Most earnest attention has been given by men of the highest scientific attainment to securing some remedy which will

make such widespread disasters in the future impossible. Much time and effort and money have been spent and much has been accomplished in this matter. The people are being educated in the necessity for care of their cattle and for inviting in public aid at once when the dread rinderpest shows its presence. Serums have been discovered that have been effective to immunize cattle, and while the disease has not disappeared, it is not too much to say that such an epidemic as that which visited the islands in 1900, 1901, and 1902 is impossible.

Fourth. A judicial system has been established in the islands which has taught the Filipinos the possibility of the independence of a judiciary. This must be of enduring good to the people of the islands. The personnel of the judges is divided between Americans and Filipinos, both for the purpose of aiding the Americans to learn and administer civil law and of enabling the Filipinos to learn and administer justice according to a system prevailing in a country where the judiciary is absolutely independent of the executive or legislative branches of the Government. Charges have been made that individual judges and particular courts have not been free from executive control and have not been without prejudices arising from the race of the particular judge who sat in the court, but on the whole an impartial review of the six years' history of the administration of justice will show that the system has been productive of the greatest good and that right has been sustained without fear or favor. It is entirely natural that a system which departs from the principles of that in which one has been educated should at times attract his severe animadversion, and as the system here administered partakes of two systems it is subject to the criticism of those trained in each.

Another agency in the administration of justice has been the constabulary. When I was here something more than two years ago the complaints against that body were numerous, emphatic, and bitter. I promised, on behalf of the Philippine Government and the Washington administration, that close investigation should be made into the complaints and that if there was occasion for reform, that reform would be carried out. It gratifies me on my return to the islands now to learn that a change has come, that the complaints against the constabulary have entirely ceased, and that it is now conceded to be discharging with efficiency the function which it was chiefly created to perform, of sympathetically aiding the provincial governors and municipal authorities of the islands in maintaining the peace of each Province and each municipality, and that there is a thorough spirit of cooperation between the officers and men of the constabulary and the local authorities.

In respect to the administration of justice by justices of the peace, reforms have been effected, but I am not sure that there is not still great room for improvement. This is one of the things that come home close to the people of the country and is a subject that will doubtless address itself to the wise action and consideration of the national assembly.

Fifth. We come to the matter of public improvements. The port of Manila has been made into a harbor which is now as secure as any in the Orient, and which, with the docking facilities that are now being rapidly constructed, will be as convenient and as free from charge and burden as any along the Asiatic coast. The improvements in Iloilo and Cebu Harbors, the other two important ports of the islands, are also rapidly progressing. Road building has proceeded in the islands, both at the instance of the central Government and through the agency of the Provinces. The difficulties of road building and road maintaining in the Philippines are little understood by those not familiar with the difficulty of securing proper material to resist the enormous wear and tear caused by the torrential downpours of the rainy season. Progress in this direction must necessarily be gradual, for the islands are a poor country, comparatively speaking, and roads are expensive.

Early in the history of the islands we began the construction of a road from Pangasinan to the mountains of Benguet in order to bring within the reach of the people of the islands that healthful region where the thermometer varies from 40° to 80°, and in which all the diseases of the Tropics are much more easily subject to cure than in the lowlands. Had it been supposed that the road thus to be constructed would involve an expense of nearly \$2,000,000, the work would not have been begun; but, now that the road has been constructed, I would not undo what has been done even if it were possible. As time progresses the whole Province of Benguet will be settled; there will be made the home of many educational institutions, of many sanitariums, and there will go, as transportation becomes cheaper, the Filipino people to obtain a change

of air and acquire a renewed strength that is given to tropical peoples by a visit to the Temperate Zone.

When the Americans came to the islands there was one railroad 120 miles long, and that was all. In spite of circumstances, which I have already detailed, making capital reluctant to come here, contracts have now been entered into, that are in the course of fulfillment, which in five years will give to the islands a railroad mileage of 1,000 miles. The construction of these roads will involve the investment of twenty to thirty millions of dollars, and that in itself means an added prosperity to the country, additional demands for labor, and the quickening of all the nerves of trade. When the work is finished, it means a great additional profit to agriculture, a very great enlargement of the export capacity of the islands, and a substantial elevation of the material condition of the people.

In the matter of municipal improvements, which directly concern the people, that which has taken place in Manila is most prominent. The improvement of the streets, the introduction of a satisfactory street railway system 35 miles in length, the improvement of the general appearance of the city and its hygienic condition, the construction of new waterworks and a new sewage system, all strike one who knew the city in 1900. The improvements of other municipalities in the islands have not kept pace with those in Manila and, of course, they were not so imperatively needed; but the epidemics of cholera and plague and smallpox which have prevailed have convinced those in authority of the necessity of bettering the water supply of all municipalities and for improving this by the sinking of artesian wells and other means, so that bad water, that frightful source of the transmission of disease, should be reduced to a minimum.

The government now maintains and operates a more complete system of posts, telephones, and telegraphs than ever before in the history of the islands. Seventy-five per cent of the 652 municipalities now established in these islands have post offices, in 235 of which there are now opened for business postal savings banks. The telegraph or telephone now connects all of the provincial capitals with Manila, and more than 90 offices are now open for business. Appropriation has been made to provide for a system of rural free delivery. In less than one year of operation the postal savings bank has deposits exceeding ₱600,000, and the number of Filipino depositors now exceeds 1,000, and the proportion of their deposits is steadily increasing.

Sixth. We have inaugurated a civil-service law for the selection of civil servants upon the merit system. On the whole it has worked well. It has grown with our experience and has improved with the disclosure of its defects.

One of the burning questions which constantly presents itself in respect to the civil service of a government like this is, How far it shall be American and how far Filipino? In the outset it was essential that most of the civil servants of the government should be Americans. The government was English speaking, and the practical difficulty of having subordinates who did not speak that language prevented large employment of Filipinos. Then their lack of knowledge of their American governmental and business methods had the same tendency. The avowed policy of the government has been to employ Filipinos wherever, as between them and Americans, the Filipinos can do equally good work. This has given rise to frequent and bitter criticism, because it has been improperly assumed that every time there has been a vacancy it could be filled by a Filipino. There are two great advantages in the employment of Filipinos—one is that this is the government of the Filipinos and they ought to be employed where they can be, and the other is that their employment is a matter of economy for the government, because they are able to live more cheaply and economically in the islands than Americans and so can afford to receive less salary. There has therefore been a constant reduction of American employees and an increase of Filipinos. This has not been without its disadvantage, because it makes competent American employees feel an uncertainty of tenure and materially affects their hope of promotion and their interest in the government of which they are a part. This disadvantage I believe can be largely obviated.

There are many American civil servants in this government who have rendered most loyal, difficult, and efficient service, in season and out of season, through plague and epidemic, in sickness and in health, in full sympathy with the purposes and policy of the government. Without them our government would have been a complete failure. They will never receive adequate reward. Their interest in their work has prevented their return to their native land, where the same energy and efficiency would have earned them large return.

They are most valuable public servants who have done a work that, had they done it in the English colonial service or at home, would have been certain to secure to them a permanent salary and entire freedom from anxiety as to the future. I would be glad to see adopted a system of permanent tenure and retirement on pensions for the small and higher classes of civil employees. Their continuance in the government indefinitely is a public necessity. I sincerely hope the Philippine Assembly will exhibit a spirit of justice and public interest to the point of concurring in such a measure even though this, at present, will be of benefit to more Americans than Filipinos.

Seventh. In the progress which has been made I should mention the land system, the provision for homestead settlement, for free patents, and for perfecting of imperfect titles by land registration. The homestead settlements under the law were very few for several years, but I am delighted to learn that during 1907 they reached 4,000 and the free patents applied for were 10,600. It is probable that the machinery for land registration, though necessary, is too expensive, and it will be for you to decide whether, in view of the great public benefit that good land titles will bring to the country, it may not be wise to reduce the cost of registration to the landowner and charge the expense to the government. Capital will not be advanced to the farmer unless his title is good, and the great benefit of an agricultural bank can never be realized until the registration of titles is greatly increased.

This naturally brings me to the subject of the agricultural bank. After much effort Congress was induced to pass an act which authorizes the Philippine government to invite the organization of such a bank with private capital by guaranteeing an annual income of a certain percentage on the capital invested for 30 years. Negotiations have been opened and are pending with some American capitalists in the hope of securing the establishment of such a bank.

The condition of agriculture in the islands while generally much improved in the last three years is still unsatisfactory in many parts of the islands, due not only to the continued scarcity of cattle, but also to the destructive effect of the typhoon of 1905 upon the hemp culture. This has properly led to the suspension of the land tax for another year and the meeting of half the deficit in provincial and municipal treasuries thus produced out of the central treasury.

The production of rice has, however, materially increased. It is also a source of satisfaction to note that the exports from the islands, which are wholly agricultural, are larger in value by half a million gold dollars than ever in the history of the islands. One of the chief duties of this assembly is to devote its attention and practical knowledge to measures for the relief of agriculture.

Eighth. The financial condition of the Philippine Government is quite satisfactory, and so, too, is the state of the money and currency of the islands. There is a bonded indebtedness for the purchase of the friar lands amounting to \$7,000,000, for the waterworks and sewerage of Manila of \$4,000,000, and for public works amounting to \$3,500,000. Sinking funds have been established for all of these. The price paid for the friar lands was a round one and may result, after the lands are disposed of, in some net pecuniary loss to the government, but the political benefit of the purchase was a full justification. The lands will be disposed of to the tenants as rapidly as the public interest will permit. The only other permanent obligation of the government is the contingent liability on the guaranty of interest for 30 years on the bonds issued to construct 300 miles of railroad in the Visayas. We may reasonably hope that this obligation will soon reduce itself to nothing when the roads come into successful operation. The Governor General reports to me that the budget for 1908 will show an income and surplus from last year, without any land tax, from which it will be possible to pay all the interest on the bonds and guaranties, all the insular expenses, the proper part of the expenses of Manila, \$2,000,000 in permanent improvements, and still have on hand for contingencies \$1,000,000. I am further advised that the condition of most of the Provinces is excellent in respect to income and surplus.

It has been necessary to reduce the silver in the Philippine peso to keep its intrinsic value within the value of 50 cents gold, at which it is the duty of the government to maintain it, and this change is being rapidly carried through without much difficulty. The benefit to the people, and especially the poorer and working classes, in the establishment of the gold standard is very great. It eliminates a gambling feature from the business of the islands that always worked for the detriment of the Philippine people. We are just carrying through a settlement with the Spanish-Filipino Bank which I hope will provide

a means of safely adding to the currency of the country and increasing its elasticity.

In recounting these various evidences of progress in the last six years I am not unmindful that the business of the islands is still far from prosperous. Indeed, it is noteworthy that so much progress has been made in the face of continued business depression due to the various causes I have elsewhere enumerated; but it is a long lane that has no turning, and I look forward to the next decade in the history of the islands as one which will be as prosperous as this one has been the reverse. Business is reviving, the investment of foreign capital is gradually increasing, and only one thing is needed to insure great material improvement, and that is the continuance of conservatism in this government. I feel confident that the inauguration of this assembly, instead of ending this conservatism, as the prophets of evil would have it, will strengthen it.

Before discussing the assembly, I wish to give attention to one report that has been spread to the four corners of the globe, and which, if credited, might have a pernicious effect in these islands. I refer to the statement that the American Government is about to sell the islands to some Asiatic or European power. Those who credit such a report little understand the motives which actuated the American people in accepting the burden of this government. The majority of the American people are still in favor of carrying out our Philippine policy as a great altruistic work. They have no selfish object to secure. There might be a grim and temporary satisfaction to those of us who have been subjected to severe criticism for our alleged lack of liberality toward the Filipino people and of sympathy with their aspirations, in witnessing the rigid governmental control which would be exercised over the people of the islands under the colonial policy of any one of the powers to whom it is suggested that we are about to sell them; but that would not excuse or justify the gross violation, by such a sale, of the implied obligation which we have entered into with the Filipino people. That obligation presents only two alternatives for us—one is a permanent maintenance of a popular government of law and order under American control, and the other a parting with such control to the people of the islands themselves after they have become fitted to maintain a government in which the right of all the inhabitants to life, liberty, and property shall be secure. I do not hesitate to pronounce the report that the Government contemplates the transfer of these islands to any foreign power as utterly without foundation. It has never entered the mind of a single person in the Government responsible for the administration. Such a sale must be the subject of a treaty, and the treaty power in the Government of the United States is exercised by the President and the Senate, and only upon the initiative of the President. Hence an Executive declaration upon this subject is more authoritative than an Executive opinion as to probable congressional action.

Coming now to the real occasion of this celebration, the installation of the national assembly, I wish, for purposes of clearness, to read the section of the organic act under which this assembly has been elected:

“That two years after the completion and publication of the census, in case such condition of general and complete peace with recognition of the authority of the United States shall have continued in the territory of said islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes, and such facts shall have been certified to the President by the Philippine Commission, the President upon being satisfied thereof shall direct said commission to call, and the commission shall call, a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly of the people of said territory in the Philippine Islands, which shall be known as the Philippine Assembly. After said assembly shall have convened and organized, all the legislative power heretofore conferred on the Philippine Commission in all that part of said islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes shall be vested in a legislature consisting of two houses—the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly. Said assembly shall consist of not less than 50 nor more than 100 members, to be apportioned by said commission among the Provinces as nearly as practicable according to population: *Provided*, That no Province shall have less than one member: *And provided further*, That Provinces entitled by population to more than one member may be divided into such convenient districts as the said commission may deem best.

“Public notice of such division shall be given at least 90 days prior to such election, and the elections shall be held under rules and regulations to be prescribed by law. The qualification of electors in such election shall be the same

as is now provided by law in case of electors in municipal elections. The members of assembly shall hold office for two years from the 1st day of January next following their election, and their successors shall be chosen by the people every second year thereafter. No person shall be eligible to such election who is not a qualified elector of the election district in which he may be chosen, owing allegiance to the United States, and 25 years of age.

"The legislature shall hold annual sessions, commencing on the first Monday of February in each year and continuing not exceeding 90 days thereafter (Sundays and holidays not included): *Provided*, That the first meeting of the legislature shall be held upon the call of the governor within 90 days after the first election: *And provided further*, That if at the termination of any session the appropriations necessary for the support of the government shall not have been made, an amount equal to the sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills for such purposes shall be deemed to be appropriated; and until the legislature shall act in such behalf the treasurer may, with the advice of the governor, make the payments necessary for the purposes aforesaid.

"The legislature may be called in special session at any time by the civil governor for general legislation, or for action on such specific subjects as he may designate. No special session shall continue longer than 30 days, exclusive of Sundays.

"The assembly shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members. A majority shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members. It shall choose its speaker and other officers, and the salaries of its members and officers shall be fixed by law. It may determine the rule of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member. It shall keep a journal of its proceedings, which shall be published, and the yeas and nays of the members on any question shall, on the demand of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal."

I can well remember when that section was drafted in the private office of Mr. Root in his house in Washington. Only he and I were present. I urged the wisdom of the concession and he yielded to my arguments and the section as then drafted differed but little from the form it has to-day. It was embodied in a bill presented to the House and passed by the House, was considered by the Senate, was stricken out in the Senate, and was only restored after a conference, the Senators in the conference consenting to its insertion with great reluctance. I had urged its adoption upon both committees, and, as the then governor of the islands, had to assume a responsibility as guarantor in respect to it which I have never sought to disavow. I believe that it is a step and a logical step in the carrying out of the policy announced by President McKinley, and that it is not too radical in the interest of the people of the Philippine Islands. Its effect is to give to a representative body of the Filipinos a right to initiate legislation, to modify, amend, shape, or defeat legislation proposed by the commission. The power to obstruct by withholding appropriations is taken away from the assembly, because if there is not an agreement as to appropriations between the commission and the assembly, then the appropriations of the previous year will be continued; but the power with this exception, absolutely to veto all legislation and initiate and shape proposed laws is a most substantial one. The concurrence of the assembly in useful legislation can not but command popular support for its enforcement; the discussion in the assembly and its attitude must be informing to the executive and to the other branch of the legislature, the commission, of what are the desires of the people. The discharge of the functions of the assembly must give to the chosen representatives of the Philippine electorate a most valuable education in the responsibilities and difficulties of practical government. It will put them where they must investigate not only the theoretical wisdom of proposed measures, but also the question whether they can be practically enforced and whether, where expense is involved, they are of sufficient value to justify the imposition of a financial burden upon the people to carry them out. It will bring the members of the assembly as representatives of the people into close relation with the executive, who will be most anxious to preserve a harmony essential to efficient government and progressive, useful measures of reform.

Critics who do not sympathize with our Philippine policy, together with those who were reluctant to grant this measure of a legislative assembly to the Philippine people at this time, have not been slow to comment on the result of the election as an indication that we are going too fast. I differ entirely from the

view of these critics as to the result of this election and the inferences to be drawn from it.

The small total vote as compared with the probable number of the total electorate shows that a considerable majority of those entitled to vote did not exercise the privilege. This indicates either an indifference or a timidity that we would not find in a people more used to the wielding of political power; but it affords no reason for supposing that as the assembly proves its usefulness and important power, the ratio of votes to the total electorate will not rapidly increase.

The election was held without disturbance. In many districts there were bitter controversies, but the complaints of fraud, violence, or bribery are insignificant. Although the Government was supposed to favor one party, and was subject to much criticism in the campaign, no one has been heard to say that the power of the Executive was exerted in any way improperly to influence the election. This furnishes a good object lesson.

A popular majority of those who exercise the franchise have voted for representatives announcing a desire for the immediate separation of the islands from the United States. This majority is a small one when the returns are carefully considered and is much less than the ratio between the party representatives in the assembly would lead one to suppose. However, assuming a decided majority for immediate independence, the result is one which I thought possible even while I was urging the creation of the assembly. It is not a disappointment. If it indicated that a majority of the representatives elected by the people were a body of irreconcilables determined to do nothing but obstruct the present Government, it would indeed be discouraging; but I am confident from what I know and hear of the gentlemen who have been elected, that while many of them differ with me as to the time in which the people of the islands will become fit for complete self-government, most of them have an earnest desire that this Government shall be carried on in the interests of the people of the Philippines and for their benefit, and shall be made for that purpose as effective as possible. They are thus generally conservative. Those whose sole aim is to hold up the Government to execration, to win away the sympathy of the people in order to promote disturbance and violence, have no proper place in this assembly. Had the Filipino people sent such a majority, then I should have to admit that the granting of the assembly was a mistake and that Congress must abolish it.

It has been reported in the islands that I was coming here for the purpose of expressing, in bitter and threatening words, my disappointment at the result of the election. Nothing could be further from my purpose, nothing could be less truly descriptive of my condition of mind. I am here, filled with a spirit of friendship and encouragement for these members, who now enter upon a new field in which they have much to learn, but where everything can be learned and this duty most efficiently discharged if they are led by an earnest desire to assist and guide the Government in aiding the people. I have no right to appeal to the members of this assembly to conduct themselves in the discharge of their high duties in a manner to vindicate me in the responsibility I assumed in urging Congress to establish this assembly, because they should find a stronger reason for so doing in their sworn duty; but it is not inappropriate for me to touch on this personal feature of the situation, because my attitude has been misconstrued and my sympathetic interest in, and hope for, the success and usefulness of this national assembly have not been properly stated.

I venture to point out a number of things that you will learn in the course of your legislative experience. One is that the real object of a legislature is to formulate specific laws to accomplish specific purposes and reforms and to suppress specific evils; that he makes a useful speech who studies the question which he discusses and acquires and imparts practical information by which the remedies offered can be seen to be applicable to the evil complained of; that the office of a legislator for a great country like this is one that can be discharged conscientiously only by the use of great labor, careful, painstaking investigation, and hard work in the preparation of proposed measures. One of the most necessary traits in a successful legislator or executive is patience. Where the sudden change in that which is regarded as a wrong system may paralyze a necessary arm of the government, ways and means must be devised to bring about the change gradually. There will be a temptation to take up measures which will invite the support of popular prejudice rather than measures which will really accomplish good for the body politic. Such a temptation exists in older legislative bodies than this, and we can not hope that it will be

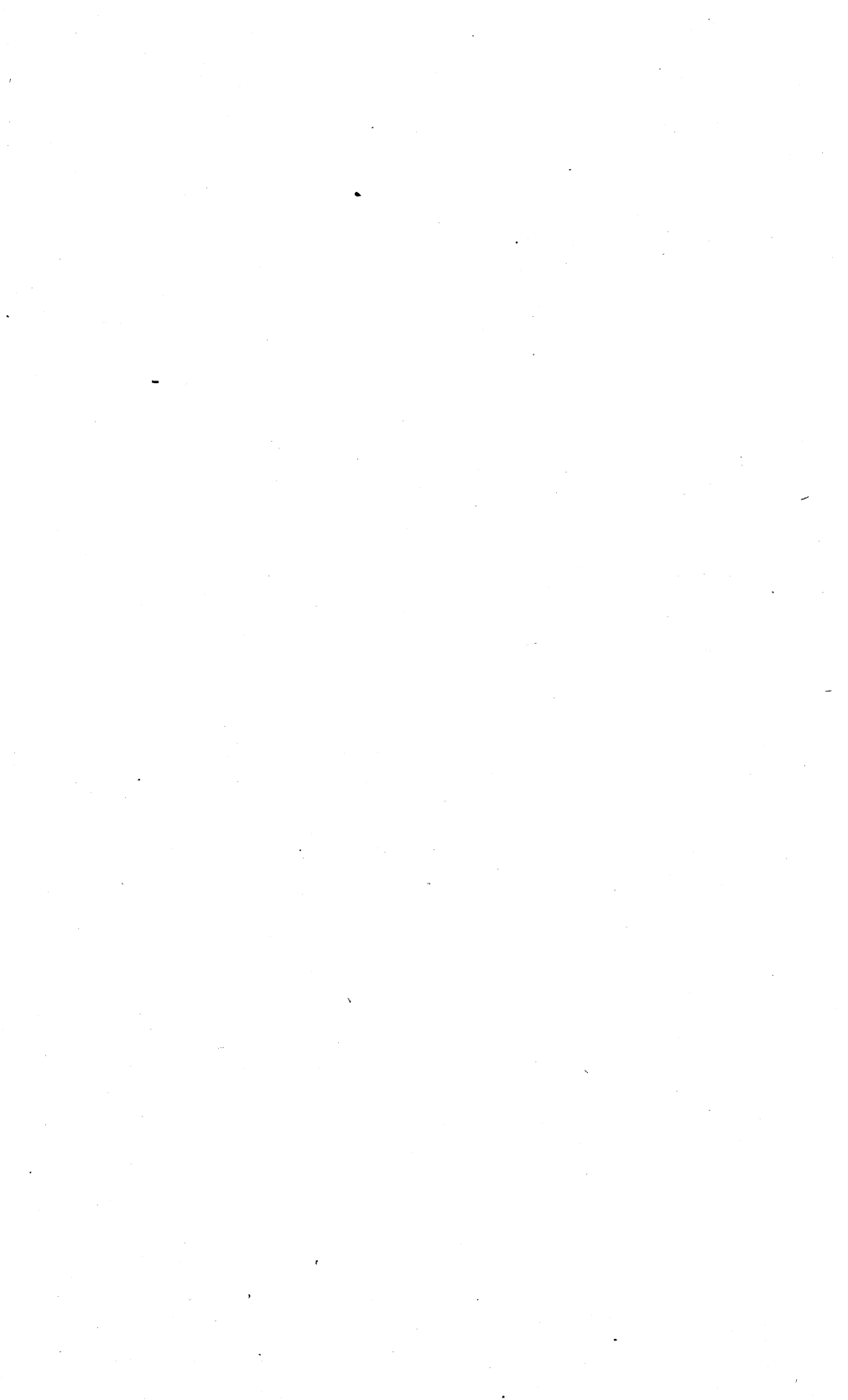
absent from here; but in the end the man who exerts the most influence in this body and among the people will be the man who devotes most conscientiously his time to acquiring the information upon which legislation should be based and in explaining it to his colleagues and his people. The man who is seeking to put his adversary or the government in an embarrassing situation may win temporary triumph, but the man who himself feels responsibility of government, and who, while not concealing or failing to state the evils which he considers to exist in the government, is using every effort to reform those evils will ultimately be regarded as the benefactor of his country.

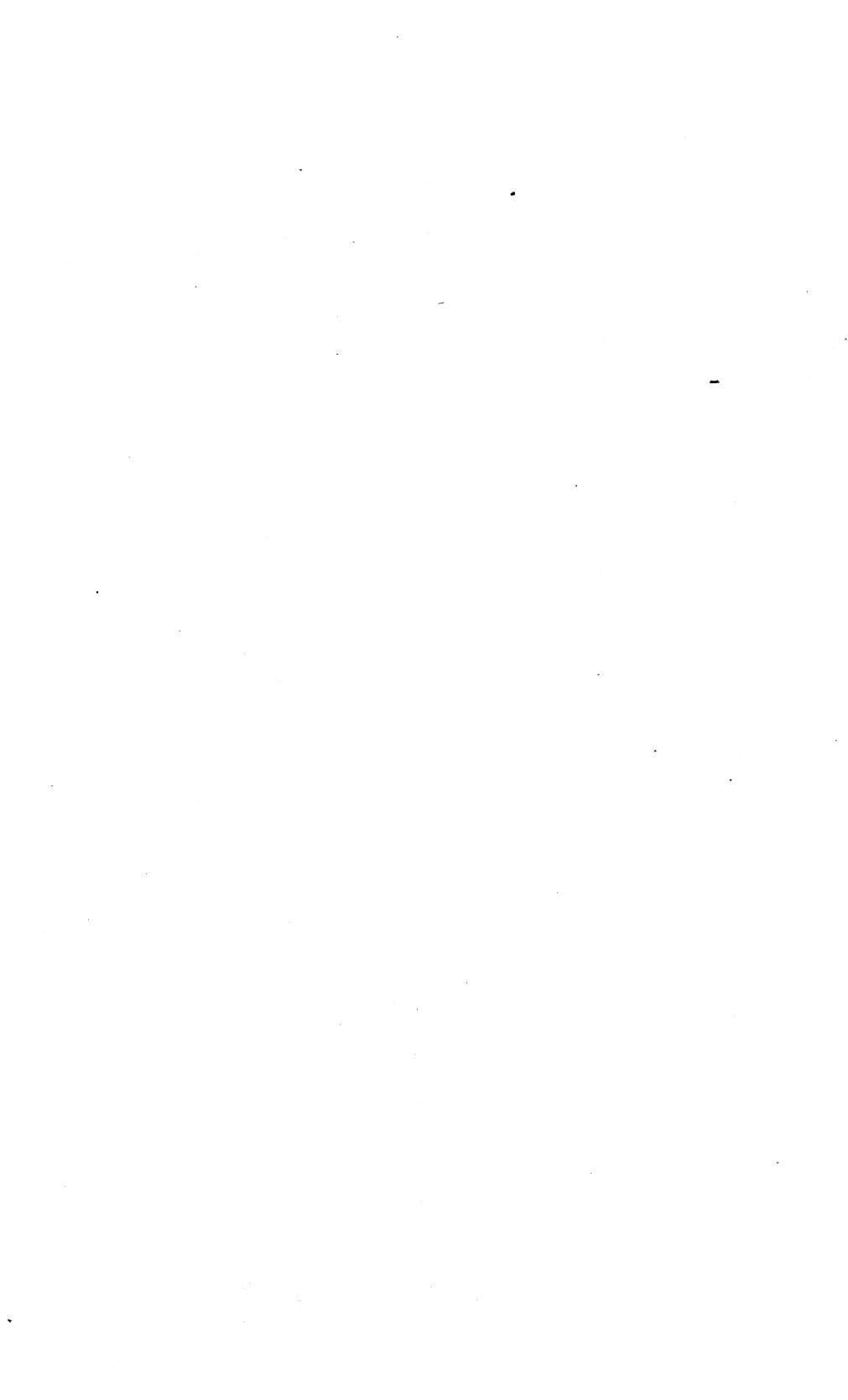
I have not the time and doubtless not the information which would justify me in pointing out to the assembly the various subjects-matter to which they may profitably devote their attention with a view to the formulation of useful legislation. They will properly feel called upon to devote their attention to public economy in the matter of the numerous governmental bureaus which have been made the subject of criticism. It is quite possible that they may find in their investigations into these matters reasons for cutting off officers and bureaus, but I sincerely hope that no such effort will be made until a full investigation is had into the utility of the functions which the bureau performs and the possibility of dispensing with them. I can remember that while I was governor there was much outcry against the extravagance of maintaining certain bureaus which in subsequent crises in the public welfare proved their great usefulness beyond cavil. Of course we shall encounter in this investigation and discussion a radical difference between legislators and others as to the function which a government in these islands ought to perform. It is entirely easy to run an economical government if all that you do is to maintain order and if no steps are taken to promote health, to promote education, and to promote the general welfare of the inhabitants. It is of course the object of the person charged with the duty of governing a country to reach the golden mien—that is, to make governmental provisions for the welfare of the people without imposing too great a tax burden for the purpose. The taxes in this country are imposed partly by the legislature and partly by Congress. The former will constantly have your attention. In so far as the welfare of the country is affected by the latter, to wit, the customs duties, and can be improved by a change of them, it would be wise for the legislature to devote much time and thought to recommendations to Congress as to how they should be changed, for I doubt not that Congress will be willing and anxious to take such steps as may commend themselves to the people of the islands in the matter of adjustment of duties, having regard to the raising of sufficient revenue on the one hand and to as little interference with useful freedom of trade as possible on the other.

As you shall conduct your proceedings and shape your legislation on patriotic, intelligent, conservative, and useful lines, you will show more emphatically than in any other way your right and capacity to take part in the government and the wisdom of granting to your assembly and to people that elected you more power. There are still many possible intervals or steps between the power you now exercise and complete autonomy. Will this assembly and its successors manifest such an interest in the welfare of the people and such clear-headed comprehension of their sworn duty as to call for a greater extension of political power to this body and to the people whose representative it is? Or shall it by neglect, obstruction, and absence of useful service make it necessary to take away its existing powers on the ground that they have been prematurely granted? Upon you falls this heavy responsibility. I am assured that you will meet it with earnestness, courage, and credit.

In closing I can only renew my congratulations upon the auspicious beginning of your legislative life in a fair election, and to express to you my heartfelt sympathy in the work which you are about to undertake, and my confidence that you will justify in what you do and do not do the recommendations of those who are responsible for that section in the organic act that has given life to this assembly.

(Thereupon at 1 o'clock p. m. the committee adjourned until Tuesday, January 5, 1915, at 10 o'clock a. m.)





GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES
UNITED STATES SENATE**

SIXTY-THIRD CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. R. 18459

AN ACT TO DECLARE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS
OF THE PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
AND TO PROVIDE A MORE AUTONOMOUS
GOVERNMENT FOR THE ISLANDS

JANUARY 5, 1915

PART 6



COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES.

GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK, Nebraska, *Chairman.*

DUNCAN U. FLETCHER, Florida.

JAMES A. REED, Missouri.

HARRY LANE, Oregon.

WILLARD SAULSBURY, Delaware.

JOSEPH E. RANDELL, Louisiana.

JOHN F. SHAFROTH, Colorado.

JOHNSON N. CAMDEN, Kentucky.

JOSEPH L. BRISTOW, Kansas.

COE I. CRAWFORD, South Dakota.

GEORGE P. MCLEAN, Connecticut.

HENRY F. LIPPITT, Rhode Island.

WILLIAM S. KENYON, Iowa.

JOHN W. WEEKS, Massachusetts.

WILLARD D. EAKIN, *Clerk.*

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1915.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE PHILIPPINES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee assembled at 10 o'clock a. m.
Present: Senators Hitchcock (chairman), Crawford, McLean, Lippitt, Kenyon, Weeks, and Camden.

STATEMENT OF MR. MARTIN EGAN, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please give your full name, Mr. Egan?
Mr. EGAN. Martin Egan.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you kindly state your experience in the Philippine Islands, when it began and what it consisted of, and your connection with matters there?

Mr. EGAN. I went first to the Philippines in the spring of 1898 as a newspaper correspondent, and remained there throughout that year. I returned to the Orient, also as a correspondent, for the Boxer revolution in 1900, and again to the Philippines for the close of the Philippine insurrection, remaining there during 1902 and 1903, and returned again to the Orient for the war between Japan and Russia, which lasted nearly two years, 1904-5. I returned again to the Philippines when Mr. Taft went out to inaugurate the assembly, and the following year became editor of a Manila paper and continued for five years in that capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. What paper were you connected with?

Mr. EGAN. The Manila Times.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you still interested in that paper?

Mr. EGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And when did you leave the Philippines finally?

Mr. EGAN. At the end of January, 1913.

The CHAIRMAN. Please tell the committee what changes you have particularly noticed in the character of the people, the state of society there, the progress, if any, that has been made, and the direction of it, etc.

Mr. EGAN. Senator, that has a rather difficult and extended scope. An accurate conclusion as to conditions in the Philippines in the spring of 1898 would probably be impossible for me to give, because the country was in a state of war. The islanders had been warring against Spain, beginning in 1896, and while a state of tranquillity had existed there for some 12 or 14 months, perhaps, war was immediately precipitated by the outbreak of hostilities between the

United States and Spain, and the Provinces of central Luzon, which was the portion I was in, were overrun by troops. The Spanish garrisons made a series of stands, and were gradually overwhelmed. We, upon our part, confined our operations to a stretch on the beach, south of Manila, in the Province of Cavite, and Commodore Dewey's squadron blockaded the harbor. Even that type of warfare was exceedingly destructive, and it seems to me that the man who examined the country at that time did not get what you would call a fair estimate of its normal conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. You were out there again with Mr. Taft when he was governor?

Mr. EGAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was in what year?

Mr. EGAN. I can not give you the years that Mr. Taft served as governor, but he was governor through all of my stay in the years 1902 and 1903.

The CHAIRMAN. You had an opportunity then to observe the Philippine people, did you not?

Mr. EGAN. Peace was gradually being restored, the people were becoming reconciled, and civil government was gradually being extended. Of course a very great change had taken place, but when you dig into the underlying economic conditions at that time you will find some conditions and events which still manifest themselves. For instance, in those years came the spread of animal diseases—rinderpest and surra—which killed the great bulk of the cattle, the farm animals, and the first great cholera epidemic under the American régime came in those years. They suffered there for a great many years as a result of those losses of animals; and that condition, in certain Provinces, still maintains itself. But, of course, in general response to your question, there was a very considerable change for the better in conditions generally.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, between your first and second visits?

Mr. EGAN. Oh, yes, sir; a very considerable change.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, coming down to 1913, when you were there last, can you give the committee an idea whether the change in that intervening 12 years has been such as to give promise of an early fitness for self-government?

Mr. EGAN. There, again, any answer would have to be more or less in the nature of a very extended one.

Economically, from my viewpoint, the greatest thing that happened to the Philippine Islands in my time was the enactment of free-trade arrangements between the United States and the islands in 1909. Roughly speaking, while this process of general improvement had been going on we had taken to the islands our standards of life, and they raised the cost of practically everything there. We had at the same time shut the Filipinos in, speaking very generally, shutting them in with a tariff wall, shutting out labor, denying the Filipinos an opportunity to compete on even terms with their neighbors, and the islands suffered under that treatment for a considerable period of time. The only opportunity they had was in trade with us, and when that opportunity came it gave the islands a great impetus. You will recall that under the old tariff bill the preference was a small one. I think it was only 25 per cent, and the effect on the trade of the islands was slight. Under the new bill, whatever

was its title—I suppose it was the Payne-Aldrich bill—the effect was very extraordinary.

Senator LIPPITT. Was there any preference at all under the Dingley bill?

Mr. EGAN. I think only 25 per cent, if I recollect. There was a preference, but it may have been granted in an amendment to that bill. I am just telling you the general condition to lead up to the fact that under this almost complete change of economical conditions additional investments began to be made and something in the nature of a boom took place. That, it seemed to me, by 1913 had run its course and some other influences on the economic conditions were manifesting themselves.

The great need for development in the Philippine Islands lies not perhaps so much in an ideal political status as it is an economic and social advancement. These are the real problems. We have made starts upon both of them, but we have not completed them. The wave of improvement that started in 1909 had begun to recede, but its greatest check was due, in my humble judgment—and I state it without any offense—to political conditions. Investment had stopped because of uncertainty, but the general election here brought things to a standstill.

The CHAIRMAN. You speak of investments. When you speak of that do you mean investments by Americans?

Mr. EGAN. The investment out there has not been confined to Americans. Long before the beginning of the American régime there was considerable German and considerable British investment. I should have stated British first, because it was larger. That same source of money—the British—had invested money in the only railroad on the islands, which ran from Manila to Dagupan, on the island of Luzon. The largest amount of money that came subsequently was from American sources. American money built the Manila street railway and electric light system and the new railroads, and American money went into various business enterprises, estimated at a total of about \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. That was English investment?

Mr. EGAN. No; American. I could not estimate the British investment there. The largest banking investment is British. The British are the largest banks there, although the American banks are doing a large amount of business there.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of the banks are British?

Mr. EGAN. The two largest banks in the islands are British banks. The International Bank, which is American, and the Spanish-Filipino Bank have considerable business, but I am sure the banks with the most capital are British.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the foreign money invested in the islands?

Mr. EGAN. There are a number of foreign firms there in the import and export business.

The CHAIRMAN. Most of the houses that import also export?

Mr. EGAN. A considerable number of them do.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the articles of export and import?

Mr. EGAN. The chief exports of the Philippine Islands—and I probably can not for the moment state them in the order of their value, because there has recently been a very wide variation in the

price of copra, but, roughly speaking, they are hemp, copra, tobacco, and sugar.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the German money invested?

Mr. EGAN. It is in trading—exports and imports.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the fixed investments?

Mr. EGAN. There have been comparatively little fixed investments there from any foreign sources, except in the railroads.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the foreign investors buy the bonds—that is, the Philippine bonds or the railroad bonds?

Mr. EGAN. My impression is that a considerable portion of the Philippine railway bonds is held in this country, although there have been some sales of those bonds to British investors.

While we are on that subject, Senator, I would like to say that one of the things that chiefly interested me when I was in the islands was that the Filipino himself and the Filipino people collectively should take a larger part in the business affairs of their own country. They own the land and are the agriculturists; but at no point, either in the gathering of their products for export, or in the importing of the commodities which they consume, or in the distribution of these things after they are imported, nor at any place in the financing of either of these transactions, do they touch the proposition to the extent of over 5 per cent. Their own business affairs are not in their hands.

The CHAIRMAN. You are now speaking of the Philippine men of means?

Mr. EGAN. The Filipino people; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there Filipino people with means?

Mr. EGAN. Yes, Senator. I have said to you that the landed wealth of that country is in the hands of the Filipino people. And there is a considerable group, I would say gentry, of means, chiefly. I would add, however, of the mixed bloods.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they use their means? How do they use their capital? Do they invest it in any business?

Mr. EGAN. To a great extent they are investors. There have recently been started several exceedingly successful Filipino concerns. I think one of the very striking evidences of development out there in recent years, has been the promotion, organization, and management of two or three big concerns, notably the Germinal Co. There are a couple of other companies, one in particular that is owned entirely by Philippine capital. But the Filipino, roughly speaking, has not been a business man; he has not control of the business of his country.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the hands of foreigners?

Mr. EGAN. That is in the hands of foreigners. The Chinese throughout the provinces are the purchasers and gatherers of the products of the country, and, in turn, the distributors. To me they are very objectionable, and it seems to me that they corrupt nearly every Filipino that comes in touch with them.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no immigration of Chinese; they are excluded by the law.

Mr. EGAN. They are excluded by the law, and, though I differ in my view from several good friends, I hope they always will be excluded by law.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the investments in business and other forms of investment from foreign sources amount to several hundred million dollars?

Mr. EGAN. I should say not. I do not know how you could accurately get at it. It has often been stated that the largest interest in the islands, in a property sense, is that of the church—the Roman Catholic Church.

The CHAIRMAN. What would be the effect upon foreign investments and foreign business in the islands if this bill were passed?

Mr. EGAN. That would be a very difficult question to answer. It seems to me that that sort of thing starts and ends in the question of the confidence of the man who makes the investment. It seems to me that if investors might know our intentions there it would improve conditions financially. I doubt whether they would take the chances of investment under a Filipino government. The upshot of what has happened is that values have very materially decreased there.

Senator LIPPITT. Values have decreased since when?

Mr. EGAN. In the last two or three years, I should say.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean that this movement has caused the decrease?

Mr. EGAN. I should not say this bill and not this movement. This bill represents a very material change in the political position believed to be assumed by the dominant party two years ago. It does not provide, as I read it, for independence, or anything like it. It provides a very attractive and, I think, stable government for the Philippine Islands; and barring the preamble and one or two features of it, I am very much in favor of the bill. Maybe it would not be fair to declare that this condition of depression is due entirely to the political change of two years ago. That wave of prosperity I spoke of a while ago was receding. There has been in the minds of a good many men a definite attitude—

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the depreciation was caused by the fear that there would be immediate independence?

Mr. EGAN. I would not say that it was caused entirely by that, but I would say that had a great deal to do with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose Congress, instead of giving immediate independence, should pass a bill merely extending and increasing the powers of self-government with some statement that ultimately it was the intention to give them independence when they were capable of it?

Mr. EGAN. Senator, it seems to me that would leave the Philippines question in the same general state of uncertainty in which it has reposed for a great many years. I do not think that would change it any. The average man would say Congress would probably not touch that question again for 8 or 10 years, but the problem itself is left in the same state of uncertainty. Permit me to say again that I am very much for the bill.

Senator WEEKS. How would you feel concerning your investments, which I understand are in the newspaper business in the Philippines?

Mr. EGAN. Well, Senator, as a matter of fact, I have kissed my investments out there a somewhat fond farewell. I do not ever

expect to get very much out of them, and I have ceased to think about them, because it is not worth while.

Senator WEEKS. How would you feel if you were an investor in the bonds of the Manila Street Railway?

Mr. EGAN. I think that proposition is pretty accurately reflected by the price of those bonds, although again that proposition should be qualified. Securities as a rule are somewhat down. But I think the Philippine bonds went down before the recent war slump in all securities. I would not advise anybody to invest any money out there now.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please tell the committee what the price of the bonds was at the highest point—or, I will say, two years ago?

Mr. EGAN. I can not accurately give those figures.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did they go down?

Mr. EGAN. My impression is that they are somewhere in the eighties or seventies now.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they ever up to par?

Mr. EGAN. I am under the impression that they were.

The CHAIRMAN. What rate of interest did they pay?

Mr. EGAN. I am not sure. I had a couple of those Philippine railway bonds at one time, but I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. A great many bonds are now selling in the eighties that were up to par.

Mr. EGAN. I said that I was under the impression, Senator, that the slump in Philippine bonds occurred before the slump in those other bonds.

Senator WEEKS. Would you advise people to invest money in the Philippines if this Government should retain control of the affairs for 50 years?

Mr. EGAN. I would advise it if I knew we were going to have American control over there for a shorter period than that.

Senator WEEKS. Twenty-five years?

Mr. EGAN. Yes, sir. Senator, the great need of that country is men and money. I do not know of any country in the world where the conditions are the same. None of those agricultural interests that I have spoken about has any system or provision for banking. I should say that the average Filipino farmer paid anywhere from 18 per cent to 36 per cent per annum for his money.

Senator WEEKS. Where does he borrow it?

Mr. EGAN. He borrows in a variety of ways. Usury is still rampant throughout the islands, although there has been some effort to stamp it out. He borrows it in two ways—(1) from money lenders, and (2) through advances by business houses. We have endeavored to help out the sugar industry. The Bank of the Philippines, assisted by the Philippine Government, has gone in on two occasions and advanced some money against sugar; but such a thing as a reasonable supply of money for farmers at anything approximating a reasonable rate of interest is not to be had, and I do not know how you are going to get it.

The CHAIRMAN. The capital is not in the islands?

Mr. EGAN. It is not in the islands; no, sir.

Senator WEEKS. You have stated in a general way that one of the greatest needs of the islands is capital, and the way a country gets

capital is by having a stable government and stable conditions, and what I am trying to ask you is, whether the available capital over there would be increased or decreased by the Government retaining control of the affairs of the Islands?

Mr. EGAN. I should say it would be increased; but it is at a standstill now; there is no money.

The CHAIRMAN. The present uncertainty would be as bad as the reality, then?

Mr. EGAN. Yes, sir; it seems so.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, it is wise for Congress to do something?

Senator LIPPITT. Do you really believe that, that the present uncertainty would be as bad as the reality?

Mr. EGAN. The prophecy business is always an unprofitable one.

Senator LIPPITT. But you have already prophesied, and I merely ask you whether you want to stand by your prophecy.

Mr. EGAN. I will stand by what I said.

Senator LIPPITT. I do not mean to try to be tricky about it. You said you thought the present uncertainty would be as bad as the reality in its effect on business.

Mr. EGAN. Because, as I said, it is at a standstill. There is no money going in there, and I do not see any promise of any going.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think the condition is as bad as the prospect would be?

Mr. EGAN. I have not been in the islands for two years, and there has been a change of government out there. I understand there is a great deal of local contention. One side points to the conditions as being satisfactory; the other side points to it as being about as bad as it could be. So I am unable to arrive at the real condition, although I am reasonably satisfied in my own mind that property values are very low, that it is almost impossible, if not entirely impossible, to obtain money. To me the Philippine Islands have two uncertainties; one is in their exterior relationship and the other is in their internal relationship. To insure a form of political independence, it seems to me that you must first assure an economic independence and a social order, sufficient wealth in the country, sufficient security to guarantee that independent political state, and, as I see the economic conditions and the social order there, I do not see a reasonable prospect of that political state warranting political independence. My own hope as to the islands—and if I have a genuine interest in the world it is in the welfare of those people—is for a relationship between those people and this country something like that which exists between Great Britain and Canada; in other words, a form of protectorate.

Senator LIPPITT. You do not believe in their independence?

Mr. EGAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the legislative features of this bill, are there any that you think should be changed? I say legislative as distinguished from the preamble.

Mr. EGAN. I have possibly three suggestions to offer, all of which probably have been discussed. I do not believe that the Filipino senate should have the power to say who the Governor General should select for public office in the islands. I think that power should be left exclusively in his hands.

I believe that the city of Manila should have a straight commission form of government. We once had a commission form of government in Manila.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the commission appointed?

Mr. EGAN. It was appointed by the Governor General.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think it safe to trust the people to elect them?

Mr. EGAN. We traded our commission form of government in a series of concessions to the lower house of the local legislature, but I think the condition now is exceedingly unsatisfactory. I think it would be an excellent thing for the people of the city of Manila if we would return to a straight form of commission government.

Senator CAMDEN. In what respect do you say that the condition is unsatisfactory?

Mr. EGAN. Why, I do not think that the men elected to office have been desirable. This situation in the city of Manila is not as satisfactory, from the standpoint of the population, as it might be. Even our very astute political leaders from the Provinces have been unable to deal with the Manila situation in a manner satisfactory to themselves or to the best interests of the people. It is generally unsatisfactory.

Senator McLEAN. In what respect has it been unsatisfactory?

Mr. EGAN. I should say in the general conduct of the affairs of the city I think it has been unsatisfactory.

Senator LIPPITT. Has the money been stolen?

Mr. EGAN. I doubt that. I do not know of anything of that kind.

Senator LIPPITT. Are the streets well taken care of?

Mr. EGAN. No; the streets are not in good shape at the present time.

Senator LIPPITT. How would they compare with the streets of New York.

Mr. EGAN. There is some exceedingly satisfactory paving in the city of Manila, and some very unsatisfactory. That, however, is not the fault of any of those gentlemen elected to the Philippine council. It seems to me we can get much more satisfactory results in a commission form of government there. Manila is what I would call an unsatisfactory electorate.

Senator LIPPITT. Do they have a fire department?

Mr. EGAN. They have a fire department; yes, sir; and a very excellent one.

Senator LIPPITT. How about the schools of Manila? Are they under the municipal government?

Mr. EGAN. Partly. They have a city superintendent of schools who cooperates with the municipal board, but the central authority is in the insular government—the bureau of education. It is a form of divided power. The school system, in my judgment, is a very bright spot in the whole relationship out there.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean in the city of Manila?

Mr. EGAN. Not only in the city of Manila, but throughout the islands.

Senator LIPPITT. What about the police—do they do their work well?

Mr. EGAN. I think it is a very satisfactory form. It is a dual police; partly American and partly Philippine.

Senator LIPPITT. All those things, from your description, are under the commission government?

Mr. EGAN. The foundations for those, Senator, were laid by the commission government. I think if the police has deteriorated any or the fire department has deteriorated any it has been under the elective system. It is partly an elective and partly an appointive system, but the foundations were laid by the commission government.

Senator LIPPITT. Who does the appointing?

Mr. EGAN. The Governor General. The school system of the Philippine Islands is an extraordinary one. It is perfectly remarkable the sacrifices the Filipino people have made, not only in supporting the schools, but in the attendance of their children. There is only one complaint about it, and that is that the system is not extensive enough.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean there are not enough of them?

Mr. EGAN. There are not enough of them. There are probably a million and a half or a million six hundred thousand children in the islands, of school age, and the greatest number that they have ever had in schools was about 600,000.

Senator LIPPITT. There was a criticism made, I think, by one of the witnesses here that the school buildings were too expensive, and it was thought it would have been better to have distributed the money more widely and built less permanent buildings.

Mr. EGAN. That is a question that you would answer, I think, from the standpoint that you take. You must consider the climate of the Philippine Islands. It is exceedingly destructive of materials that buildings are ordinarily constructed from, and, as I understand it, the school department, after a period of experimentation, came to this permanent form of concrete construction. It did entail a great deal of expense and there, goes with all heavy construction in the islands its necessary allowance for upkeep. But I do not know that there can be any criticism justly in that way. The Filipino people are striving to get away from the common form of house construction, which is nipa and bamboo. The Philippine Government has offered prizes for some noninflammable material. Those things burn like tinder, and they burn constantly. There are fires all over the islands constantly, entailing very great loss and a great deal of suffering, but we have not been able to get away from it.

The CHAIRMAN. You have named two objections that you have to the legislative features of this bill. You said you have three.

Mr. EGAN. I think the salary of the Governor General is too low. It is placed here at \$18,000. I do not think it should be under \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. If those changes were made, do you think that this legislation would be good legislation?

Mr. EGAN. I would. Of course, I am not attempting here to give a legal opinion on the bill. It seems to me that, leaving the preamble out, roughly speaking, it is a very good bill.

I have in back of my mind one additional thought about the bill. I am afraid that by taking these heads of departments out from under the presidential appointing power and minimizing the importance of the offices you are going to take some of the motive power or initiative power out of the Government. I will add that as another objection to the bill. I think it is a matter that the committee

ought seriously to consider. I believe you would accomplish more by retaining that power of appointment in the President of the United States, with confirmation in the Senate of the United States. We are going to need out there, if we go on—and I know we are going on there for a good many years—capable Americans who are willing to go there and do this work, and I believe we ought to select them with care and pay them adequately. It seems to me that under this bill you are going to break that thing down to a considerable extent. I would prefer a bill, as I say, that would retain that power of initiation and control about where it is. I do not think you will get the same type of men if you leave the appointment of the departmental heads to the Governor General and reduce their compensation.

It seems to me, again referring to the question of the pay of the Governor General, that \$18,000 a year is not adequate.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the cost of living higher there than it is here?

Mr. EGAN. The Governor General of the Philippine Islands, Senator, lives pretty well all over the Provinces, and he is required to maintain two establishments. It is true that he is given house rent, and he is given two residences, but I recall a few years ago when the lighting of the residence in the city of Manila cost a considerable fraction of the Governor's salary. Mr. Taft told me that he left the islands at the end of his tour of duty with \$500 in his pocket. Gov. Gen. Smith told me that he left the islands with, I think, two or three thousand dollars less than he had when he went out. The last Governor General before the present Governor General happened to be a rich man, and a few thousand dollars' difference did not mean anything to him.

A Governor General is required to do a great deal of entertaining. There is a constant stream of foreign visitors there, and the port is visited by the squadrons of the different powers, and there is a great deal of official social relationship in the city of Manila and throughout the Provinces, and all this falls to the Governor General, and I think he ought to have more salary, unless you are prepared to ask a man to take that money out of his own pocket.

Senator WEEKS. You spoke a few moments ago of the possibility of our relations with the Philippines being similar to those existing between Great Britain and Canada. The Canadian people are substantially self-governed, and the Governor General has very little voice in their internal affairs. I was wondering if you would want to put ourselves in the position, in the case of the Philippines, of being responsible for the Filipinos and responsible for their acts without any greater power over the conduct of their affairs than the Governor General of Canada has.

Mr. EGAN. I spoke more, Senator, with respect to the general relationship than to the details of it.

Senator WEEKS. I mean the general relationship.

Mr. EGAN. Canada, as you say, sir, is an entirely self-governing colony, but it is protected in a diplomatic sense by the British Government, and it is theoretically and probably in practice protected by the British Army and Navy. It controls all of its own local affairs. I am very frank to say that I would not go to that extent or any thing like that extent in the Philippines for the present. I am talking of the distant future relationship out there. For the

present I would not let go of the public health, collecting of the revenue, the auditing, management of the public schools, and any number of domestic affairs in the Philippine Islands. I think this Government should be responsible for them.

Senator LIPPITT. Are there any thing in the way of self-government not provided for in this bill that you think might wisely be turned over to the Filipinos for their own management?

Mr. EGAN. I do not think of any. There is one proposition there that perhaps I would not be prepared to give them. I believe that they can deal with a great many of their local affairs more thoroughly and more justly and more wisely, perhaps, than we, at a distance here, can deal with them. But I am very much interested in this question of immigration, and I am absolutely opposed to the entry of the Chinese into the Philippine Islands. A great number of Filipinos want them, and a considerable number of Americans want them too, also. It seems to me particularly at that point you touch the whole question of exploitation. If we are going to preserve the Philippine Islands for the benefit of the Filipino people, the first step in that process is to keep the Chinese out.

Senator WEEKS. Do you include the Japanese in that also?

Mr. EGAN. I am not in favor of Japanese exclusion, and I do not believe you will ever have very many Japanese there. Two years ago I was told at the Manila consulate that the total number of Japanese in the islands was 1,800. Japan has a very considerable possession just to the north of Luzon, the island of Formosa, taken over in 1895 by the treaty of Shimonoseki with China, and it is capable of supporting several million people, and it has only about 200,000 Japanese on it. Their movement has not been in that direction. It is interesting, in passing, to observe that the Japanese movement has been in a fixed direction. Japan, overcrowded as she is, has in Hokkaido, the northernmost of the islands until the division of territory that she got by her treaty with Russia, room for several millions, and she has been unable to get her people to migrate there. I would not, under any circumstances, I do not believe, exclude Japanese from the Philippines. I do not believe it is the way to deal with them. But I would exclude the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN. Japanese are not excluded at the present time?

Mr. EGAN. No, sir; they are not.

The CHAIRMAN. But they are not coming there in any number?

Mr. EGAN. They are not coming. The Japanese Government, I think, has had something to do with it. Those gentlemen have been very anxious to carry out the terms of a gentleman's agreement. They have been scrupulous about it. I have a somewhat different theory of the Japanese relationship to that held by a great many of my countrymen. To me it has always seemed that the Philippines would be incidental to any difficulty we might have with Japan, and not the cause of any difficulty with Japan; and I have always felt that there was never any real necessity for trouble with the Japanese if we are prepared to treat them fairly. I am unable to see any necessity for an armed conflict for the so-called mastery of the Pacific. I am unable to see anything out there that we have that they want or that they have that we want. We have one or two points of danger, and one of them is in this very question of immigration, and I think we fail not of good intent, but through not

understanding. The Japanese do not want their people to come to California, and they do not want them to be citizens of the United States, but at the same time they do not want us to say that they shall not come to California or that they shall not become citizens of the United States. It comes back to a matter of national pride. It seems to me that most of the things that they have done in their very extraordinary career in recent years have been done with an idea of asserting their equality and insisting on fair treatment. I am convinced that if we understand them and treat them fairly we will not have any trouble with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything further on the bill that you would like to suggest?

Mr. EGAN. No; I can not say that I have.

Senator LIPPITT. Has the railroad been completed up to Baguio?

Mr. EGAN. I believe not, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. They were under some kind of a bond to complete it in August of this year. What happened to that?

Mr. EGAN. I am not familiar with the details of it. It has been three or four years since I discussed it, and I do not know.

Gen. McINTYRE. The time has been extended. They expected to have it completed in the summer of 1906.

Senator LIPPITT. They expect now to have it finished by that time?

Gen. McINTYRE. That was the most recent estimate.

Senator WEEKS. You are pretty familiar with the foreign population in the Philippine Islands, Americans and others. Do you know any American residents there or any other foreign residents who are in favor of giving the Philippine Islands independence within any reasonably short time?

Mr. EGAN. I occasionally run across a man who holds that view. Now and then you meet men who are tired of the thing, men who see no chance of any success or any material benefit from it, who want to wipe it out, but I know that the great bulk of the sentiment of the foreign population is against the independence of the islands.

Senator WEEKS. So the foreign population is in favor of our getting out and getting away from there entirely or else retaining control of affairs? I am talking now about those who are familiar with the conditions there, as you say, and have interests there, and who are engaged in the work connected with the building up of the Philippine Islands.

Mr. EGAN. Oh, I should say that they are opposed to it; that the great bulk of them are opposed to anything of the kind, and yet you find some sentiment which says if you are going to do that thing within a short time to do it now.

Senator WEEKS. Now, suppose we should sever all connection with the islands; what do you think that country would actually do? Would it proceed to make an alliance with some other country to afford it protection? It could not protect itself.

Mr. EGAN. I hesitate to say what it would do. It has, in many respects, a very creditable leadership in the political sense. I have a very great respect for a number of those men, regard for their capacity, and regard for their character, and I have regard for their political astuteness. The only time I ever got very close to that idea was at a meeting with a number of the leaders of the Nationalist Party, which is the dominant party out there, and I am going to tell

you one thing that they said to me which was indicative of what was in their minds, and one thing only, and what I said to them. They said, "If you go out will you come back in the event of our failure?" I said, "I am not in position to answer for my people, but I seriously doubt if we ever could be induced to come back if once we got out." That is the only line on their thought that I can give you.

Senator LIPPITT. What did they say to that?

Mr. EGAN. They wanted, of course, to argue it; to get me to explain what I had in mind, and I could only say to them that I doubted very much if the United States would ever come back there under any circumstances if it once withdrew. They are a very valorous people within their limitations. One of the extraordinary phases of this whole discussion has been, in my observation, that it has devoted itself to the bare ideal and has not dealt with the practical. No newspaper, no man in public life that I have ever heard discussing this question ever outlined a scheme for organizing or supporting this future government or financing it if the country were given its independence. There is almost constant complaint there that the present government is a burdensome one in the taxes that it imposes. I do not believe that there is anything in that. I think the taxation is not heavy. On the contrary, I think it is light. But it is indicative of the position that those people would find themselves in if they were called upon to meet all of the expenses incidental to a complete change of government. There is not any preparation for it, as I see it. I do not know that anyone has thought it out.

The CHAIRMAN. What would the additional charges be?

Mr. EGAN. That would be very hard to say offhand.

The CHAIRMAN. You say the present taxes are low. Have they not been sufficient to afford all the revenue necessary for the maintenance of the government, and, in addition, for making very extensive improvements?

Mr. EGAN. Within limitations that is true, but they involve no feature of a foreign relationship. The Philippine people pay for the constabulary, which might be converted into a form of national force of a sort, although it is needed for police duty, and it pays not for the scouts, and not for the Army, and not for the Navy, and for none of the exterior relationships. They could probably save some money in the administration, because the Filipino is used to a lower standard of living than the American, but that would mean, to me, a small item.

Senator CRAWFORD. Would they keep up those measures for the suppression of plague and cholera and the spread of small pox and the isolation and treatment of those peculiar diseases that prey upon them in that country, and bear the expense necessary to do so if they were to be controlled by their own wishes and desires?

Mr. EGAN. It has been generally charged and is believed by a great many persons that they would not. The question ought perhaps to be answered a little more extendedly than that.

In the beginning it was an exceedingly difficult matter to enforce quarantine and a compliance of the people with the laws of sanitation. I think it is recorded that some of our inspectors during the cholera outbreak in 1903 were mobbed. Most of the people were afraid of the system of foreign medicine. But the acceptance of all that sort of thing has been very extraordinary. The busiest place

in the city of Manila is the general hospital. The free clinic there is the third largest in the world. There is a medical school turning out young doctors and various institutions are educating young Filipino women for trained nurses. The people are complying with the new conditions. While they probably have not gone far enough along that line and ought to be guided for a number of years, I am very confident in the end they will do the job pretty well themselves. They are developing some very skillful surgeons and some very good physicians.

Senator CRAWFORD. What I meant was if the American guidance and control of it was absolutely withdrawn, would they take the initiative and push it and go on improving in it or would they become indifferent and relapse into the old practices?

Mr. EGAN. My judgment is it would be unsafe to withdraw American leadership in that direction for a number of years. As I have already said in my previous testimony—

Senator CRAWFORD. All right, if you have discussed that, you need not repeat it.

Senator LIPPITT. Mr. Egan, I was not fortunate to be here when you first began. What paper is it you are interested in?

Mr. EGAN. The Manila Times, the evening American paper.

Senator LIPPITT. What has been the position of the evening Manila Times, editorially, on this question of independence?

Mr. EGAN. It has been against it.

Senator LIPPITT. How many other papers are there in Manila—leading papers?

Mr. EGAN. There are three American dailies in Manila.

Senator LIPPITT. What has been the position of those dailies in regard to independence?

Mr. EGAN. The American dailies are against it. They are, I think, all for this bill; that is, in substance, but they have been against independence.

Senator LIPPITT. Do they frequently discuss the subject?

Mr. EGAN. I doubt if many issues of those papers come out without a discussion of it. We have not had anything else to discuss out there for years.

Senator LIPPITT. Is it discussed in a positive and frank way in your editorials, so that anybody reading the paper would know what side you are on?

Mr. EGAN. There is not any doubt about what side we are on. It has been discussed very frankly and freely. You see, there has been a very active Filipino press, and these two have been in conflict ever since we have been there.

Senator LIPPITT. The Filipino press advocating independence?

Mr. EGAN. Oh, yes.

Senator LIPPITT. And the American press has been opposed to it?

Mr. EGAN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. There has been some testimony here that some of the Filipino people who advocate independence are, in fact, and in the bottom of their hearts, opposed to independence, but they fear to take an open stand that way. It has been testified that men who advocated independence openly would come to people afterwards in private and say they are really not for it. Have you met any instances of that kind?

Mr. EGAN. Why, it would be—to begin with, let me say it would be presumptuous for me to say here what the Filipinos want.

Senator LIPPITT. I meant whether you yourself, personally, had come in contact with cases of that kind. I do not ask you to say who they were.

Mr. EGAN. I have; yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. Many cases?

Mr. EGAN. Oh, I could not say very many. You must understand that there could be no very definite expression on the negative of that proposition from any Filipino, with the United States absolutely refraining from saying what it was going to do. And so, in public, one would hear little or nothing about it.

Senator LIPPITT. Nothing about what?

Mr. EGAN. The negative of the independence question. No Filipino would take it.

Senator LIPPITT. Why would no Filipino take it?

Mr. EGAN. Well, the popular thing has been the other way. As it has always been a remote possibility, I imagine those gentlemen thought it would be a very unfortunate position to occupy.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean that the Filipino would think it would be an unfortunate position to be known as to have opposed independence?

Mr. EGAN. Yes. You know, we have done a perfectly contemptible thing out there. There are in the Philippine Islands a good many Filipinos who lost their arms and legs fighting on our side in the insurrection and whom we have not had the decency to include in our pensions—men who came over and enlisted and fought on our side and at the close of the war were kicked out like a lot of dogs. They did not happen to be Regular soldiers and we did not pension them. We turned entirely from the fellows who were with us politically—the men who brought about pacification and aided in establishing government—and went over and rewarded and placated the fellows who were against us politically. It makes me blush with shame when I think of it.

Senator LIPPITT. That is more wise than just, perhaps.

Mr. EGAN. When I say “we” I am speaking of the venerable old Republican Party.

Senator LIPPITT. Would it be a wise thing for this Government to make an appropriation for the purpose of helping the development of the school system?

Mr. EGAN. Oh, I very much wish we could do something of that kind. The Philippine Islands are, I am afraid, in bad shape financially. I say this without any spirit of partisanship; I wish to God that this whole question could be taken out of partisan politics and dealt with as the purely American question as it is. When we talk about the future out there I contemplate with nothing short of horror the condition in that country to which it would be subjected by the reversal of the party in power here every four years. You could not raise things in a hothouse under conditions of that kind. I wish we could get it out of politics, and I say this in no unfriendly spirit.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean reversal of the parties here?

Mr. EGAN. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. The administration out there being changed in accordance with the American political parties?

Mr. EGAN. Oh, yes. It ought to be out of politics. It is a very big, difficult, and complex question. I feel that those who approach the Philippine question from a purely political standpoint should be warned that possibly it is loaded. The Christian missionaries have been in the Orient for about 300 years. In China and Japan they have influenced the political and educational systems and materially affected the social order, but they did not convert the people to Christianity. In the Philippines they have claimed the one Christian race in all the Orient. On one side of this little Christian people are the three or four hundred millions of Buddhists and Taoists of China and on the other side of them are the Shintos and Buddhists of Japan. To the possibly hypocritical American these peoples are pagans.

Senator CAMDEN. How is that?

Mr. EGAN. To the Americans those peoples are pagans, and the political party in America which deals with that little Christian race down there should do it with a great deal of care and a great deal of tenderness, because they are Christians.

The CHAIRMAN. Have we not dealt with them with that spirit?

Mr. EGAN. No, sir; we have taken our coats off and fought over them among ourselves from the beginning.

The CHAIRMAN. We have established a great educational system, such as they never had before, and they now have four or five hundred thousand children in the schools.

Mr. EGAN. Yes; but while that was going on one party in this country was yelling robber at the other.

The CHAIRMAN. We have established an educational system, given them good sanitation, and established many public improvements, including roads.

Mr. EGAN. Yes; but the political gentlemen on the other side were sniping at those propositions all the time. The new régime is having the same experience, and we ought to get away from that.

Senator CAMDEN. Which is that régime to which you refer?

Mr. EGAN. The new régime, the Harrison administration.

Coming back for a moment to your question, things are not in good shape out there. I think that the bonding privilege of the Jones bill ought to be extended beyond the limit now set. They need money.

Senator LIPPITT. If we made an appropriation to help extend the school system, which, manifestly, has not grown with the rapidity with which it should—every witness almost who has testified here has testified that there was a greater demand for schools than the Filipino people had so far been able to supply.

Mr. EGAN. That is true.

Senator LIPPITT. And that a large number of children and a large number of people who wanted an education were not able to get admittance to the schools at all.

Mr. EGAN. That is true.

Senator LIPPITT. And in spite of the fact there has undoubtedly been a very extraordinary development of the school system in the Philippines.

Mr. EGAN. Oh, there has been, Senator Lippitt.

Senator LIPPITT. I just asked the question, in your opinion, what would be the effect of our helping that situation by a direct appropriation?

Mr. EGAN. Why, it would be perfectly splendid if it could be done, and the Filipino has always responded to that kind of thing in a wonderful way.

Senator LIPPITT. There has been criticism on the part of those who are opposed to the way matters have been conducted—to the Republican administration of the Philippine Islands—on the ground that it was enormously expensive. The gentlemen who propose this Jones bill, in their statement of the necessity for it, have largely laid it upon the basis of the cost of running the Philippines to the American people, indicating that they wanted to get out on account of the cost, for one reason. If there is correctness and justness in that criticism, as a matter of economy would not we save money by spending some money on a school system, so as to more rapidly bring around the day when the Filipino people are capable of self-government?

Mr. EGAN. I would be greatly in favor of spending money there—making a special appropriation for the Filipino schools—if it could be done. That government needs assistance, I think.

That cost question, Senator, is one you never can get an American to agree on. I think some one has figured the whole cost of the Spanish-American War and charged it up to the Philippines.

Senator LIPPITT. There is not any great difference in the figures. One party figures it at \$45,000,000 and another at \$50,000,000, and the little item of \$5,000,000, I think, is a small thing, perhaps.

Mr. EGAN. I have not any knowledge of what it has cost.

STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE H. FAIRCHILD, PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER OF THE FIRM OF WELCH, FAIRCHILD & CO., OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your residence?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, for the last two years I have been in Manila. My family for five years has been in Europe. My residence, I presume, would be given as Europe; but at the present time my family is in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business is in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. My business is in the Philippine Islands; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I am the president and general manager of the firm of Welch, Fairchild & Co., and connected with the Mindoro Sugar Co., San Jose estate on the island of Mindoro, and the San Carlos Milling Co., on the island of Negros.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you had your business interests there?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Of the interests which I represent, the Mindoro Co. and the San Jose estate were established some two years before I went to the islands. The firm of Welch, Fairchild & Co. was established at the time I went out there—in September, 1912. And at

that time the erection of a sugar central was commenced on the island of Negros, at San Carlos.

The CHAIRMAN. You manufacture sugar?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. At San Carlos we buy the cane from the planters, make the sugar, and ship it from the plantation's wharf to the market.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not engaged in raising cane?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. On the San Jose estate we are raising cane.

The CHAIRMAN. How large an estate is that?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That estate was bought from the Philippine Government. It is a part of the friar estate lands. There are some 55,000 acres, but at the present time we have less than 3,000 acres under actual cultivation, although a much larger area has been cleared and equipped with an irrigation and drainage system.

The CHAIRMAN. You are, then, in a position to say how Americans, situated as you are, with investments in the Philippine Islands, would view independence?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir. I want you to understand, of course, I am only speaking from some two years' experience. I have not had as many years' experience out there as have many of the Americans who have testified before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you view immediate independence of the Philippine Islands?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, with alarm, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. What would you be afraid of?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Any sudden and radical change, without knowing what the future conditions were to be, is always a cause for alarm to business interests. I assumed when you ask the question you meant, if the United States were immediately to withdraw from the Philippine Islands?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. With the world's affairs in the present condition, I think I can not make it any stronger than to say it would be a calamity as much to the Philippine people as it would be to the business interests.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you be afraid of losing your property?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; I would not.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think would happen that would be injurious to American investors?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. In the first place, we would lose the benefit of the relations which now exist between the United States and the Philippine Islands—the trade relations. The only really substantial thing in a commercial and economic way that the United States did for the Philippine Islands was, as Mr. Egan has said a short time ago, the tariff arrangement which went into effect in the year 1909. Prior to that time, while there had been a good deal of development in governmental works, such as schools, sanitary development, hospitals, roads, etc., the economic development of the country has lagged behind. But there was a marked improvement in trade immediately after the tariff went into effect, or immediately after the tariff advantage became effective.

The CHAIRMAN. Because it enabled them to trade with the United States on a profitable basis?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you view results, supposing this bill should pass, giving a larger degree of self-government to the Filipino people?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I am in favor of the bill. I believe the initiative in a great many matters should be granted to the Filipinos, for, while I am not in favor of immediate independence, I believe that we should not withhold from them, or we should not break, I should say, the promise which we have made to them. Whether or not it was an actual promise, it has been so considered by them, and we should continue to hold out to them the opportunity to become an independent people so soon as in numbers, resources, and ability they are capable of maintaining themselves as such.

The CHAIRMAN. A very general belief among them is we have promised them ultimate independence?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And would the defeat of this bill, in your opinion, cause any widespread disaffection and agitation, as an act of bad faith on our part?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, the Filipino people, as a rule—that is, the 90 per cent—according to my experience, are very amenable to law and order. I do not know how serious it would be, but I do believe it would be a tremendous mistake for you to make.

Senator CAMDEN. What would be the effect if we did pass this bill?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. What would be the effect if we did pass this bill? I hope you are speaking now of the bill separate and apart from the preamble—because I wish to say I do not really understand what the preamble means, and am speaking wholly with reference to the bill. I believe that the passage of that bill will keep the faith on the part of the Democratic Party to the promises which it has made. I think the Republican Party has always promised them independence so soon as, is the judgment of the United States, they were entitled to it.

Senator CAMDEN. Did you except that in your other evidence—that administration?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. As I said before, I have only been there about two years and my relations with the Filipinos have been altogether in a business way; but I have been very favorably impressed with the treatment which we have had from them. Just what would happen in case this bill did not pass, in the way of administration, I presume you have reference to—

Senator CAMDEN. No; the question I asked you was what would happen if it did pass?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, what would happen if it did pass?

Senator CAMDEN. Yes.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I think if it passed it would create a good feeling; restore better feeling between the Filipinos and the Americans. Of course, understand, there are some amendments I would like to see in the bill, some of which have been suggested by Mr. Egan.

Senator CRAWFORD. By giving the Filipinos control of both branches of the legislature now, by the electorate, you think you would not encounter danger in the way of bad legislation?

MR. FAIRCHILD. No, sir. For this reason: As I understand the bill the initiative is left with the Filipinos subject to the approval of the President of the United States and repeal by Congress. The Filipino people were ruled for 300 years by the Spaniards, and during that time—I am no lawyer, but I understand they had very good laws. During the last 15 years whatever was bad in those laws has been eliminated, and they have had the additional advantage of American Government and laws. Now, before they can change any of the existing laws they have got to give very good reasons for advocating such changes, and I believe that if we are going to give them independence at any time in the future that they should now be given an opportunity to see what they can and will do in the way of initiating legislation, particularly with reference to immigration, as I do not agree with Mr. Egan in his views on the question. He may be absolutely right as to what would be the effect of the coming into the country of the Japanese, the Chinese, or the nationalities of any other country, but I believe the burden of responsibility should be placed upon the Filipino, and that he should be in a position to say whether or not he desires to maintain the laws of the United States which have been extended to his islands.

SENATOR LIPPITT. On immigration, do you mean?

MR. FAIRCHILD. Yes—to say whether or not he wishes wholly one nationality in preference to another. And I say it for this reason—it is a selfish reason, perhaps—because the American business men have suffered in the Orient because of the extension of the Chinese exclusion act to the Philippine Islands. It was said we did it for an altruistic purpose and solely in the interests of the Filipinos, but China is a country with great opportunities, and we should not needlessly offend her people any more than the Japanese.

SENATOR MCLEAN. How many men do you employ?

MR. FAIRCHILD. About 1,500.

SENATOR MCLEAN. Are they Filipinos?

MR. FAIRCHILD. All Filipinos, aside from a few Japanese.

SENATOR LIPPITT. You would like to have Chinese if you could get them?

MR. FAIRCHILD. So far as we are concerned it would make no difference directly to us, because it is our plan to have nothing to do with the raising of the cane. We are interested in establishing centrals and buying the cane from the farmers and making our profit out of the manufacture of sugar.

SENATOR LIPPITT. Are you able to get a proper supply of cane on that basis?

MR. FAIRCHILD. In San Carlos, Negros, the San Carlos Milling Co. has been offered twice the amount of cane which it is now handling, but until the situation is cleared up they do not feel like investing any more capital in the Philippine Islands.

SENATOR LIPPITT. And you have no difficulty in making contracts?

MR. FAIRCHILD. No, sir. As soon as we completed the erection of the central on the island of Negros, at San Carlos, there were a great many people in other parts of the island who expressed a desire to have centrals erected in their own districts. You understand, they make a very low-grade sugar there, an 84° polarization sugar,

and they can not sell it except in certain localities. It is penalized in the world's greatest markets. They are now finding out that with the modern centrals they can get just as much 96° sugar—that is, 96° pure—as they got 84° pure before, and it brings about \$20 to \$25 a ton more in the world's markets, so naturally the cane planters are in favor of centrals.

Senator LIPPITT. So that you have found a cordial assistance in your enterprises?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, yes; absolutely.

Senator LIPPITT. Has it been profitable?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. It was profitable this year only because of the high price of sugar. We get 40 per cent of the sugar and the planter 60 per cent, and we got war prices for our percentage of the sugar.

Senator LIPPITT. You say you get 40 per cent as your proportion. You do this refining and handling of the sugar on a percentage basis?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. And of the sugar that is produced the planter receives 60 per cent and you 40?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; we take delivery of the sugar cane in the field and transport it from the cane farmers' plantations to our mill, extract the sugar, bag and ship it to our wharfs, from which it is shipped to the New York market, and for that service we take 40 per cent of the sugar.

Senator LIPPITT. For the value of your work?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. You say you have been doing this for two years?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. We have taken off but one crop. We started but two years ago to install the central railroad and wharfage facilities.

Senator LIPPITT. You have only had one crop?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. We have only had one crop, the expenses of which were far greater than we estimated. We did not know as much about locusts, droughts, typhoons, and a great many other disadvantages which exist out there as we now do.

Senator LIPPITT. How much money have you spent there?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Four million dollars.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that for one central?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; the other central is—it is really not a central, but the other enterprise is a sugar mill on the Island of Mindoro, the one I spoke of first. It is now under development.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you describe, in brief, the difference between a central and a sugar mill?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. When one speaks of a sugar mill, one means that the land as well as the mill is owned by the same parties. The central usually buys the bulk, if not all of its cane from local planters.

Senator LIPPITT. Is it the same style of factory?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The same style factory, the same type.

Senator LIPPITT. And has the same machinery?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. And has the same machinery.

Senator LIPPITT. And does the same work?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. And does the same work.

Senator LIPPITT. Did you start to go out there two years ago?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I went out there over two years ago.

Senator LIPPITT. At that time you knew the position of the Democratic Party upon the question of independence and you knew that they were in authority?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, sir; that was before the election.

Senator LIPPITT. Two years ago?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I thought I said I went there in August of 1912. I left from Hawaii, where I had been for 25 years, and I left there to go to the Philippine Islands; that was in August, 1912. The election took place in November, 1912.

Senator LIPPITT. That was the presidential election?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The presidential election, yes sir.

Senator LIPPITT. But the previous House of Representatives had been Democratic?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in Hawaii 25 years?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you compare the Philippine people with the Hawaiians in regard to capacity for self-government?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, I was living in Hawaii all through that Hawaiian trouble, and you may recall the predictions at the time should we give the Hawaiian natives the kind of self-government they have at the present time, which were to the effect that it would spell disaster to everyone concerned. It has not. It has been, on the whole, relatively satisfactory.

Senator McLEAN. Don't you employ Filipinos in the Hawaiian Islands?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; but not in very large numbers, and only within recent times.

Senator McLEAN. How do they compare physically with the Hawaiians?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The Hawaiians are much larger and can stand more hard labor than the Filipino can.

Senator McLEAN. Is not the Filipino you import into the Hawaiian Islands practically worthless for a year or two for heavy work?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; on the whole, that statement is true. I am told, though, after they have been there for a year or two they develop into very efficient workmen, and are much benefited by the change.

Senator LIPPITT. Those men you employ in the Hawaiian Islands are the illiterate, lower classes?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have found, then, that the Hawaiians are capable of self-government?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Under the government which the United States has established there.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us, in brief, just what is the form of government there now in Hawaii?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir. They have self-government very largely. The restrictions are not many, except with respect to the land laws, I think, and some of the restrictions are the same as those in this bill. They have a senate, house of representatives, and a governor.

The CHAIRMAN. The governor is appointed by the President?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The governor is appointed by the President; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the house and senate are both elective?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And the governor has a veto power?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

Senator McLEAN. They do not want independence in the Hawaiian Islands, do they?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, indeed; they do not. Though they did want independence in the Hawaiian Islands some years ago.

Senator McLEAN. And since they have gotten over wanting independence they have progressed pretty rapidly?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; up until the time the development was checked by the recent tariff legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Hawaiian Senate the right to participate in the appointment of officers by confirming the governor's appointees?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any controversy between the senate and the governor on that point?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I was a member of the Hawaiian Senate for four years. I do not recall there was any more controversy during that time than there is at the present time in the Senate here. There were matters which often arose—there were disputes—

The CHAIRMAN. Are most of the senators Americans?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, the Hawaiians, of course, were all given American citizenship. I think the majority of both houses are Hawaiians, though I am not sure now. I think possibly the membership of the Hawaiian Senate is largely Anglo-Saxon. The house has always been predominantly Hawaiian.

The CHAIRMAN. Have there been any disagreements between the two houses on that account?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, no.

Senator LIPPITT. How many members are there in the house?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Fifteen in the senate and 30 in the house. In respect to which I would like to make this criticism of the bill now under consideration; in fact, there are a number of criticisms I would like to make, but I understand how difficult it is to draft a bill satisfactory to everyone, but I do think the membership of the proposed Filipino house and senate is too large.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the population of Hawaii?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. According to the last census, 212,000.

Senator WEEKS. How many of those are pure Hawaiians?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Between 30,000 and 35,000, I think.

Senator WEEKS. The mixed races vote just the same as the Hawaiians?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, yes.

Senator WEEKS. The Hawaiians really do not control the islands; there are more people there who are a cross between Chinese and Hawaiian than there are pure Hawaiians, are they not?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, sir; the Japanese are there in the greatest number.

Senator WEEKS. Do they vote?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. They do not, except those who are born there, for, according to the Hawaiian law, Japanese born in the Hawaiian Islands are American citizens. There are some few Japanese voters. You see, in the early years under the Hawaiian kings the Chinese were allowed to enter the Hawaiian Islands. About two years before annexation that immigration was stopped. I think it was a mistake; but the Japanese were not similarly restricted. The result is now that the preponderating influence there is Japanese.

The CHAIRMAN. Without a vote?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Without a vote. They are a very efficient people. There has been no trouble.

Senator CRAWFORD. You would favor letting the Chinese, without restraint, come into the Philippines?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, sir. I would give to the Filipinos the right to initiate such legislation as they may want in that respect for the very reason that whenever you tell people they can not do a thing that is the very thing they want to do. Now, if they want Chinese, or if they do not want Chinese, I would give them the right to express their wishes, but any action to be subject to the approval of the President of the United States. At the present time there is a great deal of dissatisfaction in the Philippine Islands. Many think the laws are too restrictive. I think they are too restrictive with respect to the township of land by corporations, and corporate control. They have been so restrictive the economic development of the islands has been held back until, if something is not done, I believe the islands will eventually approach dangerously near to bankruptcy, because of the large amounts of money which have been spent in the very commendable work by the United States Government in developing roads, schools, hospitals, public buildings, and other very necessary public works. But you will find that the ratio of expense between that and the revenues is so high that if the economic development of the islands is not accelerated they are bound to get into difficulties.

Senator LIPPITT. What do you mean by that, exactly? I do not understand that. Do you mean that the taxes are too high?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; I mean that under the conditions that prevailed in the Philippine Islands when the Americans went there—they were almost without roads, practically no schools in the outlying districts, deplorable sanitary conditions, and all those things—

Senator LIPPITT. I mean just as to this financial statement you made.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I say the money has been spent for the establishment of these different government public works, and as it requires annually a very large sum to keep them up and continue their development.

Senator CAMDEN. Who pays for the upkeep of all that?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The Philippine Islands.

Senator CAMDEN. And not the Government?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes; the Philippine Government.

Senator LIPPITT. Not the National Government?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Not the National Government; no.

Senator CAMDEN. That is what I mean.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean they have invested so much money in capital outlay that the cost of maintenance if the Filipinos have to pay that is too severe a drain on the islands?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. It will be, unless the taxes are increased in order to pay for the upkeep and the necessary extension of that work.

Senator LIPPITT. Taxes are not enormous in the islands. They have moderate taxes on business—a moderate duty on imports.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. But if the business does not increase and goes back, as it has been going back, then the taxes will be less, for the export taxes which amounted to—what was it, a million, Gen. McIntyre? About \$1,000,000 a year?

Gen. MCINTYRE. Yes; about a million dollars a year.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. They have been done away with.

Senator CRAWFORD. That was a mistake, was it not, to take that off?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, I think the Filipinos think so.

Senator LIPPITT. On the other hand, Mr. Fairchild, your business has been growing and the amount of money raised by taxation has not materially decreased?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, it has not materially decreased, but it will decrease very rapidly if there is not something done.

Senator LIPPITT. Why will it decrease?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Lack of confidence. Everything is at a standstill. You can not induce anyone to invest any money in the Philippine Islands or to extend their business.

Senator LIPPITT. Is that on account of this agitation the last year, or not?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. It is on account of the agitation, and while there has always been the agitation, it has been more pronounced during the last two years.

Senator LIPPITT. When it is decided what is going to be done with this bill, whatever is decided, that agitation will stop?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That agitation will stop after, if it is decided in such a way as to justify business men putting up capital to develop the country.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean this agitation, then, is kept up by the business men?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; I mean if the legislation is decided in such a way as to give permanency to the future in the islands.

Senator LIPPITT. Then, whatever is decided, won't the agitation stop, because they will know that is the end of it, for the present, anyway?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I doubt under this preamble whether it will stop.

Senator CRAWFORD. This preamble will tend to keep it up, will it not?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I do not know what the preamble means. If you will tell me what the preamble means I might be able to answer your question.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not pretend to know.

Senator WEEKS. It is putting in black and white what is supposed to have been promised, what some people think we have promised, and others not.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. So far as the Filipino people are concerned, I believe they are justified in thinking and believing they are going to have their independence eventually; but I do not think they were ever promised, nor do I believe they think they are going to have, independence right off the bat. If that is the intention of the preamble—

Senator WEEKS. That is not the intention of the preamble. But it does say, if the American Congress passes that, "We are going to give you independence one of these days."

Senator KENYON. Do you speak Spanish?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, sir.

Senator KENYON. Can you converse with the men you employ in their dialect?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, sir.

Senator KENYON. You never have talked with them, then, and in your employment of the Filipinos you have to use an interpreter?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; but a great many of them speak English; the so-called head men.

Senator KENYON. Do the leaders have a comprehension of what independence is?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I do not feel qualified to say what they think that is.

The CHAIRMAN. Instead of employing the men directly, you employ these bosses to get the men for you?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Very largely.

The CHAIRMAN. Caciques, are they called?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The cacique is an overseer, or he is the boss of some one who may have control over a certain number of men or have the means of getting men. We do most of our work by contract.

The CHAIRMAN. You pay the cacique and the cacique pays the men?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes; but we always see to it that they take no advantage of the men.

Senator LIPPITT. You do not have the padrone system?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, no.

Senator LIPPITT. The cacique is simply an overseer, the same as an overseer in a factory here, or a foreman, and he arranges for the men to work under him the same as any foreman in this country hires men, I suppose?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. There is no exploiting of labor?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No, sir; not with us.

Senator McLEAN. What percentage of the sugar do you extract from the cane?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. In the modern centrals?

Senator McLEAN. Yes.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. From 92 to 94 per cent of the pure sugar.

Senator McLEAN. What percentage do the natives extract under the old system?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, that is very difficult to say. In some of their old mills—I doubt whether they extract 50 per cent. They may have extracted more than 50 per cent, but in their subsequent methods of treatment they destroy a good deal of what was originally extracted. Filipino cane is very soft and it extracts very readily.

I do not know of any cane with which I have had experience from which the juice is so readily extracted.

Senator McLEAN. They do not get over 50 per cent?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I should say not.

Senator LIPPITT. Did not you say they got 84 per cent a few moments ago?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That was in reference to the quality of the sugar, which is 84 per cent pure.

Senator WEEKS. Have any of the caciques talked with you about independence or expressed any desire for it?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I can not say that they have. I have kept out of politics and have never made it a point to discuss with them their opinions.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think those people have given any particular attention to independence?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I think they have given some attention to independence, the same as with people similarly situated in the United States. I think they are largely influenced by their natural leaders. I think the leaders of the Filipino people were justified in being apprehensive about the future of their country, owing to the indefiniteness of the policy of the United States. I remember some two or three years ago being present in the Senate Finance Committee when there was a discussion about sugar, at which time I think it was Senator Williams who asked whether or not the possession of the Philippines by the United States was not a source of weakness, and there was an Army official present who replied to the effect it was not, because it was the intention of the Government in case of trouble to leave them. Now, it is the fear that they might be left at some time when they might fall a prey to a less desirable master than the one they now have, which may account in part for the agitation.

Senator CAMDEN. If they got their independence, would not that follow?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Absolutely. But if they got their independence at a time when they would be in a position to make some suitable arrangement with some other foreign power to protect their insular integrity from the exterior attacks of some less desirable nation, it would be a different proposition than to be suddenly cast adrift without any adequate preparation.

Senator WEEKS. Do you think they could make any better arrangement with a first-class foreign power than they have with us?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I think they could make a more permanent arrangement. I do not think it would be a question so much of the arrangement as the permanency of it. I think they want to be assured they are going to be protected at a time when they need protection. They read the papers. They are very intelligent people, particularly the educated classes—the so-called articulate 10 per cent. We have devoted all of our energies to the benefit of the submerged 90 per cent and left the intellectual 10 per cent to feel at times that they have been restricted in their opportunities because of the limitation of the 90 per cent. It is a very praiseworthy thing to do; but if the 10 per cent must wait until the 90 per cent are brought up to the level of the 10 per cent there will always be, in my opinion, agitation and dissatisfaction.

Senator CAMDEN. What they really want, then, is their independence plus the protection of the United States. Is that it?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Either that or the protection of some other Government.

Senator CRAWFORD. Now, those caciques—there is a substatum below that, and in that you find the peonage and debtor class?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I have heard a good deal about that, but I know really very little about it.

Senator CRAWFORD. You do not have anything to do with them?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I do not have anything to do with them; no, sir.

Senator CRAWFORD. You deal with the head men?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. In San Carlos we deal largely with the owners of the land. We buy the cane from them. We do not know what they do. In Mindoro we hire the men to work for us, and we usually hire them through the heads of the families.

Senator LIPPITT. What do you pay for them?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. We are paying at the present time 80 centavos a day.

Senator LIPPITT. How much is that?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That is 40 cents gold a day, and they are given free house, free fuel, free hospital, medical, and sanitation service, and free transportation from their place of residence to our plantation.

Senator LIPPITT. You house them?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Free house, fuel, medical attention, and hospital services.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean in a general building—in a barracks?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes; also in individual family houses.

Senator LIPPITT. That does not include their families?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir: water, as well as everything, free—except they have to buy their food.

Senator LIPPITT. How many of a family work?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Only the male members; perhaps a few women work.

Senator LIPPITT. Then you are paying 40 cents a day for a man and supporting him and his whole family besides; is that it?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. There may be four or five members of a family—that is, a man may have grown-up sons. But that is about twice—

Senator LIPPITT. If a man has a wife and three children, and he works, you pay the man 40 cents and support him and his family?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. House and water—

Senator LIPPITT. And food?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Not food. We give them house, water, fuel, sanitary, hospital, and medical attention, and transportation.

Senator LIPPITT. How much does all of that cost you? What are you really paying a man?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. We are really paying about double that—80 cents gold.

Senator LIPPITT. From your standpoint, the work costs you 80 cents?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir.

Senator CAMDEN. Do you give them a garden, too?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir. Most of the work is done by contract, and there are established rates there for such work.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean piecework?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Piecework; yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Under piecework I suppose a man could make about the same thing?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Some of them will make much more and some will make less.

Senator LIPPITT. It is according to their capacity?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. According to the capacity of the man, of course.

Senator LIPPITT. You said a few moments ago you would view independence of the islands with alarm?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Immediate independence was the question. I understood to have been asked?

Senator LIPPITT. With alarm. What is the state of mind of other business men you come in contact with?

But, before you answer that question, let me ask one other question: You say you would view the immediate independence of the islands with alarm. Would you view independence in 10 years with alarm?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That would depend. It would depend upon the governing capacity which the Filipinos would develop during that period of time.

Senator LIPPITT. Take your present state of mind to-day. If you knew the islands were going to be independent in 10 years, meaning by that the United States Government was going to pack up, bag and baggage, and leave the islands to their own resources, would you view that prospect to-day with alarm, or would you be pleased with it?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. There are a great many things to be taken into consideration, Senator, before answering that question. If there is a definite period of 10 years set in this bill or some other bill during which they are to be tried out, and at the end of the 10 years the Filipino people would be perfectly free to make such other arrangement with any other power as they pleased, I do not fear the future.

Senator LIPPITT. That is as a business man?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I would look out for my interests.

Senator LIPPITT. That is as a business man, with \$4,000,000 invested in the islands, you would be perfectly satisfied if this Congress should pass a bill saying that within 10 years from to-day we would leave the islands?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. And provided in the meantime they enacted legislation which was satisfactory, allowing them to initiate legislation by which they could go ahead and develop their resources.

Senator McLEAN. Suppose you knew they would not make any other arrangement with any other power? Suppose you knew at the end of 10 years they would prefer absolute independence without protection from any other power, how would you feel?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, I can not conceive of them doing any such thing. The leaders of the Filipino people are sensible, and I would give them credit for seeing to it that in that time they would arrange for their protection from any foreign aggression.

Senator McLEAN. What would the nature of that protection be that they would desire from some other power?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. They would have to make a treaty with some other power. They probably would have to grant the power certain

concessions if they were not able in numbers and resources to take care of their foreign affairs.

Senator McLEAN. What would they want that power to insure for them?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I imagine they should want to be protected from outside interference.

Senator McLEAN. Would they be willing for this other power to have any veto voice?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That I do not know.

Senator CRAWFORD. All that implies you think it is necessary for them to have some strong nation always standing as a guard to guarantee their neutrality?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Not always; but until they are sufficient in numbers and resources to set themselves up as an independent nation.

Senator CRAWFORD. But that is a long ways off; you could not fix a time for that?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes; I could fix it in that way.

Senator CRAWFORD. Would you fix it at 10 years?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. They might develop. It is conceivable they might develop to, say, 50,000,000 of people; and if they developed as wisely as has Japan, why, it is conceivable they would be able to take care of themselves.

Senator CRAWFORD. Would it be safe to say we could anticipate that in 10 years from now?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; I think not.

Senator CRAWFORD. Or in 20 years from now?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. You mean to maintain an independent government?

Senator CRAWFORD. Yes; without any protectorate or any guaranty from a stronger nation.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; I think not. I do not believe any other nation of the world would give them the same opportunities and the same terms that the United States would give them, or has given them.

Senator LIPPITT. Where would you sell your sugar if the United States did that thing in 10 years?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, we would have to sell our sugar in the best market. That might be China.

Senator LIPPITT. Where would you expect to sell it? Of course, under those circumstances you would not have free entry into the United States markets, and you would be in the same position toward the United States as any other foreign country.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes; but we could make some arrangement in regard to the disposition of our sugar.

Senator LIPPITT. You would be thoroughly satisfied to let \$4,000,000 take their chance of having to seek a new arrangement, would you?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I think so. We are going to have free sugar May 1, 1916, anyhow, and what has the United States to offer the sugar men in the Philippine Islands any more than any other nation?

Senator LIPPITT. We do not know exactly, yet, what we are going to do in 1916.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I am talking now of the cards that are on the table. If you will say the United States is going to give us a duty

of a cent and a half a pound on sugar, as formerly, I would give you a different answer.

Senator LIPPITT. You have to play the game with the cards in the other person's hand as well as with those on the table.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Well, I hope there are more and better in the hand than on the table.

Senator LIPPITT. How do the other business men feel out there?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I do not feel like speaking for the other business men. I am quite willing to speak for myself and the interests I represent.

Senator LIPPITT. I would like to know what, in your association with other business men, you have felt was their sentiment in regard—

Mr. FAIRCHILD. In regard to the bill? I think they are all in favor of it.

Senator LIPPITT. No; in regard to the independence of the islands.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Immediately, or in the future?

Senator LIPPITT. Either way—immediately or in the future.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I think that all business men would prefer to have the United States make some arrangement with the Filipino people whereby their sovereignty would be extended indefinitely, or, as I have said, until the Filipino people in numbers and resources are capable of meeting us upon equal terms, and saying whether or not they want to sever their relations.

Senator CRAWFORD. But you do not want to fix any particular time to do that now, do you? You do not want to say 10 years, or 15 years, or any other particular date at which we are going to withdraw, absolutely, and leave no guarantee for protecting them?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. If you will say, which nobody as yet has said (the trouble is you do not say anything with much definiteness), that the United States will stay there until that time, I can not conceive of any better arrangement.

Senator CRAWFORD. That would simply enable you to plan definitely in your business for 10 years or 15 years and to take pot-luck on what would happen at the end of that time?

Senator McLEAN. I do not think he understands your question, Senator.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I understood him to ask whether or not we would be satisfied with the United States remaining in the Philippine Islands until such a time as I have set.

Senator McLEAN. No; he said suppose we fixed a definite time—10 or 20 years—and then quit.

Senator CRAWFORD. Withdrew at that time.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That will depend upon the conditions under which we withdraw. Now, I have been reading in the record of the hearings the statement of Mr. Crosby. Mr. Crosby, I understand, has made some suggestion along that line looking to the withdrawal of the United States at a certain, definite time, under certain conditions. Well, that might be a sensible solution of the matter.

Senator CRAWFORD. I do not see why there should be any conditions if we are going to satisfy these people over there, as they apparently want us to. I do not see why there should be conditions. If we can

decide that in 10 years from now they are going to be fit for self-government and have a stable government, why not put in the bill that within 10 years from now we are going to pull down our tent and move away, and we will have no further responsibility there?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Because I do not see how you can decide that until the people are given more initiative than they have had in the past.

Senator CRAWFORD. Could you decide definitely and fix the period, suppose, at 20 years, when we could say now we will do that?

Senator WEEKS. Mr. Fairchild, there will be the same difference in opinion in 10 or 20 years as there is to-day, as to the question of whether or not they are competent for self-government. They will quite likely be more competent than they are now, but there would be the same difference of opinion.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, there always will be a difference of opinion.

Senator WEEKS. I think you can be pretty well assured that the United States, whatever else it does, is not going to be responsible for the international conduct of 8,000,000 of people in the Philippines unless it has a restraining control of what those 8,000,000 people are going to do.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. And that, I understand, is provided for in the bill.

Senator WEEKS. For the present?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. You say, Mr. Fairchild, that in two years you are going to have free sugar, so that the preference that the Philippine Islands now have will not be so valuable; where do you expect to sell your sugar then?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That is what is worrying us now. That is why we are putting no more money into the islands and the business has been at a standstill ever since that bill passed.

Senator LIPPITT. The real reason you went to the Philippine Islands was, so far as the sugar industry is concerned, that they had the great benefit of free entry into this market?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Senator LIPPITT. And now that the present outlook is they may not have that benefit, you are very much worried. Is that the situation?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. That is why I say, immediate independence I view with alarm, because I know of no chance for future development.

Senator LIPPITT. Seven years from now if the Philippine Islands are granted independence, which means entire separation from this country, would you be in exactly the same position as you expect to be two years from now?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I think not.

Senator LIPPITT. Because you not only have a preferential entry to this market on even terms, but you have a voice?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Ten years is a short period, but I believe the possibilities are such in the Philippine Islands that after those centrals are established and the Filipino is given unrestricted opportunity to plant his cane and develop his farms, it will be possible to raise sugar in the Philippine Islands in competition with the world. But it will require a period of perhaps 10, 15, or 20 years. Twenty years would be better. Possibly it might be done in 10 years. I am quite free to admit I do not know.

Senator LIPPITT. You say there are great possibilities for the sugar industry in those islands for the development of it?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I would not look for any alarming increase, but there is a great possibility of taking the sugar they already have and converting it from a low-grade to a high-grade sugar, salable the world over, which it is not now.

Senator LIPPITT. Your centrals do that now?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes. But we have only one or two centrals.

Senator LIPPITT. I know, but all that is necessary to-day to make that conversion is to build the centrals?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, yes; but that requires considerable capital for the necessary mills, railways, and harbor facilities.

Senator LIPPITT. I understand, but I mean the mechanical or agricultural operation?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Coupled with that, the Philippine farmer has got to be instructed in regard to increasing the yield of cane by improved agricultural practices and to develop irrigation systems to protect his crops against drought, and install drainage systems to guard against flood, and institute measures to eradicate locusts, and solve the great many other problems which exist out there.

Senator LIPPITT. Is not the labor very much higher in the Philippines than in some other sugar-growing centers?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. You mean the cost of labor?

Senator LIPPITT. Yes.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; I think the cost of labor in Cuba is about twice, perhaps more than twice, as expensive. The Filipino laborer is not a very efficient man. He is about 50 per cent as efficient, according to my experience, as the Japanese laborer on the sugar plantations in Hawaii. That, I think, is due partly to the tropical climate, but more largely to their physical conditions—due to the fact they are filled with germs of disease.

Senator LIPPITT. You mean the Filipinos?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. The Filipinos; yes, sir.

Senator LIPPITT. They are underfed?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. They are underfed, but not so much underfed as they are full of malarial germs and hookworm. The United States has been doing some wonderful things, and we have spent on our own plantation over \$200,000 in sanitation work.

Senator LIPPITT. And all that improves the quality of the people?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, very much.

Senator LIPPITT. Improves them physically?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Improves them physically and makes them more contented and less sickly. The Filipinos are very fond of children and the infant mortality of the islands has been very high, and anything you may do to help the children makes their parents very amenable to intelligent direction and control.

Senator LIPPITT. Has that method of treatment improved the physique of the people, do you think?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes; it has.

Senator LIPPITT. It makes them better able to work?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Oh, much better—much more efficient. At Mindoro, where this plantation was established some four years ago, it was called the white man's grave, because of a pernicious type of malaria, and the cause for this disease has been almost completely eradicated. It cost a tremendous sum of money to do it, however.

Senator LIPPITT. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Fairchild said he had some criticisms or suggestions to make of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. We would be very glad to have them, Mr. Fairchild.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I said I might improve the bill, or suggest what I thought would be improvements. But, on the whole, I think Mr. Egan's views are very largely my own, with the exceptions I mentioned. And in so far as the approval of the Governor General's appointments by the Filipino Senate, that might be left for the Filipino Legislature to decide.

The CHAIRMAN. They certainly would insist on giving the senate the power of approval, would they not?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. If they did it would have to be subject to the Governor General's veto and the President's approval, the idea being this, that if there was any doubt in your mind as to whether it was a wise or unwise thing to do, leave it for the Filipino people, and then you would have the benefit of a year or two in which to determine whether or not there was any danger.

Senator WEEKS. Are you speaking of legislation or appointments?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Appointments by the Governor General.

Senator LIPPITT. That is, confirmation of appointments?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Confirmation of appointments. We had some difficulty in Hawaii from that, but not so much as one might expect. I do not know how much we may expect in the Philippine Islands.

Senator CRAWFORD. That would hold a man up a good while if the legislature could confirm him and then the Governor General could overrule—

Mr. FAIRCHILD. No; it should not be necessary for his confirmation. I mean, in the first place, to pass the bill without that, and then if the legislature petitioned for it—

Senator McLEAN. Have you had any personal observation of the ravages caused by rinder-pest there?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Fortunately not in either of the districts where we are operating. But I have seen other districts where it is very serious. There has been a good deal of talk of the exploitation of those islands. Those islands will never be unduly exploited by any one because of the handicaps. There are a great many handicaps in all tropical countries, but there are a lot more in the Philippine Islands than in Cuba or Hawaii.

Senator McLEAN. Can not that disease be stayed? Can it not be eradicated?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. It is a peculiar disease. I think it can be eradicated, but I fear the locusts more than rinder-pest.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us about the locust pest, you speak of. I do not understand that.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. We had this year 2,000 acres of as fine cane as I have seen anywhere, but at a time when the whole southern part of the group had been suffering from drought for six months, we would have lost our cane had it not been for irrigation, but it attracted the locusts which came over from an adjoining island and in a short time destroyed the cane from which we expected to get \$400,000 worth of sugar this year. This occurrence explains some of the

handicaps which capital encounters in going into agricultural pursuits in tropical countries.

Senator McLEAN. Is there not any way of eradicating the locusts or controlling them.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. We are hopeful of a solution. In certain areas the migratory locusts always are found, and then under favoring climatic conditions there will come an outbreak from the endemic areas and they will spread over many if not all of the islands and destroy hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of crops. Nobody knows what the poor Filipino farmers lose, as each time you have got to show them how to protect their crops from pests, droughts, and floods, just as well as to bring them up physically and mentally.

I might say, before concluding, that last October I was asked by the Mohonk Conference to give them "a business man's view of the Philippine situation." My remarks in response to that request have now been published and my views and reasons are more fully and clearly set forth in their publication than perhaps I have given them here.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any definite position there as to increasing the degree of self-government for the Filipinos?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Yes, sir; favorable to the passage of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you discussing this particular bill?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I was discussing this bill—the Jones bill. If it is desired, I can leave this with you.

Senator LIPPITT. Can not that be printed in the record? How long is it?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. Not very long, about two pages and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. With the consent of the committee, that will be reproduced in the hearing as part of your testimony.

(The address referred to will be found at the conclusion of the statement of Mr. Fairchild.)

Senator LIPPITT. Are you a Republican or a Democrat?

Mr. FAIRCHILD. I am a Republican. I think all sugar men are.

Senator KENYON. Not from Louisiana.

Mr. FAIRCHILD. They are at pocket. I happen to know some of those Louisiana people.

(The address offered for the record by Mr. Fairchild, together with certain letters commenting on editorials which appeared in the New York papers, are as follows:)

A BUSINESS MAN'S VIEW OF THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION.

[Address by Mr. George H. Fairchild.]

For the last 16 years the United States has been in possession of the Philippines, and during that time amazing changes have taken place in these historical islands. Manila, once the pesthole of the Orient, is to-day admittedly the healthiest city in the Far East, with a death rate that compares favorably with that of any American city. Smallpox, cholera, dysentery, bubonic plague, and malaria, formerly so fearfully prevalent, have been almost entirely eliminated in Manila, and everywhere in the archipelago the general health conditions have been wonderfully improved. Thousands of schools have been established throughout the islands at enormous expense, and are attended by 600,000 children. Thousands of miles of excellent macadamized roads extend over the different Provinces. Fine government buildings have been erected in the various towns and cities. The Moros, who used to harass and terrorize certain districts, have been subjugated. Law and order prevails, and the people enjoy a degree of liberty unheard of in the old days.

The visitor to the Philippine Islands, seeing all the marvels that have been accomplished, would at once exclaim: "How deeply grateful must the Filipino be to the Americans who have done all these things!" He would not be in the islands very long, however, before he heard the continual talk of independence. At first this would surprise him. Seeking an explanation, some would tell him that the desire for independence was confined entirely to politicians, or "politicos," who, when the islands were independent, would be enabled to get easy jobs, at high salaries, and enrich themselves by graft; others that the Malays are an imaginative race, that they are crying for the moon, that it is a childish desire to get something which is not good for them. The Filipino politician, of course, would give entirely different reasons, based on the loftiest patriotic motives. I shall attempt to show that an unprejudiced investigator would at last learn that, like all similar conditions of unrest throughout the ages in other parts of the world, the agitation for independence is largely due to economic causes.

Almost from the inception of American occupation the Filipinos were told that it was the intention of the United States to grant them complete independence as soon as they were fitted for it. They were continually reminded and encouraged to work for this end. Many of the people are men of property, education, and of a much higher order of intelligence than popularly supposed, more particularly those of mixed Spanish or Chinese or other descent—"the mestizos." These recognize the advantages of stable government, with its attendant law and order, vastly improved educational and sanitary conditions, and immunity from foreign attack.

By legislation enacted in 1909, under which the products of the Philippine Islands were admitted into the United States duty free, many of these Filipinos have been benefited by the increased economical advantages of closer commercial relations with the United States, and to them independence at an early date without assurance of immunity from foreign aggression means certain disaster, their country involved in intrigue, culminating, after a short and stormy attempt at self-government, in occupation by some other power. They know that among the population of the Philippine Islands there are backward tribes, speaking different languages, having different customs, antagonistic to each other, and with very little in common. In the mountains are the wild tribes, which the Spaniards had never governed; to the south are the fierce Moros, who, for centuries, had terrorized the Filipino farmers to such an extent that to produce more than was sufficient to sustain life was to invite disaster.

When the independence movement first started the number of Filipinos opposed to it was considerable and influential, but receiving no encouragement whatever from the American Government in their attempts to form a political party having for its object the continuance or permanency of American rule in the Philippines, the prudent course for any Filipino was to support the independence movement.

The official statement of the intentions of the United States in regard to the islands was that we were merely holding them in the capacity of trustees and endeavoring to educate and train our wards as rapidly as possible to take charge of their own property. In this connection I shall now digress for a moment to contrast our policy in the islands with that of the colonial policy of Great Britain.

The American Revolution was not caused by an irrepressible desire on the part of the colonies to be free from the dominion of Great Britain, but because she was retarding the development of the American Colonies, passing oppressive laws, and denying them the right to the prosperity which was naturally theirs. Great Britain learned a lesson from the American Revolution, and she has not lost a colony since. Spain did not profit by her example, and we found the Philippines in revolt against Spanish rule.

Our experience with colonies is limited and very recent; Great Britain's is very extensive, and she has been conspicuously successful in administering them since the American Revolution.

Why are Great Britain's possessions so loyal to her? What has she done to deserve this? Does she hold before them the promise of complete independence? Far from it. But there must be some reason for her success in administering colonies. What is it?

Great Britain's strength and the tangible evidences of her power appeal particularly to her oriental subjects, who would not appreciate a policy such as that under which we have tried to govern the Philippines. Moreover, she does

everything in her power to make her colonies prosperous. She gives her colonies almost complete charge of their own affairs. There is a very close relation between home rule, under proper supervision, and prosperity. The desire for independence grows in inverse ratio to the degree of control a country is allowed over its own affairs, and, similarly, in inverse ratio to the extent to which a country is allowed to develop its own resources and its commerce.

Contrast the Philippine Islands with Cuba. The Philippines have a population four times that of Cuba and an area nearly three times as great. Cuba has rich lands; so have the Philippines. The foreign trade of Cuba amounts to practically \$300,000,000 a year. Had the Philippines advanced in the same ratio since the Spanish-American War they would have a foreign trade (considering their population and their area) of between three and four times that of Cuba. Cuba has a revenue of \$37,940,000; that of the Philippine Islands ought to be at least \$120,000,000. Instead of that, the revenues of the Philippine Islands for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1913, amounted to only \$13,490,000. Think of the public work in the Philippine Islands that could be done with an adequate revenue and the crying need for such work.

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been spent on Philippine roads and public works and buildings. The upkeep and administration of such public works amounts to 25 per cent annually of the original cost; hence the greater the expenditures for this class of work to maintain and utilize them profitably, the greater the need of a corresponding increase in the revenues.

Right here I want to call attention to a fact unique in the annals of government. Since American occupation the public works of the Philippine Islands, which have attracted world-wide attention, have been paid for and are as well maintained out of the current revenues of the government. With the exception of \$5,000,000 of government bonds sold for public works and the water-works bonds of the city of Manila to the amount of \$4,000,000, not a dollar of debt has been passed on to future generations.

Without such development the tens of thousands of children that are being turned out of the schools of the islands can find no profitable employments; being educated, they feel themselves above the kind of work their parents are willing to do. To educate a man in a country where there is very little opportunity for him to earn a livelihood is simply to breed discontent. The remedy is not less useful education, but increased opportunity for educated men and women.

I have already spoken of the great advantages which the islands obtained through the free admission of their products, notably sugar and tobacco, in return for which advantage they had to allow all American goods free entry into the Philippines. In fact this is the only substantial thing that the United States has ever done for the commercial development of the islands. This deprived the Philippine Government of a large amount of customs revenue. Under the new tariff bill American goods still have the right of free entry into the Philippines, but Philippine sugar will no longer enjoy after May 1, 1916, any of the advantages which it had over sugars from nonprivileged countries.

The foreign trade before the passage of this legislation amounted to only \$58,800,000, while in 1912, three years after this bill was passed, it amounted to \$104,800,000, an increase of nearly 80 per cent. The passage of this bill attracted some capital to the Philippines, but its advent aroused a great deal of hostility in Washington and was the subject of a congressional investigation.

What is holding the Philippine Islands back, and why has agricultural development fallen so far short of the wonderful achievements of the Americans in sanitation, education, and government? First, lack of capital. The Philippines are an agricultural country, and the prosperity of those islands must come from agricultural development. There are millions of acres of wonderfully fertile lands, overgrown with a grass called "cogon." The eradication of this grass is a simple process when steam plows are used, but economically impossible with carabao and cattle-drawn plows. Each set of steam plows costs, landed in the Philippine Islands, about \$20,000. It is at once apparent that for the reclamation of these cogon lands by plowing and installing drainage and irrigation systems, without which they will remain valueless, a very large amount of capital is needed before the work is started, and this means that the work has to be done by corporations.

Every Filipino agriculturalist is in need of financial assistance. Machinery must be acquired if the processes are to be modernized. By the native methods of sugar production fully 40 per cent of the available sugar is lost, and the quality of that obtained is hopelessly inferior to that required by the markets

of the world. Only by gradual development and the intelligent investment of millions can the sugar industry be enabled to compete with the sugars from Cuba, Java, and Hawaii.

The laws of the Philippine Islands to-day governing agricultural corporations are the most drastic of any on earth. In fact, so drastic are they that it is a literal impossibility for agricultural corporations of the kind needed to engage in operations in the Philippine Islands. Their holdings are limited to 2,500 acres of land, and the revenue from this acreage would be wholly insufficient to induce any corporation to go to the expense of purchasing the necessary equipment to operate it. To induce capital to go 12,000 miles away from home it is absolutely necessary to offer a much larger return than could be secured at home. There are innumerable risks that capital must run in going into the Tropics, where the forces of nature, typhoons, the danger of insurrection, locusts, diseases of man, beast, and plants, drought, rats, floods, and so on, handicap the efforts of man to an extent unknown in the Temperate Zone. One must figure on getting much more than 10 per cent, because an unfavorable year can easily wipe out the profits of several good years. Capital knows all these things, and as a result very little of it has gone into the Philippine Islands.

The land laws for the Philippines were made in Washington so soon after our occupation of the islands that no one was fully conversant with the needs and the nature of the country. The sole purpose of those laws was to prevent the exploitation of the Philippine Islands. Exactly what meaning this word conveys to the average American I do not know, but if anybody thinks the Philippines is a "get-rich-quick" country, he is utterly ignorant of the stupendous tasks that face the pioneer out there. If the word "exploit" means to get something for nothing, the Philippines are nonexploitable.

As a result of the land laws at present in force there are millions of acres of government-owned lands that not only bring in no revenue, but are the worst kind of a menace to the health and prosperity of the country. These lands are the breeding places of mosquitoes and particularly of locusts, which lay their eggs in these vast untilled stretches and when hatched out invade the cultivated fields in sun-darkening swarms, leaving absolute devastation in their trail. Malaria is fearfully prevalent in places in the Philippines, and in some localities deadly to a degree unknown almost anywhere else. The presence of rinderpest, which kills the carabao and cattle by the thousands, and surra, which attacks the horses and mules, have thus far defied the efforts of the government to stamp them out. These are diseases which have only disappeared in other parts of the world when the wild lands have been put under cultivation.

The country cries out to be settled, to be reclaimed, to be drained and irrigated, and to be free from its pests and diseases.

To reclaim by extensive drainage and irrigation systems the rich alluvial lands of the great coastal plains throughout the Philippines would cost but a fraction of what those lands would then be worth. When this is done, they would be as productive and as valuable as the rice lands of Japan and of the Yangtse Valley in China, which are worth from \$500 to \$750 an acre.

Should the land laws now in force be modified, the development of the country with the present labor supply would be slow. The Filipinos as a race are not efficient workmen. Some ascribe this to their inherent indolence, but this I have found to be not wholly true. Before accepting applicants for work on our sugar plantation they are required to pass a medical examination, and a shockingly large percentage of the applicants are found to be suffering from hookworm, malaria, tuberculosis, and other diseases. My wonder is not that the average Filipino is inefficient but that he is alive. With an adequate revenue, think of the vast humanitarian work the Government could do for these people in the way of improving their health, and without health what does the rest amount to? The average wage of the Filipino farm laborer amounts to a mere pittance per day, for, due to his physical condition, he is not able to earn more.

I do not want anything that I have said to be construed as a criticism of the American officials in the Philippine Islands who were responsible for the execution of the laws enacted by Congress. This would not be just. Great and lasting credit is due them for what they have accomplished in spite of the handicaps under which they have worked. Had Congress long ago acted in accordance with their recommendations, economic development would not have lagged behind as it has done.

The Filipinos do not want capital restrained from developing their agricultural resources; they do want to safeguard their own interests, and prevent all their land from passing into alien hands, but there is a wide gulf between regulation and practical prohibition.

Right here I shall speak of the opportunity presented by the war for rehabilitating a merchant marine, increasing and extending American trade and financial institutions in South America and the Orient. In the growing enthusiasm over the prospects of increased foreign trade should we not consider the possibilities of the Philippine Islands, where our own flag flies? A large proportion of the tropical products which will be required in increasing quantities can be produced there, and the more these islands are developed the more they will take of American industrial products. This would increase enormously the opportunities for skilled labor in the United States. Within a radius of 2,500 miles from Manila—about the distance from New York to Panama—dwell not 35,000,000, the population of South Africa, but one-half of the 1,623,000,000 estimated world's population.

The possibilities of such a market are enormous, and profitable in the extreme. It is to our interest to do nothing to offend the national or individual self-respect of those people. Their suspicions, if not hostility, were first aroused by the extension to the Philippine Islands in 1899 of the Chinese exclusion act. At the time our Government said that its actions were solely in the interest of the Filipinos. The result, nevertheless, was a serious blow to American business in the Orient; American goods were boycotted, and American business interests seriously embarrassed, to the advantage of foreign interests.

The Filipinos should be given the right to say whether or not they wish to restore to the Chinese the same opportunities to enter and operate in their country that they had prior to American occupation, opportunities which are still enjoyed by the Japanese.

The Japanese can not be restrained from going into the islands. The Chinese, until 1899, came over in large numbers; many of them live there at present, and to a considerable extent have intermarried with the Filipinos. Some of the influential citizens of the Philippine Islands to-day are of mixed Chinese and Filipino descent. A son of a Chinese father and a Filipino mother is always a loyal and enthusiastic Filipino. But the Filipino should be the party to say whether or not he wants the Chinese, not the American.

The case in a nutshell, therefore, is this: The Philippine Islands enjoy only a fraction of that prosperity which is naturally theirs, and this condition of affairs is due to laws passed by the United States for them. If they choose to maintain such laws, well and good, but if they desire to see their country advance, and to be governed by laws which make for such prosperity and advancement, instead of laws which retard it, the United States should allow them this privilege.

The people of this country have heard a great deal about the Philippine Islands from politicians and others, and very little from the American business men resident there. Some of our statesmen feel that our presence in the islands will some day bring us into trouble with Oriental nations, hence they want the United States to relinquish the islands, not for the good of the Philippines, but for the good of the United States. The serious thinkers among our people realize the obligations which this country assumed in taking over the Philippines, and do not advocate cutting them adrift until this can be done with propriety.

Business in the Philippine Islands has suffered very severely from the uncertainty prevailing as to what their future political status is to be; there is nothing that strangles business so much as uncertainty. Last year when European bankers were approached for the purpose of obtaining capital for the development of the agricultural resources of the Philippine Islands we were given to understand that until the uncertainty as to the future of the political status of the Philippine Islands was definitely settled foreign bankers could not advise their clients to make any investments of a permanent nature there. Hence the business men of the Philippine Islands earnestly desire an early passage of legislation by Congress in regard to those islands which will make friends of foes, rectify the errors of a policy which, however well intentioned, will fail if not amended in the near future in a manner that will promote prosperity, remove uncertainty, and facilitate the establishment of an era of better feeling between the Americans of both political parties at home as well as those in the islands, and more important still, between the Filipinos and the

Americans resident in the Philippine Islands. Should the spirit and intent of the desire to help the Filipinos solve their difficulties, to which Congressmen of both parties in the House have recently given expression, be enacted into law, in my opinion the possibility of independence is deferred until such time as the Filipino people in numbers, ability, resources, and power will be fully capable of becoming an independent nation competent to maintain stable government and to protect life and property from internal disturbance and external aggression.

To those who desire that the United States should get out of the Philippines as soon as possible, I would say: "Do everything in your power to advance the prosperity of the Philippine Islands. Political independence without commercial independence is slavery. Make the Philippines commercially independent and prosperous, and the day you wish for so earnestly, when the United States with all propriety can give up the islands, will be brought much nearer to hand."

To those who desire an indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands, I would say: "Give the Philippines an opportunity to make themselves prosperous, for there is nothing like hard times to breed discontent. Let the Filipinos see that the American flag means real prosperity, development, peace, and plenty. Follow Great Britain's custom; give them a large measure of control of their own affairs, with judicious safeguards, and do not assume they will exercise their power except for the betterment and advancement of their country. With such a measure of home rule the Filipino, prosperous and regulating his own affairs, is likely to be more content than he is at present to remain under the American flag for an indefinite period of time." [Applause.]

[Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, Sept. 2, 1914.]

UNTIMELY PHILIPPINE AGITATION.

The Democratic majority of the House Committee on Insular Affairs has voted down a resolution offered by the minority in favor of postponing until the next session of Congress further consideration of the bill providing for radical changes in the plan of government of the Philippine Islands. The reason given in the preamble of the resolution for the postponement is the war in which Japan has become involved and the probability of its extension in the East. In a report in support of the adoption of the resolution the minority of the committee argues that the character of the debate which the bill is sure to provoke would "encourage disregard for our interests and lead nations with opposing interests to believe the United States would not go far in defense of possessions so lightly regarded by those in control of the Government."

Speaking of the "rancorous and bitter debate" which this question has raised over the manner in which the islands were acquired and have been governed and the advocacy of the policy of quickly preparing for their independence and abandoning them to the control of their own inhabitants, the report argues that in view of the "interests and territorial possessions of other nations in close proximity" to them, to enter upon the discussion sure to attend the consideration of this measure would be "not only impolitic but unwise in the extreme." It is assumed that it might beget complications not only with Japan but with Germany, which has interests in those seas, including a share in the joint occupation of the Samoan Islands.

Whatever force there may be in these contentions, it is certainly an inopportune time for an agitation in Congress over the Philippine question, in regard to which there is not the least occasion for haste. It is a question upon which there is a sharper division between parties than any other now under consideration, and it is one that ought to be considered with the utmost calmness. The pending bill is one which, in our opinion, ought not to be passed at the present time, even if there were no danger of complication with other nations having "interests and territorial possessions" in the Far East.

Whatever may be ultimately done with the Philippines or about them, nothing is more certain than that their people are not now prepared for self-government, and any such measure of preparation as is proposed in this bill is premature. This is the absolute consensus of opinion of those whose experience there gives them the best right to judge. It is a matter to be proceeded with carefully and cautiously and not in a spirit of partisanship induced by division on domestic policies. There is enough to occupy attention without getting up an exciting controversy in Congress over this.

THE NEW PHILIPPINE BILL.

NEW YORK, *September 2, 1914.*

EDITOR OF THE JOURNAL OF COMMERCE AND COMMERCIAL BULLETIN.

SIR: This is not an inopportune time for passing the new Philippine bill, but, on the contrary, from many aspects, it is an opportune time. The original Jones bill fixed a definite date—namely, eight years—for giving the Filipinos their independence. The preamble of the bill now before Congress simply states that “it has always been the purpose of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein.” Most of the opposition to this bill consists of objections to these words in the preamble; the preamble, however, is not a part of the law but simply an expression of the ideas of the Democratic Party in regard to the future of the Philippine Islands. It was President McKinley who first spoke of giving the Filipinos their independence when they were capable of self-government, and these views have been reiterated time and again by ex-President Taft. The difference between the views of the leaders of the Republican Party and the leaders of the Democratic Party apparently is in regard to the time that it will take for the Filipinos to be capable of self-government.

When the first Jones bill was introduced the general impression was that the United States was going to get out of the Philippine Islands at the earliest possible moment, regardless of what might happen to the Filipino or to the American or foreign business interests there. Should this bill be enacted as it now reads, the withdrawal of the United States from the Philippine Islands is a very indefinite matter, and in the meantime they belong to the United States and are entitled to and will receive the full protection of this country against internal disturbances and foreign aggression.

Far from provoking any trouble in the Far East, the enactment of this bill would tend to prevent any such trouble. For the administration to abruptly change its plans in regard to Philippine legislation would give ample reason for oriental nations to construe such action as one of fear or bad faith, both of which would be detrimental to the prestige of the United States in the Orient.

In regard to the incapacity of the educated Filipinos for self-government, this new legislation will give an opportunity either to demonstrate that they are incapable of self-government (in which case the United States will know what to do) or it will show that they are capable of administering their own affairs, subject to the veto power of the Governor General, the President of the United States, and Congress. The Filipino, under these conditions, would be very cautious about doing anything foolish. Before the Filipino legislature could amend, rescind, or annul any of the existing United States statutes it would have to prove to the President and Congress of the United States, in order to obtain their consent, that such legislation was for the best interests of the Philippine Islands and the United States; hence ultimate responsibility for bad legislation would rest upon the President of the United States and Congress.

Home rule for the Philippine Islands, in the opinion of a very large majority of the American business men in the islands, under this bill, with its safeguards and with some amendments, is looked upon with favor, as may be seen from the editorial in the Manila Times of July 13.

It is so difficult to get Congress, with all the more important matters constantly under consideration, to interest itself in anything that tends to promote the commercial prosperity of those islands, which explains this attitude.

Yours, truly,

GEO. H. FAIRCHILD.

NOTE.—Mr. Fairchild represents some of the largest sugar interests of the Philippine Islands.

[The Evening Post, New York, Tuesday, Sept. 1, 1914.]

In a time of such world-wide tragedy, we should all be grateful to anyone who gives us cause for a hearty laugh. Hence the thanks of the public should go to the Republican minority of the House Committee on Insular Affairs; who, without batting an eyelid, solemnly assure us that it is necessary to sidetrack the whole question of Philippine independence because of the war in Europe! The reason for this is plain to see: If we should now grant to the Filipinos the mild advances toward autonomy provided for in the bill—advances by no means satisfactory to the Filipinos, like their Delegate, Mr. Quezon—the

Japanese would at once be encouraged to seize the islands, now that they are besieging Kiao-chau. If such utter nonsense could be taken seriously, it would but be proof how unsettled men's minds have become by reason of the unprecedented state of affairs abroad. As a matter of fact, it only shows how hard pressed the Republicans are for some sort of argument with which to combat this perfectly reasonable proposal to grant a wider measure of self-government to the Philippines, in accordance with Republican pledges that "some day" the islands shall be set free entirely. If the war had not come, this humorous Republican minority would have found some other reason. If not a Japanese bogey, a German one; if not a German one, some other solemn nonsense. People who like to govern others without their consent can always produce reasons for their tyranny.

[The Sun, Wednesday, Sept. 2, 1914.]

THE PHILIPPINE BILL CAN WAIT.

The five members of the Insular Affairs Committee of the House who urge that consideration of the Philippines government bill be postponed until the session in December show a more statesmanlike temper than the Democratic Party managers, whose controlling purpose is to make a record in legislation. Perhaps the minority of the committee is not always happy in presenting its case, as, for instance, when the good faith of Japan in limiting her military operations to Kiao-Chau is distrusted; but there can be no doubt that an acrimonious discussion in Congress of the Philippine question during the conflict in the Far East would be untimely and therefore unwise.

The development and duration of the conflict no man can predict. Congress is not overburdened with prescience in international affairs, or with information, for that matter. American title to the Philippines would probably be questioned during the debate and many things would be said that were better left unspoken. Leaving out of consideration the effect upon any nation, east or west, that might covet the Philippines, the effect upon the people of the archipelago at a time when the war spirit was abroad would not be conducive to regard for the United States, which has done more for the welfare of the Filipinos than was ever done for any backward people before by their rulers and guardians. The Jones bill does not contemplate early independence of the Philippines. It is to be conditional and may be some time deferred, depending altogether upon proof of capacity for self-government under a Philippine flag. There is, then, no reason for haste, and there are sound reasons for postponing the matter altogether until the war fever convulsing so large a part of the world abates.

We believe that if the question were put to the intelligent Filipinos they would declare against a policy of the Democratic Party ostensibly in their interests but really in its own.

[The Sun, Friday, Sept. 4, 1914.]

FOR THE PHILIPPINE BILL.—REMARKS BY A BUSINESS MAN ON THE PENDING LEGISLATION.

To the EDITOR OF THE SUN.

SIR: The great majority of American business men interested in the Philippine Islands desire an early enactment of legislation substantially the same as that embodied in the Philippine bill now under consideration by Congress. There is nothing business dreads so much as uncertainty. The most objectionable part of the first Jones bill, namely, fixing a definite date for complete Philippine independence, has been removed, the only reference to it in this bill is in the preamble, which is not a part of the law, but merely an expression of Democratic sentiments in regard to the future of the islands, and only repeats what ex-President Taft has so often stated, namely, that it was the intention of the United States to grant the Filipinos absolute independence as soon as they were capable of self-government.

The preamble should be amended to read that the United States should not get out of the Philippine Islands without the consent of the Filipinos. The prospect of the United States abandoning the Philippine Islands at an early date simply paralyzed business in the Philippines. With this bill enacted business could go ahead. The United States will continue to own the Philippine

Islands for an indefinite period and to maintain law and order as well as to protect them from foreign attack. Their status is settled. That is what business wants to know. Should the Filipino show that he is incapable of self-government, then the United States can not give up the islands, and if he shows that he can properly establish and maintain stable government that would quiet many of the fears now entertained.

It would appear to be bad policy for the United States to let events now occurring in the Far East influence in any way its actions in regard to Philippine legislation; such procrastination might be regarded as inspired by a doubt as to the good intentions of some neighboring countries.

Philippine business interests feel that the passage of a bill along these lines will largely remove the Philippine question from the sphere of American politics, a consummation which both the Republican and Democratic Parties strongly profess to favor.

GEORGE H. FAIRCHILD.

NEW YORK, September 3.

STATEMENT OF MR. ISRAEL PUTNAM, OF THE CABLENEWS-AMERICAN, MANILA, P. I.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Putnam, how long have you been in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. PUTNAM. I went first to the Philippines in 1899 and did some newspaper work for a while in and around Manila from about five or six days after the outbreak of the war until about April. Then I went into the Army as second lieutenant and I served on the island of Luzon for six or seven weeks and then went down to the island of Negros and served down there for over a year. Afterwards I resigned from the Army and came home. I went back in 1902 and founded a newspaper in Manila, and I remained there, managing that newspaper, for about two years, and have made trips back at different times since on three or four occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you still own that paper?

Mr. PUTNAM. I own about three-quarters of it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is its name?

Mr. PUTNAM. The Cablenews-American.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it published in Manila as a daily?

Mr. PUTNAM. Daily in Manila, except Mondays. It is practically daily.

The CHAIRMAN. Except wash day, as we call it?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your views on this pending bill and what attitude has your paper taken?

Mr. PUTNAM. You mean as to the bill itself, or the preamble?

The CHAIRMAN. The legislative features of the bill.

Mr. PUTNAM. Why, my personal view is that it seems to express a desire to get busy and do something in the way of extending the participation of the Filipinos in their own government. Our paper has never paid as much attention to the body of the bill as it has to the preamble. We regard that as very vicious and harmful.

The CHAIRMAN. Why?

Mr. PUTNAM. Because it provides for the withdrawal of sovereignty on the part of the United States from the Philippine Islands, and I think that would—well, I do not think it would ruin the Philippines, but I think it would result in their absorption in a

comparatively short time by one of the oriental countries—either the Japanese or the Chinese. I disagree with others who have testified before the committee in that respect. I think that the economic conditions are more favorable in the Philippines, and when we consider the fact that there are people in China who work for about a peso a month, as I have been told, and taking a country like Japan, where we can go into the harbor of Nagasaki and see women coaling ships for about 10 cents a day, I think it is beyond question that they would submerge the Filipinos. I do not think it would be necessary for them to go to war with the Filipinos to accomplish this, but I think it would be a gradual process. I think they would go down there in large numbers and ultimately get control of the islands. I do not think that would be a good thing for the Filipino people, although I think it would be a better thing than to have such conditions as prevail at the present time in Mexico.

Senator CAMDEN. How would that be for the money invested there by foreigners?

Mr. PUTNAM. I suppose those who have a clear title—those who are real estate owners, for example—would not be affected. The Japanese attitude toward foreign capital has been that they do not permit foreigners to hold much stock in Japanese corporations.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that the increase in self-government which the legislative part of this bill provides would be injurious in any way?

Mr. PUTNAM. Why, there are only a few different ways you can govern the Philippines. You can either govern them by Americans exclusively, or by Americans and Filipinos, or altogether by Filipinos. A good deal of the answer to that question would depend on the quality of the Americans you are going to send out there in the future. If you are asking my opinion as to whether I would rather see legislation entirely in the hands of the Filipinos or to see the present commission form of government retained, by which the commission is the upper house, if the Americans who go out there are to be of a high type, I think it will give better results to keep the present system.

The CHAIRMAN. The upper house already has a majority of Filipinos?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes; there is already a majority of Filipinos in the upper house.

The CHAIRMAN. That has not worked any detrimental result?

Mr. PUTNAM. I could not say as to that. Understand, Senator—

The CHAIRMAN. The only difference would be it would be enlarged and the membership would be elective instead of appointive?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Governor General would still have the veto power over any objectionable legislation.

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you see any objection, then, to this bill, which provides that the upper house shall be elective and that the governor shall have a veto?

Mr. PUTNAM. Well, that depends altogether on the qualifications as voters of the Filipino people—the great mass of them. I do not think it would be a representative body. I do not think the Philippines are in such shape as to have a representative form of govern-

ment. Take this very question of independence; it has been stated before the committee that all of these millions of people in the Philippine Islands have this one idea of independence. But I have not had any clear statement as to what they mean by it. It is unusual when you have all the people of a country thinking one way about a subject. I have heard that one of the reasons they were unanimous in their talk about independence is that the candidates for office in their political campaigns have told them that they would have no taxes under independence and that they would all have positions. I think the Filipino is very easily led—the Taos and lower orders. Maybe that is the reason he is in favor of independence. As to the abilities to legislate of this upper house, I think it is useless to ask me about that, because you have the record of what they have already accomplished, and you can pass on that yourselves—you have the record of the lower house.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you think the preamble would be objectionable?

Mr. PUTNAM. Because this preamble definitely commits you to get out of the Philippines right away. There is a stable government there now, under our protection.

Senator KENYON. You think that is what it means?

Mr. PUTNAM. What else could it mean? It is English. I do not see anything else it could mean.

Senator KENYON. You think the government is stable?

Mr. PUTNAM. It is stable, under the Americans.

Senator LIPPITT. If we withdraw, would the government left be stable?

Mr. PUTNAM. Absolutely not, in my judgment.

Senator LIPPITT. Of course, while the preamble badly expresses it, it means when the Filipinos have given indications of their ability to establish a stable and suitable government, or there has been a stable and suitable government established.

Senator McLEAN. That would not necessarily have to be a just government or a representative government in order to be stable.

Mr. PUTNAM. It would have to be just, representative, and a stable government before I would undertake to say—

Senator McLEAN. That is not the question I asked you.

Mr. PUTNAM. I beg your pardon?

Senator McLEAN. I say it would not necessarily have to be a just government or a representative government in order to be stable.

Mr. PUTNAM. Oh, no. Russia has a stable government.

Senator KENYON. A monarchy could be stable.

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think the Filipinos could maintain their government providing there was no interference from a foreign power?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think not. Part of my service, as an Army officer—quite a good deal of it—was out spending the night in pigsties and places of that sort protecting the Filipino hacenderos from the threatened attack of those mountain bands which had disintegrated from the revolutionary army over in Panay and come over to Negros with the idea of destroying the estates of the hacenderos; threatening that if the planters did not give them a certain amount of money they would come in and burn their places up.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you not think our guidance has done away with that in 14 years of American occupancy and the existence of a lesson of good government there?

Mr. PUTNAM. I hardly think so. The Mexicans had a good government for a good many years under Diaz, and this sort of thing is going on in Mexico to-day.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you think those conditions which prevail in Mexico could prevail in the Philippines if the United States withdrew any governmental supervision?

Mr. PUTNAM. Oh, no, sir; because the foreigners would not put up with it.

Senator LIPPITT. I mean if the islands were left to themselves?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think so. I think there would be 10 or 15 parties in the Philippines.

Senator LIPPITT. You think they would resort to arms?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes; I do. I think the men we are now getting good results from would not be the men who would have much to say in the Philippine government if they had their independence. I think military leaders would spring up, and I do not think they would be men who have come to the front under our control.

Senator McLEAN. What is Aguinaldo doing?

Mr. PUTNAM. It is a question of watchful waiting with him, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an agriculturist now.

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Operating a large plantation?

Mr. PUTNAM. He is operating a plantation now, but he has not always been an agriculturist.

The CHAIRMAN. But for a number of years, I understand, he has settled down and become a good citizen, and has turned his talents in a good direction.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you not think it is possible that the Philippine government, with a trained constabulary, with trained scouts, would be formidable, with their access to modern ammunition and arms? Would not they be able to control the islands?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes; if they all stayed on one side, they would.

Senator LIPPITT. Would they stay on one side?

Mr. PUTNAM. I doubt it.

Senator CRAWFORD. That is not a characteristic they have.

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not think so. I know, from my own brief military experience, it was a very common experience to capture these people and have them with us in a week or so and rely on them. I have been out in the field with 15 or 20 American soldiers and 25 or 30 of those fellows who had been insurrectos only a short time before.

Senator LIPPITT. Was it equally as common for those people who were with you to desert and go over to the other side?

Mr. PUTNAM. No; I do not think so. I have never heard of any such cases.

Senator LIPPITT. Certainly the Filipinos must be a little more advanced and have better ideas than he had 10 or 15 years ago?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think they showed a good deal of advancement when they came over to our side.

Senator LIPPITT. I agree with you, and they must be still further advanced to-day.

Mr. PUTNAM. There undoubtedly has been a wonderful progress out there.

Senator LIPPITT. Do you not think they are less liable to have insurrections to-day than they were 10 or 14 years ago? You are talking now about 14 years ago of your experience.

Mr. PUTNAM. I suppose it might be a little less likely to-day. But I do not think that would interfere with the result. I think there is sufficient likelihood of it to have a great unrest in the islands. I think that is what a great many of the Filipinos are afraid of.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your paper circulate among the Filipinos to any extent?

Mr. PUTNAM. To a certain extent. Not to the extent I would like to have it. I have always tried to extend that circulation as much as possible, but it is not to any extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is that? A good many of them read English?

Mr. PUTNAM. They do become more and more newspaper readers. Their newspapers are not newspapers, as we understand the word—that is, they do not cover the news.

The CHAIRMAN. What do they contain?

Mr. PUTNAM. They contain a little news and party opinions. They do not make an effort, as do newspapers in this country, to cover the news of the world and all the local news.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they any considerable circulation?

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not know what their circulation is; but I think some of them have a fairly good circulation. I believe the Renacimiento at one time had 7,500. I think that is the best.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it extend outside of Manila?

Mr. PUTNAM. In its circulation?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not know as to that; I do not think so.

Senator LIPPITT. What is your circulation?

Mr. PUTNAM. It is about from two to three thousand.

Senator LIPPITT. What is the Times?

Mr. PUTNAM. They are all about the same, I think. It will run larger on days when there is no other paper—3,000 on Sunday and 2,000 on other days.

Senator KENYON. Do the Filipinos own any stock in your paper?

Mr. PUTNAM. No.

Senator KENYON. What is the price of your paper?

Mr. PUTNAM. Five cents gold—\$10 a year.

Senator KENYON. You have not gotten down to the penny post?

Mr. PUTNAM. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are all of the publishers of American papers in Manila able to live in the United States?

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not know. Mr. Egan is living in the United States.

Senator KENYON. Is this stock owned largely in the United States?

Mr. PUTNAM. Which stock?

Senator KENYON. Of your paper.

Mr. PUTNAM. I own three-quarters of it, and the Philippine Publishing Co., which is the owner of the Manila Times, owns the other quarter.

Senator KENYON. Did you start this paper?

Mr. PUTNAM. I started this paper; yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Has it been prosperous?

Mr. PUTNAM. Intermittently so. When it has not been prosperous, it has been due to bad management more than to local conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think there is a depression in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Since what time?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think since the Democratic administration came in. This question of independence is one of the chief difficulties and a serious difficulty. I do not really think the American people imagine that the United States is going to turn the Philippines loose.

Senator LIPPITT. You think the passage of this bill would give certainty as to what our intentions were?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think that is the opinion of the Americans out there, but I do not think they have any idea that the Philippines are going to get their independence in 10 years.

Senator LIPPITT. A larger degree of self-government would not alarm investors in the islands?

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not believe it would.

Senator LIPPITT. If not immediate, perhaps?

Mr. PUTNAM. No; if the Government is to maintain its sovereignty out there, Filipino participation in the government, so far as our having law and order is concerned, does not make so much difference; but it is the fear of what would happen when you turn the islands loose.

Senator LIPPITT. What would the Americans fear in case we turned them loose?

Mr. PUTNAM. You mean the Americans in Manila?

Senator LIPPITT. Yes. Of course, the officeholders would be out of office, I suppose.

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes.

Senator LIPPITT. Would the business men suffer?

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not know. Most of the business men in Manila are ex-soldiers, and I think could take care of themselves, if there was any trouble. And I think out there it would be a ruin of their business for a time, at least.

Senator LIPPITT. They could not do business and take care of themselves at one and the same time?

Mr. PUTNAM. No; they would have to do those jobs at different times. I think they would be afraid, most of them, probably, that they will have a foreign fleet in there and there will be a lot of trouble, and then some arrangement made by which a foreign power will take over the control of the islands.

Senator LIPPITT. The business men would not object to that?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes; I think so. I think the American business man out there is rather patriotic and would want the United States to stay rather than have Japan or some other country come in there.

Senator LIPPITT. There would be good law and order if a foreign power came in?

Mr. PUTNAM. I do not know whether there would be or not. I am somewhat losing faith in law and order in the last year.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is it the prevailing view over there that if the United States withdrew its protectorate over the country that immediately some other nation would establish one and that the people there would expect some other nation to do so, so as to guarantee neutrality and that sort of thing?

Mr. PUTNAM. The prevailing view? I could not answer as to that.

Senator CRAWFORD. Is that view held by a good many people there?

Mr. PUTNAM. A number of them with whom I have talked. You must understand that while a newspaper pretends to voice the sentiment of a people it does not always follow that a newspaper does voice the sentiment of a people; and our paper has been at all times opposed to the United States getting out.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you not get a larger circulation among the Filipinos if you favored independence?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes; I think we might get a larger circulation—no; I do not know whether we would or not. We have always very bitterly opposed independence in our paper, and we are doing it now. When there is any editorial on that subject—

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Times take substantially the same position?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think so; yes. In fact, very few people take any other position.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, among the Americans?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes, sir; and also among the Filipinos, except—for instance, we employ a lot of Filipinos. We employ many more Filipinos than we do Americans, and I do not think those men want independence.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you talked with them personally?

Mr. PUTNAM. Often.

The CHAIRMAN. And they gave you that idea?

Mr. PUTNAM. I have heard a number express the opinion that Mr. Egan expressed. Well, you take one instance, the leader of the orchestra on a ship going out to the Philippines—this was a man who traveled to and fro and has made a study of the industrial conditions in Japan and the wages paid there—the leader of that orchestra told me they were in favor of a government something like they have in Canada, and they wanted the United States Government to stay there and protect them. If you meet a man on the street, he does not want independence; his position is about like this: If you go outside of the city of Manila and meet a Tao and ask him, "Are you satisfied with conditions at the present time?" "Yes." "Your children are going to school?" "Yes." "You are well taken care of and get good wages?" "Yes." "You do not want any change?" "No." "Are you in favor of independence?" "Yes." I do not think they understand what it means. I do not think they understand it means the United States is to get out.

Senator KENYON. What do you think would be the result of a vote on the question of the United States getting out?

Mr. PUTNAM. In this country?

Senator KENYON. No; in the Philippines.

Mr. PUTNAM. That depends.

Senator KENYON. Should everybody vote who knows enough to vote, what do you think would be the result?

Mr. PUTNAM. I think there has been so much agitation for it that they would vote in favor of it at the present time. But I do not think they know exactly what it means. There has never been much effort to educate the people in the Philippines along those lines. Definitely there has not been any effort made to lay before them the difference in the wages paid in the Philippines and living conditions, for instance, which the Filipino enjoys and those enjoyed over in China or Japan.

Senator LIPPITT. When Mr. Martin testified here I asked him what about the business men engaged in business in the Philippines—are they anxious for a change of government? He said, “I have heard that some of them were not, but I have never seen them.” I said, “You have never seen a business man in the Philippines that did not prefer the American Government to independence?”

Mr. MARTIN. I know one lawyer.

Senator LIPPITT. I am talking about business men.

Mr. MARTIN. The only Filipino who has ever said to me—

Senator LIPPITT. I am talking about business men.

Mr. MARTIN. I do not know any.

Mr. Martin testifies that he had not met any and did not know any business men that were opposed to Philippine independence.

Mr. PUTNAM. Who were opposed to it, or who were not opposed to it?

Senator LIPPITT. Who were opposed to it? He said he had never met any.

Mr. PUTNAM. He said he had never met any business men who were opposed to Philippine independence? I have not had the same experience; that is all I can say.

Senator LIPPITT. You say nearly all the business men and a large number of the Filipinos are opposed to it?

Mr. PUTNAM. Yes; I know that to be the case; I am quite sure of it.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Putnam.

Mr. QUEZON. Mr. Chairman, if I may be excused, I would just like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that Vice Governor Martin stated later on he referred to the Filipino business men; that he did not understand he had been asked in a general way, and that he was making that statement referring to the Filipino business men. And he said that he had not met any who were against independence.

Senator LIPPITT. I would like to say, in justice to Mr. Martin (I am glad you spoke of it) that later on, after that question was repeated to him two or three times, in different forms, he finally said there were a good many business men who were opposed to it. But his first testimony was that he had never met any.

(Thereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned to Thursday, January 7, 1914, at 10 o'clock a. m.)



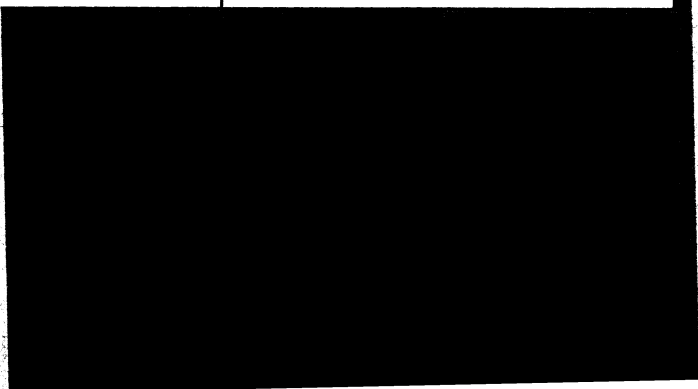




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